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A  
COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR  
OF THE  
INDO-GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

Da muss sich manches Rätsel lösen  
Doch manches Rätsel knüpft sich auch.

*Goethe.*

A  
**COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR**  
OF THE  
**INDO-GERMANIC LANGUAGES.**

A CONCISE EXPOSITION  
OF THE HISTORY  
OF SANSKRIT, OLD IRANIAN (AVESTIC AND OLD PERSIAN), OLD ARMENIAN,  
GREEK, LATIN, UMBRO-SAMNITIC, OLD IRISH, GOTHIC, OLD HIGH GERMAN,  
LITHUANIAN AND OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC

BY  
**KARL BRUGMANN,**  
PROFESSOR OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG.

VOLUME II.  
MORPHOLOGY (STEM-FORMATION AND INFLEXION). PART I.  
INTRODUCTION. NOUN COMPOUNDS. REDUPLICATED NOUNS. FORMATIVE SUFFIXES.  
ROOT-NOUNS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY  
**R. SEYMOUR CONWAY, B. A.** AND **W. H. D. ROUSE, M. A.**  
FELLOW OF GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AUTHOR OF 'VERNER'S LAW IN  
ITALY'. FELLOW OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,  
ASSISTANT MASTER AT CHELTENHAM  
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TO

**JOHN PEILE,**

**DOCTOR OF LETTERS, MASTER OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, THE FOUNDER OF THE  
STUDY OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY IN CAMBRIDGE**

**THIS TRANSLATION IS DEDICATED**

**IN TOKEN OF THEIR GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION**

**BY**

**HIS OLD PUPILS.**



## PREFACE TO THE ORIGINAL EDITION.

---

In consideration of the length to which the Second Volume of this Grammar was likely to extend it seemed desirable to publish it in parts<sup>1</sup>). Those which are still to appear will first complete the Morphology of Nouns and Pronouns, including the history of the Case-Endings. The latter section will be comparatively brief, since the ablaut of the inflexional syllables has been discussed in all its most important points in connexion with the Formative Suffixes. Then will follow the Morphology of Verbs (Stem-Formation and Inflexion), and finally a list of Additions and Corrections to the First Volume, [and an Index to both].

A third and last volume of smaller dimensions will contain the Syntax. In this part of Comparative Grammar very little work has been done, at least very little that can be called scientific, and hitherto no one has tried to give any systematic account of the subject as a whole. For a long while, I confess, I could hardly make up my mind to include it in the present work, but I have been greatly encouraged to make the attempt by the appearance of the fifth Volume of Delbrück's *Syntaktische Forschungen* (*Altindische Syntax* 1888), which, though it is not directly concerned with Comparative Grammar, has done a great deal to prepare the way for a general history of Indo-

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1) The different parts of the German edition will appear as separate volumes in English.

Germanic Syntax. And in my work for the third volume I hope to have the help of O. Behaghel's *Grundzüge der germanischen Syntax* which has been announced for some time.

I have accepted as necessary one or two alterations in the transcription of Avestic; *æ* instead of *ǣ* (before *r*, see vol. I § 558 p. 415), *š* for all three signs *š*, *ṣ* and *ṣ̌*. As regards these sibilants we ought still, in all probability, to make some distinction between the sounds in such words as *hištaiti* = Skr. *tīṣṭhati* (I § 556 p. 410), *mašya-* = Skr. *mārtiya-* (I § 260 p. 212 f., § 474 p. 350), *šyaoṇa-* = Proethnic Aryan *\*cīaytna-* (I § 448 p. 333, § 473, 4 p. 350). I accepted with other scholars the theory which Bartholomae advanced in *Bezenberger's Beiträge* VII 188 ff. as to the respective value of these three signs in the Zend alphabet, and, so far as I can see, it is not disproved by Geldner's recent edition of the Avesta. At the same time it is certainly not confirmed by the results of Geldner's work, and Bartholomae himself, with Hübschmann and others, now follows him in writing *š* indifferently in all cases. Thus I had no alternative.

In Celtic Prof. Thurneysen has given me the same generous assistance as in the first volume. My pupil Dr. W. Streitberg has helped me in correcting the proof. To both I may here offer my hearty thanks.

LEIPZIG, Oct. 1. 1888.

Karl Brugmann.

## TRANSLATORS' PREFACE.

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In the two years that have followed the translation of the First Volume of the *Grundriss der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft* by Dr. (now Professor) Joseph Wright, the difficulty of the task has sensibly diminished. The methods and the nomenclature of the scientific school of Comparative Philology have found their way more and more into the work of English teachers, and it has become far easier to decide what innovations can, and what cannot be reconciled with established usage. Such words, for example, as 'thematic', 'ablaut', 'analogical', 'contamination', 'proethnic' are completely naturalised. The last we have universally adopted as the clearest equivalent of the German *ur-* prefixed to the name of a group of languages: 'proethnic Greek' is Greek older than the rise of its various dialects; 'proethnic Indo-Germanic', or more simply where there is no ambiguity, 'the proethnic language' is the parent of the various families of Indo-Germanic speech.

On the other hand the new subject-matter of the present volume involves new difficulties. On almost every other page of the original the word *Grundform* is used to denote the original form from which any particular word has been developed by phonetic change, and considering the frequency of its occurrence we could see no alternative but to adopt it bodily into English. Again some such expressions as 'fertile' (*produktiv*) and 'extended' (*erweitert*) were indispensable to describe the history of the different suffixes. The process of deriving a feminine form

from the masculine stem of an adjective (Germ. *Motion*) we have called 'differentiation'. To express the change by which a substantival compound becomes an adjective, or in terms of Sanskrit grammar, by which a *karma-dhāraya*-compound becomes a *bahu-vrīhi* German scholars have created a new verb *mutieren*, i. e. the Lat. *mutare*; the word 'epithetised' which is used for the first time in this translation is an attempt to describe the nature of the change a little more explicitly. Thus in English *blackbird* is a simple or 'non-epithetised' compound, *Greatheart*, *rosy-fingered*, in Latin *magnanimus*, in Greek ῥοδοδάκτυλος are 'epithetised' (see p. 92). The ambiguity of the word 'formation' which like the German *Bildung* does double duty, to denote sometimes an abstract process and sometimes its concrete result, is a source of considerable difficulty, which might well be avoided by using such a term as 'formate' to express the second meaning; and the convenience of words like *trans-formate*, *re-formate* *afformate* (*Umbildung*, *Neubildung*, *Nachbildung*) is at once obvious. But the change is not absolutely necessary and therefore, since this is a book of general reference, it seems fairer to the reader to suggest it in the Preface rather than to introduce it directly into the text; perhaps however we may assume the licence in the following volumes.

A small but perpetually recurring difficulty of which the reader should be warned, has been the translation of the preposition *zu* in its technical sense, for which we have no exact equivalent in English, except such phrases as 'directly related to', 'connected in accordance with' and these would be, to say the least, a little wearisome, if they appeared twenty times on a page. It really covers several shades of meaning; in '*amāvi zu amō*' '*tulī zu ferō*' it means *used as a tense of*; in '*ansātus*' *zu ansa*', *a derivative of*; in '*modestus zu modus*', *used as a derivative of*; in 'Lat. *inclutus* zu Gr. *ἐλίσω*', *containing the root of*; and so on. The nearest English equivalent in the first two cases would be the preposition *from*, in which there is a more serious ambiguity, used as it is to denote both historical and logical connexion, '*tulī from the root tel-*', '*tulī from ferō*'.

Sometimes of course the two coincide, but only in the case of words of which the first was in use in the form in which we quote it before the second came into existence. *suavior* 'comes from' *suavis* historically as well as logically because it is a special formation in Latin (in place of the Indo-Germanic stem *\*syad-ijos-*); whereas the genitive *patris* can only be said to 'come from' the nominative *pater* in the logical sense, not the historical, since both are descended from proethnic forms. The rule therefore that we have adopted has been to write *from* in the logical sense only where there can be no possible doubt that that is its meaning; where there would have been any danger that the reader should infer from it a historical, derivative relation that was not implied in the German, we have used *beside*. Thus in the examples given above we should render '*tulī* from *ferō*' but '*modestus* beside *modus*' (see p. 418). The line is of course hard to draw, but for safety's sake, we have used *beside* in all cases of doubt. To do so universally, i. e. to have written always '*patris* beside *pater*' instead of 'from *pater*' seemed a little pedantic. On the other hand *from* has of course its proper derivative significance in such phrases as '*ansātus* from *ansa*', where in German *von* and *zu* are used indifferently. The German *aus* connecting a form with its immediate phonetic antecedent, e. g. 'Lat. *fissus* aus *\*fid-to-s*' we have followed prevailing usage in rendering by *for*, '*fissus* for *\*fid-to-s*'. The reader will find that *for* is used only in this sense of direct phonetic connexion; to describe an analogical substitution (Germ. *für*) we have regularly kept to 'instead of'.

In minor matters, such as abbreviations, and details of printing we have followed English rather than German precedent. For obvious reasons however we have retained the order of the original in such phrases as 'Gr. Att. *ἴννος*' 'Skr. Ved. *śray-iṣṭha-*' (cf. p. 244), where they occur in a list of forms from different languages. But we have ventured to retain the symbol: which occurs on every page, and denotes that the forms that it connects stand in a definite relation to one another, and this, when it is not otherwise explained by the context, is always



one of regular phonetic correspondence; for instance it is invariably used to connect an Indo-Germanic form with the words which represent it in the derived languages e. g. Idg. *\*klu-tó-s*: Skr. *śru-tá-s*, Gr. *κλυ-τό-s* etc. A modification of this symbol, for which it was equally impossible to find a substitute, ':cp.' means 'partly related to' 'in some respects to be compared with'; it is employed where the forms compared are not completely parallel, but only to some extent, e. g. on p. 39, § 23 'Skr. *án-āpta-s*: cp. Lat. *in-ēptu-s*'; here the two words are parallel, but not identical, as the Latin form is derived from *\*ap-tó-*, the Sanskrit from *\*ap-tó-*, see Vol. I § 97, 3 p. 91. Similarly on p. 60, § 34 'Lat. *sim-plex*: cp. Gr. *ἀ-πλόος*' implies that the compounds are parallel, but identical only in their first member; p. 193, § 75 Gr. *ἡμέ-τερο-ς*: cp. Lat. *nos-ter*', that the use of the suffix is the same in both. It would be difficult to enumerate all the varieties of positive meaning that may be implied by this practically colourless symbol; to remove it altogether would be to re-edit the whole Grammar, not to translate it. The symbol : is also placed at the end of a general statement which is immediately followed by a list of illustrative examples, but otherwise it is not used as a mark of punctuation. On the other hand where the scientific brevity of the original made the connexion of the argument a little difficult to follow, so that sometimes the meaning of a whole paragraph turned on the significance of a comma or a bracket, we have felt less scruple in giving it more explicit expression.

In the first hundred pages and in the sections on the Meaning of the Suffixes, the reader will find a few additions to the text for which the translators are responsible. With Prof. Brugmann's permission we have inserted illustrations from Modern English beside his own from Modern German, where the latter are given to illustrate some general principle. These interpolations are all enclosed in square brackets.

At his request we have departed from Dr. Wright's usage in one important respect by using Old Church Slavonic instead of Old Bulgarian as the name of the language of the

Slavonic apostles Cyril and Methodius. We hesitated for some time between 'Welsh' and 'Cymric', but decided on the whole to keep the latter in conformity with the first volume. The Corrections and Additions' of the German edition are embodied in the text, together with several other minor alterations, mainly of misprints, which Prof. Brugmann has sent us. To him we would offer our hearty thanks for his constant help in matters of difficulty. We owe to Dr. Wright's courtesy a list of Corrigenda in Volume I.

The translation is a joint work throughout, but Mr. Conway is everywhere responsible for its final form, as Mr. Rouse will be in the remaining volumes, which we hope will follow the parts of the German edition as they appear, at much shorter intervals than has been possible so far.

The present volume has demanded a year's continuous work and a good deal of anxious consideration from us both. But we shall be more than rewarded if it can do anything to extend the share which English-speaking students can claim in the marvellous increase of exact knowledge which the book itself records. It is the boast of modern discovery to have made the world more thinkable and human life more full of meaning in a thousand ways; and before the century reaches its close, Comparative Philology, that is, the History of Language, will have attained no mean rank in the great sisterhood of sciences whose task is to explore the history of man.

R. SEYMOUR CONWAY.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

CAMBRIDGE, Aug. 1. 1890.

## CORRIGENDA.

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### VOLUME I.

*P. 112 l. 6* Read *the variation* instead of *the opposite*.

*P. 350* last line but one. Remove the comma after *cases*.

*P. 529 Rem. 2 l. 2.* Read *velars palatals and dentals* instead of *lingual palatals*.

See also the footnotes to pp. 118, 167, 274, 367, 432, 434, 441 in Vol. II.

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### VOLUME II.

*P. 153 l. 5* read *should perhaps* for *must ultimately*.

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## SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS.

\* prefixed to a form indicates that it is not on record, but only inferred from other forms in the same or kindred languages. Prefixed to a root it implies that that form of the root does not occur in any word of which we have record.

✓ = root.

: = 'to be directly compared with'.

: cp. = 'to be in part compared with' (see the Preface, p. XII).

... after a form denotes that its final sounds cannot be exactly determined, (e. g. in \**mēn-s-r*... p. 186 all that is said of the suffix is that it began with *r*).

$\alpha^*$  denotes a sound which was either  $\alpha$ ,  $e$ , or  $o$  but cannot at present be more closely identified.

A small figure added to the name of a book denotes the edition referred to; e. g. Paul, Princip.<sup>2</sup>

Hom. A, B, ...  $\Omega$  = Hom. II. book 1, 2, ... 24.

Hom.  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ , ...  $\omega$  = Hom. Od. book 1, 2, ... 24.

cp. = compare.

lit. = literally.

orig. = original, or originally.

esp. = especially.

scil. or sc. = scilicet, i. e. the word which follows it is to be supplied in the preceding phrase.

ib. = ibidem.

loc. cit. = in loco citato.

Pr., O., Mid., Mod. prefixed to names of languages denote Protoethnic, Old, Middle, and Modern respectively.

poss. = possessive (adjectives).

dimin. = diminutive (adj. or subst.).

denom. = denominative (noun or verb).

There remain the usual abbreviations of Gender (m. f. n.), Number (sg. du. pl.), Case (nom. gen. etc.), Degree (pos. comp. superl.), Mood (ind. impv. etc.), Voice (act. med. pass.), Tense (pres. impf. etc.) and Part of Speech (subst. adj. partic. sup(ine) ger(und) etc.).

It is unnecessary to add a list of the abbreviations for the names of the languages. The latter are fully enumerated in the Introduction to the First Volume (p. 4 ff.). Observe only that A. S. = Anglo-Saxon, O.Sax. = Old Saxon.



## MORPHOLOGY: STEM-FORMATION AND INFLEXION.

§ 1. All the developements of language denoted by the terms Stem-formation and Inflexion are based upon one common principle, the juxta-position and more or less intimate fusion of elements which were originally independent<sup>1</sup>. The units of speech produced by this kind of composition became in later ages the types on which new words were made; and many such standard forms, which were in use long before the dissolution of the pro-ethnic Indo-Germanic community, still serve as models for new words. But this process of blending groups of independent words into single forms has been continually repeated all through the centuries; and thus new types have been successively evolved, to be in their turn the means of further developement. Yet these new types have never brought about any material change in the general method of forming words which had been adopted by the Indo-Germanic language in its proethnic stage. Certain primitive types, which were characteristic of the morphology of this family of languages, remained in constant use wherever they were spoken; and the forms which have arisen in later times, from the coalescence of words grouped in some syntactic relation, have always been cast in the mould of one or other of these prescribed models.

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1) See Vol. I § 13. 14.

Brugmann, *Elements*. I.

It is therefore the business of the grammarian, in this division of his subject, to exhibit these processes of composition, and the new formations to which their analogy gives rise.

In this department of the history of language, the main line of division is that which separates Noun and Pronoun on the one hand from Verb on the other. In dealing with the former class, we have to discuss terminations of Case, and the many different methods by which nouns or pronouns form their stems; in the latter class, we have to consider terminations of Person, and the equally numerous methods by which verbal stems are formed. These two departments, however, constantly overlap. Verbs are formed from noun-stems, as Gr. *τιμάω* 'I honour' from *τιμή* 'honour' Lat. *plantō* from *planta* ("Derivative Verbs"); and, on the other hand, nouns often contain verbal stems (for example, the so-called participles, gerunds, infinitives, and supines, e. g. Gr. part. *δῶσων* inf. *δῶσειν* as compared with *δώσω* 'dabo'). Forms of this double nature are accordingly discussed in both divisions of Morphology.

In either case we shall begin with those words whose structure exhibits most clearly the principle of composition, which is the basis of the whole formative system of the Indo-Germanic languages; we shall begin, that is, with compounds in the common acceptation of the term, such as Gr. *ἵππο-δαμο-ς* 'horse-taming' *ἀπο-βάλλω* 'I cast away'. Last of all will be treated those elements of words whose original independence is now least obvious, i. e. the signs of the cases on the one hand and the personal-endings on the other.

Throughout our discussion we shall consider both the forms as such and the meaning attached to them. Here we shall meet with questions of Syntax, which however includes too many heterogeneous elements to be fully treated in connexion with Morphology.

It is necessary first to offer a few remarks on the general principles of formation whose action can be traced in the history of Indo-Germanic. To a certain extent these will merely repeat in greater detail what has been already said in the General

Introduction (I § 13. 14) to explain the use of hyphens, and of a few special terms, which will be found in this work.

§ 2. When a group of words connected in some syntactical relation is fused into a single form, it is called a 'compound'; e. g. Gr. *Διόσκουροι* 'sons of Zeus' from *Διὸς* *κοῦροι*, Mod.H.G. *hungersnot* 'pressure of hunger' from Mid.H.G. *hungers not*, [Eng. *commonwealth* from *common wealth*]. The compound — to restrict the term for the moment to those consisting of two members — becomes a simple word when either its first or its second member has lost its connexion in the mind of the speaker with kindred words which are uncompounded, and consequently the comparative independence which it formerly had. This process may give rise to a word which to the speaker's consciousness is absolutely simple, e. g. Lat. nom. sing. *qui* for *\*quoi*<sup>1</sup>) i. e. *\*quo* 'who' + *i* (deictic particle, cp. Umbr. *po-ei* sing. 'qui' *pur-i* pl. 'qui'), O.Pers. nom. sing. *hauv* 'this' from *\*ha* = Skr. *sá* + the particle *u* = Skr. *ú*, Lith. *bú-k* 'be it, as though' which contains the particle *-ki -k*, Lat. *s-ub* no doubt for *\*(e)x-ub* (I § 568 p. 425); or else the element in question loses its full meaning, and being used with the same value in a considerable number of words is reduced to what is called a suffix or a prefix; as *-heit*, a suffix which forms substantives denoting a quality, found e. g. in *schönheit*, which originally meant 'beautiful condition' (in O.H.G. and Mid.H.G. *heit* is still an independent word), [Germ. *heit* = A.S. *had* Mid. Eng. *hōd* Mod. Eng. *-hood* in *maiden-hood* etc.], Lat. *-iter*, a suffix used in forming adverbs, e. g. *breviter*, which originally = *breve iter* 'short-way' (*iter* 'way'), O.H.G. *ala-* ('omni-') an intensive prefix, e. g. in *ala-festi* 'firmissime', Mod.H.G. *stock-*, also intensive, e. g. *stock-finster* 'pitch dark' *stock-dumm* 'utterly stupid' [cp. Eng. *stone-deaf*, *stone-blind*] (see Tobler, *Über die Wortzusammensetzung* p. 116 ff.). If a word is compounded with itself the process is called reduplication, e. g. Gr. *πάμ-παν* 'en-

1) It is a moot question whether *qoi* in the Duenos-inscription is *qui* or *cui*; see Zvetaieff, *Inscriptiones Italiae inferioris*, 1886, p. 80 sqq.

tirely'. Here also either of the two parts may be degraded by a process similar to that which gives rise to a suffix or a prefix; e. g. on the one hand Mod.H.G. *mur-mel* 'murmur' (Lat. *mur-mur*), where the termination *-mel* has the character of a suffix, and on the other hand Skr. *ci-kt-* 'comprehending, aware', where *ci-* is a kind of prefix.

§ 3. No hard and fast line can be drawn between a phrase or group of words connected in some syntactical relation, and a compound.

It is no doubt a fair definition of a compound to say that it is fully formed when the whole becomes in any way isolated from the parts of which it is composed as used independently (I § 13 p. 14). Lat. *māgnōpere*, for instance, was isolated from its component elements *māgnō opere* by its vowel contraction; Lat. *dēnuō*, from *dē novō*, by the weakening of *-ov-* to *-u-* due to its enclitic position; and Hom. *πᾶν-ἡμαρ* 'all day long' by the circumstance that the neuter *\*πᾶν* (for *\*παντ*) when used independently took a long *α* from *πᾶς πᾶσα*. In Gr. *Διός-πατρι*, in Lat. *plēbiscitu-m*, and in Mod.H.G. *gross-vater* 'grandfather', *süss-holz* 'licorice' the isolation was caused by the meaning of the whole being more definite and limited than the meaning conveyed by the mere syntactical grouping of the parts [cp. Eng. *best man*, *blackbird*]. Again in Attic Greek *ἀπο-βαίνω* 'I go away' *ἐκ-βάλλω* 'I throw out' Lat. *ab-eō*, *ἐ-γίγιθ* the cause (or rather one of the causes) was the restriction of each one of the prepositional adverbs to use within a particular series of combinations. Thus the causes of isolation, and of the accompanying change of a phrase into a compound, are very diverse and quite easy to appreciate. But isolation is a matter of very gradual development; and we cannot fix a point at which the phrase passes into the compound, least of all in ancient languages, where we cannot appeal for help to the consciousness of any living speaker. At every stage in the development of language we find compounds in process of formation; and, naturally enough, it is often impossible to decide whether in any given instance a compound

is completely formed or not. Thus opinions may and do differ whether the spelling to be adopted is *δίφιλος* or *διὲ φίλος*, *καρηχομύωντες* or *κάρη κομύωντες*, and so forth, in Homer (see La Roche, Hom. Textkr. 311 ff.), *senātūscōnsultum* or *senātas cōnsultum* in later Latin, and in Mod.H.G. *aus himmelshöhn* or *aus himmels höhn* (in Schiller, compare his phrase *an ufers rand*), *möglicherweise* or *möglicher weise*, *wenngleich* or *wenn gleich*.

**Remark.** According to a very common view, if a phrase is included under one accent, it is proved *en ipso* to be a compound; but this is incorrect. In that case every syntactical combination of two words where the second word is an enclitic (cp. I § 669 p. 534 § 672 p. 538 and elsewhere) would be a compound, which no one would maintain. Nor can the formation of derivatives from a given phrase by means of secondary suffixes be taken as a certain proof that the group is a true compound (e. g. Gr. *Διονκούρειον* from *Διὸς κοῦροι*). For the need of a derivative often creates a compound where the original is only a phrase; cp. Gr. *καλοκἀγαθία* from *καλὸς κἀγαθός*; Mod.H.G. *langweilig* from *lange weile*, [Eng. *freetrader* from *Free Trade*], Gr. *ὑψίφαλος* adj. 'in the head' from *ἐν κεφαλῇ*, *παραδυάλλαντος* 'situated by the sea' from *παρὰ θάλασσαν*, Skr. *anushatyā-s* 'consistent with truth' from *anu satyām* (cp. § 15), O.C.Sl. *obonŭ-polŭnŭ* 'situated on the further shore' from *obŭ onŭ polŭ* (§ 47). Thus a derivative of this kind, itself a true compound, may be formed while the original phrase is only on its way towards becoming one: cp. also Lat. *Sacrauiensēs* as compared with *sacra via*; *quartadecumānī* as compared with *quarta decuma*, O.C.Sl. *peŭnadesetŭnŭ* 'fifteenth' compared with *peŭ na desetŭ* 'fifteen'; Avest. *aspa-vīra-jan-* 'striking horses and men down to the earth' compared with *aspa vīra* (a Dual combination, cp. § 27).

Where a compound consists of parts each of which can be used as an independent word, the following are the surest signs that it is a true compound: 1. If the termination of one member of the phrase is transferred to words which are incapable of taking it when uncompounded; e. g. when Gr. *διόσ-δοτος* (*διός* gen. sing.) gives rise to such a form as *θεός-δοτος* (cp. § 17). 2. If the case-ending or other inflexion of the first member, which was essential to the meaning of the original compound, loses its force in analogical formations; when for instance *Ἀρη-λνκος* (Hom.) *Ἀρε-θύστρος* 'fimbria Martialis' (Aeschyl.) are formed in imitation of *ἀρη-πατος* *ἀρεπατος* 'slain in war'. 3. If the phrase is 'epithetised' (§ 50), as *ἀερί-οικος* 'having one's dwelling in the air', not 'a dwelling in the air'.

§ 4. It is equally impossible to draw a hard and fast line between a compound and a simple word. One part of a compound is reduced or degraded to a suffix or prefix,

or generally to an inflexional element, by losing in some way or other its connexion with the simple word in the consciousness of the speaker. This isolation may affect the meaning only; take e. g. the Lat. suffix *-iter* in *breviter longiter* and the like, which were originally compounds (for *breve iter*, *longum iter*, see p. 3 above), the O.Ir. intensive prefix *bith-* (originally 'world-' cp. *bith* 'world') in such forms as *bith-beo* 'semper vivus, immortalis' *bid-slan* 'semper salvus' etc.; or it may affect only the form, e. g. Mod.H.G. *-tel* in *drittel viertel* etc. as contrasted with *teil*; or it may affect both at once, e. g. Mod.H.G. *-lich* in *weiblich* (orig. = 'having woman's form') beside *leicht-leich-dorn* [= Eng. *-ly* in *wife-ly* A.S. *lic*, Eng. *lych-gate*. The suffixes in *hat-red*, *friend-ship* *bishop-ric* etc. were independent words in Old English]. Isolation is most complete when the simple word passes out of use altogether, e. g. Gr. *ποδ-από-* Lat. *long-inquo-s prop-inquo-s*, the second part of which is the Skr. *-āñc-* 'directed somewhither' (§ 163), Mod.H.G. *schönheit*, whose second part was still an independent word in Mid.H.G.; the same thing has happened in the first part of a compound e. g. in Germ. *ala-*, as in Goth. *ala-mans* pl. 'all men' O.H.G. *ala-wār* 'quite true' (the only form used independently is *alla-*, for *\*al-no*). Thus even in the proethnic Indo-Germanic period the temporal adverb *\*e*, seen in such phrases as *\*é bherom* 'I bore' *\*é dṛkom* 'I saw' (Skr. *ábharam ádṛśam*, Gr. *ἔφερον ἔδρακον*), had no doubt sunk to the level of an inflexional prefix, because it was no longer used except in these combinations with enclitic preterite forms. Sometimes the conscious connexion with the simple word is lost because one member of the compound chances to resemble some common suffix in sound; the compounded word is then treated as equivalent to this suffix, and the whole becomes a simple word: for instance, Gr. *καθ-ίζω* 'I set down' (*ίζω* for *\*si-2d-ō*, *✓sed-*) was associated with verbs in *-ίζω*, as *πολεμίζω*, hence the fut. Att. *καθιῶ* Dor. *καθιξῶ*; O.H.G. *gom-man* (gen. *gom-mannes*) 'married man, man' was associated with simple nouns like *eban zeihhan*, hence such new formations as gen. sing. *gommanes* nom. acc. pl. *gommana*.

But in all these cases the change of function is very gradual; in every period we find compounded words in course of becoming simple inflexional elements. Compare further Skr. *úd-añc-* 'upwards' *praty-āñc-* 'backwards' *prđñc-* 'forwards' and the like (see § 163, and observe their later association with the suffix *go-*, § 86); Armen. *-a-vor* in *lus-a-vor* 'clear' etc., corresponding to the Gr. *-γόρο-ς* (§ 28); Gr. *-ειδής* in *θεο-ειδής* 'godlike, divine' etc.; Lat. *-gn-o-* (cp. *gen-us*) in *benīgnu-s*, *malīgnu-s* and similar forms, *-ig-a-* (cp. *agere*) in *nāvigāre lītīgāre flammīgāre* and so forth (Leo Meyer, Bezzenberger's Beitr. VI 130 ff.); O.Ir. *-mār* (*mār* 'great') in *ardd-mār* 'very high' Mod.Ir. *buadh-mhar* 'victoriosus' (Glück, Kelt. Namen 77. 80 ff.), O.Ir. *-lach* (*slōg* 'troop') in *teg-lach* 'household, familia' *lucht-lach* 'the gens in toto, the district community' etc. (Zimmer, Kelt. Stud. II 25 ff.); Mid.H.G. *nūt-hart lüg-hart*, Mod.H.G. *aller-hand gewisser-massen* and *aller-best aller-meist*.

Remark. The reverse process does not often occur, i. e. when an element once a suffix or a prefix is raised in the speaker's consciousness to the dignity of a compounded word; but we find it e. g. in Mod.H.G. *leu-mund* 'repute, character' (popularly connected with *mund* 'mouth') = Skr. *śrō-mata-* (§ 82), *brō-sāme* 'the crumb of the loaf' (influenced by *sāme* 'seed') from O.H.G. *brōsma*, Avest. *yuvae-ca tāitē*, where the latter form was abstracted from *yuvae-tāt-*, and shows how the suffix *-tāt-* was regarded in the speaker's mind. (§ 102 Rem.). A further example is Mod.H.G. *wahn-sinn wahn-witz*, whose first part was the prefix *wan-* pr. Germ. *\*yana-* 'lacking, without'. [So the suffix in Eng. *wed-lock* has nothing to do with the verb *to lock*, nor that in *cray-fish* (from Fr. *écrevisse*) with *fish*. Similarly *rounde-lay* = Fr. *rondeler*].

It has already been pointed out in § 2 that the transition from a compound to a simple word does not always give rise to an element of the nature of a suffix or prefix. The following conditions are necessary for the production of an element of this kind: 1. the principal member of the compound must be etymologically clear; it must be associated with a kindred word or a kindred group of words: 2. the part so degraded must appear not in isolated words only but in a group of words, and in all of them it must have the same meaning: 3. this meaning must be more or less abstract and general



(Paul Princip.<sup>2</sup> 294). When these conditions are not fulfilled, the resultant forms may be called obscured compounds. To the speaker's consciousness they may appear absolutely simple words (apart from the endings of declension or conjugation which were ultimately affixed), as Mod.H.G. *welt* for O.H.G. *wer-alt* [Eng. *world*, A.S. *woruld*], Lat. *surgō* for \**sub-regō*. Or even if they produce the impression of a word containing a suffix or prefix, it is only because their initial or final part has become associated with real suffixes and prefixes through some phonetic resemblance, e. g. Mod.H.G. *adler* for O.H.G. *adal-ar* ('noble bird of prey'), Mod.H.G. *wimper* 'eye-lash' for O.H.G. *wint-brāwa* 'wind-brow', Mod.H.G. *albern* 'foolish' for O.H.G. *ala-wāri*, 'very friendly' whose terminations resemble those of such words as *sattler*, *schneider*, *silbern* and the like [cp. Eng. *righteous* for *right-wise*, as though its formation were the same as that of *duteous plenteous*, *window* from Icel. *vind-auga* 'wind-eye' compared with *meadow fallow*, *scabbard* whose second part is identical with *-berk* in *hau-berk*, Mod.H.G. *berg-en*, not with the *-ard* of *poniard petard* etc.]. A third group consists of polysyllabic words like Mod.H.G. *bräutigam* (O.H.G. *brūti-gomo* 'bride-man') Lat. *ūsūrpō* 'I use' for \**ūsū-rapō* [cp. Eng. *nightingale* A.S. *nihte-gale* 'singer of the night', *wiseacre* = H.G. *weissager*, *watershed* whose second part is Mid.E. *scheden* A.S. *sceādan* Mod.H.G. *scheiden*]. Here the second element has not become clearly associated with previously existing suffixes, while on the other hand such words as these are not conceived as absolutely simple. No general definition can express the way in which the instinct of the speaker regards them; each case must be treated by itself.

Obscured compounds undoubtedly existed as early as the proethnic period of Indo-Germanic; and in its later stages they are nowhere rare. The following examples may be assigned to the proethnic vocabulary: *svēkuro-* 'father-in-law' (Skr. *svāśura-* Gr. *ἐκγρό-ς* Goth. *svaithra*), \**svēsor-* 'sister' (Skr. *svāsar-*

Lat. *soror* etc.)<sup>1)</sup>, \**uikṣpti-* 'twenty' (Skr. *viṣati-* Gr. *ἑξήκοντα* *ēkhōnta* etc.), no doubt also \**nizdo-* i. e. \**ni-zd-o-* (✓*sed-*) 'settling place, nest' (Skr. *nīdā-s* Armen. *nist* etc.), \**per-ut(-i)* loc. 'last year', connected with Gr. *φέρω* (Skr. *parut* Gr. *πέρουσι* etc.), \**pr-sto-* \**pr-sti-* \**per-sti-* 'prominence, something prominent' beside ✓*stā-* 'stand' (Skr. *prsthā-m* 'prominent ridge, height, peak, top' L.Germ. and Dutch *vorst* f. O.H.G. *first* m. A.S. *first fyrst* f. 'roof-ridge'), \**soṃ* 'this' i. e. \**so* + the particle *u* (O.Pers. *hauv* Gr. *οὐ* in *οὐ-τος*), \**nei-* 'not' i. e. \**ne* + the deictic particle *i* (Avest. *naē-ciš* 'no one' Lat. *nī* Lith. *nei*, cp. § 15). Even where this obscurity is found in more than one language it may often have arisen during the individual development of the languages in question: e. g. Skr. *pīḍāyāmi* 'I press' (pf. *pīḍā*) for \**pi-zd-*, Gr. *πιέζω* 'I press' for \**pi-sed-*, originally 'sit upon'; Lat. *crēdo* O.Ir. *cretim* 'I believe' beside Skr. *śrād dadhāmi* 'I believe, trust' (cp. § 160, 1). Examples peculiar to single groups of languages are: Skr. *nēd-īyas-* Avest. *nazd-yah-* 'nearer' for \**na-zd-*, originally either 'ἐπιζών, προσήμενος' (✓*sed-* 'sit') or 'approaching' (✓*sed-* 'go, move', Gr. *όδός*). Skr. *bhiṣāj-* 'physician', no doubt to be resolved into *bhi-ṣāj-* 'conjuror, magician', cp. *abhi-ṣajati* 'he bewitches, curses'. Gr. *ἐκατόμβη*, cp. Skr. *śata-gu-* 'having a hundred cows'. *δεσ-πότης* originally 'lord of the house', *δά-πεδο-ν* originally 'house-floor', see § 160, 2. *ὠκεανός* probably to be resolved into *ὠ-κεανός* 'lying around', and compared with Skr. *ā-śēti*, see § 66. *ὅπως ὅπως* 'how (soever)', *ὅττι ὅτι* 'what (soever)' for \**σφόδ πως, σφόδ τι*, cp. H.G. *sō hwēo*, *swie* 'howsoever' *sō hwer*, *swer* 'whosoever'. Lat. *sub super* for orig. \*(*e*)*ks-upo* \*(*e*)*ks-uper*, cp. Gr. *ἐξ-ύπερθε*. *ap-eriō op-eriō* beside Skr. *i-ṇōti* 'he moves something, makes away with it', with *apa* 'he makes away with, removes, opens'. *pergō* for \**per-regō*. *surpuī* for \**sub-rapuī*. *prōmō* for \**pro-emō*. *noenum nōn* for \**ne-oinom*. *superbu-s* for \**super-fu-o-s*, ✓*bheṃ-*, cp. Gr. *ὑπερ-φ-ιάλο-ς* I § 166 p. 147. Goth. preterite *frēt*

1) The *-sor-* in \**syesor-* seems to have been a root-syllable, but the word appears to have attached itself to nouns like \**bhrātor-* 'brother' \**dōtor-* 'giver' (§ 119 ff.), just as Gr. *καθ-ίζω* was associated with *πολεμίζω* etc. (p. 6).

O.H.G. *frāz* 'he devoured' from pr. Germ. *\*fra-ēti*, O.H.G. *hiutu* O.Sax. *hiudu* 'to-day' beside O.Sax. *hiudiga* A.S. *heódæg* for *\*hiu-dgu* = Goth. *hīa daga* 'on this day' (cp. Kluge, Paul Braune's Beitr. XII 376 f.). Mid.H.G. *bange* adv. 'anxiously' for *\*bi-ango*. Mid.H.G. *gunnen* for O.H.G. *gi-unnan* 'to give freely'. Mid.H.G. *niht* 'nothing' for O.H.G. *niwiht*, Goth. *ni valhts* 'not a whit'. Mod.H.G. *amt*, Goth. *and-bahti*, [Eng. *huzzy* O.E. *hūs-wif*.]

Obscured compounds of this kind will be treated along with the rest, although no doubt by this method words will often be classed together which were very differently regarded by the speakers of any given period.

Lastly, it should be observed that the terms Suffix and Prefix, particularly the latter, are sometimes used in the science of language with a far wider sense than that which has been here assigned to them. One of the members of a compound may be called suffix or prefix, as the case may be, simply because it appears with the same meaning in each one of a group of words. Thus we meet with such phrases as 'the compound *ἀνο-βαίνω* with the prefix *ἀνο*'.

§ 5. When one member of a compound has become a prefix or a suffix, the group of words which contains it generally creates similar forms, and is thus enlarged by analogy. The more general the significance of such an element, the more readily are words of the same type formed; take for example the extent to which *-heit -lich* (*mann-heit männ-lich*) have spread in Mod.H.G., and in Latin the future ending *-bō* (*calē-bō*), which is derived from Idg. *\*bhū-ō* (✓ *bheū-* 'become').

If a suffix or a prefix at a given epoch can be employed to produce new forms on the analogy of those already in existence, it is called fertile or living, and if not, barren or dead. Suffixes or prefixes which once had great vitality may die out, to be perpetuated only by memory in a certain number of examples, and no longer used for the formation of similar words. Thus the suffix *-ti-* (§ 99. 100), used in all the Indo-Germanic languages to form *nomina actionis*, was still fertile in protoethnic Germanic, but in the High German period was restricted to a

limited group of nouns, such as *zucht* 'breeding, discipline' *ankunft* 'advent' *geburt* 'birth'; its place has been taken principally by *-ung* (as in *schenk-ung* 'donation'), which still maintains its vitality. [In English it has been largely replaced by *-ness*, e. g. *drought dryness*, *dearth dearness*, *sloth slowness*]. In like manner the same suffix was dead in Latin by the beginning of the literary period (e. g. *messi-s*, *mors* stem *morti-*), and its place had been taken by *-tiōn-* (as *fissiō nātiō captatiō*), which is fertile even in late Latin. Again, *-o-*, in Homer still a living conjunctive suffix for verbs in *-μι* (*ῖο-μεν*, *ἄλε-ται*) came down to Attic Greek only in a few forms which had a future meaning, such as *ἔδομαι χέω*; in its place we find *-ω-*, which remained in active use throughout the classical period.

In an historical account of Indo-Germanic morphology this point must always be kept in view; and we are further bound to look for the reasons why one element used in forming words has died out and another taken its place. Thus for instance the suffix *-ti-* just mentioned fell out of use because it had split into several different forms by phonetic change; cp. Goth. *ansti- ga-baurpi- ga-mundi- ga-dēdi-* (pronounced *ga-dēdi*) *us-stassi-* (cp. § 100 under Germanic); so that the unity of the group was destroyed. But language always seeks like phonetic expression for like functions; and thus new suffixes of other and usually fuller form were preferred, and encroached more and more upon the old ones.

An adequate consideration of this aspect of Indo-Germanic Morphology is here impossible. Unfortunately the present position of the science of language precludes such an attempt, and, in any case, regard must be had to the due limits of this work.<sup>1)</sup>

1) In monographs on Word-Formation full justice has been done to it; see e. g. K. von Bahder in his work 'Die Verbalabstracta in den german. Sprachen', 1880. I may record my complete agreement with the principles laid down in his Introduction (pp. 1—9).

§ 6. In § 2 reduplication was mentioned as one of the factors in the formation of words in Indo-Germanic. This subject also calls for a few preliminary observations.<sup>1)</sup>

Here too we start from the juxta-position of two originally independent words. The same word is repeated twice or still oftener, to express repetition or lengthened duration of a process, or such ideas as universality and intensity. At every stage of the developement of the Indo-Germanic languages, so far as they can be traced, we find this process going on; and it is undoubtedly as old as human speech itself. Now no hard and fast line can be drawn between the mere repetition of a word independently and the new single word arising from the coalescence of the original with its echo, if only because the aim of the repetition is nearly always such that the resulting form has the nature of a compound. Cp. Skr. *piba-piba* 'drink!' (Rgv. II 11, 11 *piba-pibéd indra śura sōma* 'drink, drink the soma, mighty Indra'), *divé-divē* 'day by day', *prá-pra* 'on and on', *yátha-yathā* 'howsoever'; Gr. *πάμ-παν* 'altogether', *προ-προ-κυλινδόμενος* 'rolling on and on' (Hom.), *μᾶλλον μᾶλλον* 'magis magisque', *πλέον πλέον* 'more and more'; Lat. *mane mane*, *audī* (Plaut. Asin. 229);

1) Compare: A. F. Pott, *Doppelung (Reduplication, Geminatio) als eines der wichtigsten Bildungsmittel der Sprachen*, beleuchtet aus Sprachen aller Welttheile, Lemgo und Detmold 1862. — G. Gerland, *Intensiva und Iterativa und ihr Verhältniss zu einander*, Leipz. 1869. — The Author, *Über die sogenannte gebrochene Reduplication in den indogermanischen Sprachen*, Curtius' Stud. VII. 185 ff. 273 ff. — H. Osthoff, *Über λal- und lul-*, zwei Fälle gebrochener Reduplication, *ibid.* VIII 449 ff. — Id., *Zur Reduplicationslehre*, Paul und Braune's Beitr. VIII 540 ff. — A. Bezzenberger, *Zur Beurtheilung der attischen Reduplication*, in his Beitr. III 309 ff. — H. Collitz, *Über eine besondere Art vedischer Composita* ['Iterativcomposita'], *Verhandl. des 5. internat. Orientalisten-Congresses II*, Berlin 1882, p. 287 ff. — Leo Meyer, *Vergl. Gramm. d. griech. und lat. Spr.* I<sup>2</sup> 1093 ff. — Hainebach, *De Graecae linguae reduplicatione praeter perfectum*, Gissae 1847. — R. Fritzsche, *Quaestiones de reduplicatione Graeca*, Curtius' stud. VI 277 ff. — C. Jacoby, *Die Reduplication im Lateinischen*, Danzig 1878. — E. Wölfflin, *Die Geminatio im Lateinischen*, *Sitzungsber. der bair. Akad.* 1882, p. 422 ff. — Fr. Diez, *Geminatio und Ablaut im Romanischen*, Höfer's Zeitschr. für die Wissensch. der Sprache, 1851, p. 397 ff. — A. Bezzenberger, *Zur Lehre von der Reduplication im Litauischen*, in his Beitr. I 252 f.

*jam jam, semper semper, quis-quis, ut-ut*, Ital. *colpo colpo, piccolo piccolo*.

In this way repeated words had been fused into single forms even before the inflexional period of the Indo-Germanic parent language; and there is nothing to prevent our referring immediately to this oldest type of reduplication any words in the descendant languages in which the whole root is repeated; e. g. Skr. *gár-gar-a-s* 'eddy' *dár-dar-ti* 'he shatters, breaks up', Gr. *ῥᾶρ-ῥαρ-ος* 'speaking unintelligibly' *ἄγ-αγ-τιν* 'lead on', Lat. *quer-quer-u-s murmur*, O.C.Sl. *glagolŭ* 'noise, word' for *\*gol-gol-ŭ* (I § 281 p. 224).

Where, however, the reduplication is part of the structure of a simple word, full reduplication (*reduplicatio integra*) is comparatively rare. As a rule there is hardly more than a suggestion of the repetition, '*reduplicatio mutila*', e. g. in the perfect forms Skr. *ri-rĕc-a* Gr. *λέ-λοιπ-ε* 'he has left', Lat. *tu-tud-it*, Goth. *ga-rat-rōþ* 'he applied himself', and in Skr. *śi-śir-a-s* 'cold, frost', O.H.G. *fi-faltra* 'butterfly'.

It is usually the former of the two syllables which has this abbreviated form. It is then regarded in the speaker's consciousness as a prefix, like the adverb *é*, the so-called 'augment' (cp. Gr. *ἔ-φειρον* : *πέ-φειρα*) and other degraded initial elements of compound words (*reduplicatio praefixa*). This mode of regarding it was supported by the unreduplicated forms which usually existed side by side with it; these the speaker's thought connected into one group (e. g. *πέφειρα* beside *φένγω φεύξομαι φυγή* etc.). Where the simple form corresponding to a reduplicated form had died out, or if it survived had lost all connexion with it in the mind of the speaker, the reduplication had not so clearly the stamp of a prefix; e. g. Skr. *jā-gar-mi* 'I watch', Gr. *Π-γᾶς* (*Π-γαν-*), Lat. *me-mor me-moria*, Skr. *da-dru-* A.S. *te-ter* Lith. *de-dervinė* 'pustular eruption'.

Less frequently the second element of the reduplicated form is debased (*reduplicatio suffixa*). The commonest example is what is called 'broken reduplication', e. g. Skr. *dar-d-ŭ-* 'eruption on the skin' Lat. *derbiōsu-s* for *der-d-ŭ-* (I § 170 p. 150) beside Skr. *dar-dar-a* 'burst' and the Skr. *da-dru-* etc. already mentioned,

Gr. *μορ-μ-ώ* 'bogie' beside *μόρ-μορ-ος* 'fear', *πόρ-π-η* 'needle, clasp' beside *περόρη* 'clasp' *περάω* 'I pierce', Lat. *bal-b-u-s* beside Skr. *bal-bala-karōmi* 'I speak stammeringly', *gur-g-es* beside *gur-gul-iō*, Lith. *mūr-m-iu* 'I growl' beside Lat. *mur-mur*. Here nothing of the nature of a suffix could arise because there were no clearly defined groups of words with which these single forms might have become respectively connected, as was the case in the reduplication of the perfect. Only where there was some accidental phonetic resemblance to an already existing suffix did the element of reduplication assume the character of a suffix; e. g. Goth. *val-v-ja* 'I roll' (resembling *ufar-skad-v-ja*): cp. Gr. *ἐλ-ελ-ίζω*; and this often occurred in examples of *reduplicatio integra* and of *reduplicatio praefixa* as well, if the last element happened to sound like some suffix: e. g. Mid.H.G. Mod.H.G. *murmeln* = O.H.G. *murmulōn mur-mur-ōn* (Lat. *mur-mur-āre*) like *lisp-eln schau-eln hand-eln*; Skr. *cakrā-m* 'circle, wheel' Gr. *κύκλω* 'circle' A.S. *hweowol* 'wheel' (Idg. *\*qe-ql-o-*) like Skr. *abh-rā-m* 'cloud' Gr. *ἀθ-λο-ς* 'contest' A.S. *tung-ol* 'star'; Mod.H.G. *zittere zittre* (for pr. Germ. *\*ti-trō-mi*) like *schnatt-ere schnatt-re zimm-ere zimm-re*; Mod.H.G. *thät* (for O.H.G. *te-ta*, reduplicated perfect) like *schau-t'*.

Remark. How are the types *de-der-* (*di-der-*) and *der-d-* related in their origin to the full form *der-der-*? First as regards *de-der-*, Pott and other scholars may be right in assuming that this is not a phonetic corruption of *der-der-*, but a mere 'suggestion' of the complete syllable, which was felt to be enough. *de-der-*, they maintain, is equivalent to *der-der-* in intention though not in fact, and there is no need to assume that such a form as *der-der-* preceded it. They point to such words in colloquial French as *mé-mère* 'little mother' *bé-bête* 'beastie' *Ba-barpe* 'Bab' (dimin. of 'Barbara') *Cha-chale* 'Charlie' as examples of the same principle. In single instances, however, phonetic change may have produced this type of formation, such a form as *der-dr-o-* becoming *de-dr-o* by dissimilation. Again, in the process of broken reduplication different agencies may have been at work, and in any case the examples of this kind have not all the same history. Here too dissimilation may sometimes have been the cause; *der-d-o-* may stand for *der-dr-o-*. And sometimes *der-der-o* may have been unconsciously resolved into *derd-ero-*, and thus being associated with words of the same type as Skr. *pat-ara-* 'flying', may have given rise to new formations in which *derd-* was taken as the 'root'.

It should be remembered that we are here discussing only the ultimate origin of these different kinds of reduplication. When for instance such a form a *de-der-* had once been evolved it became a creative type, and the later examples (e. g. all extant reduplicated perfect forms) are — directly or indirectly — mere analogical formations, made on the model of those in which the genuine process of development had taken place.

We have still to mention one more resemblance between these forms and compounds in the strict sense. In reduplicated words, as well as compounds, the real nature of the form may be obscured in some way or another, especially by phonetic change, and the result is a word which the speaker supposes to be absolutely simple (disregarding of course derivative suffixes, and any case-endings that may be in existence at the time); e. g. Skr. *sēd-* (in the perf. indic. 1. pl. *sēd-imá* opt. 3. sing. *sēd-yā-t* = Avest. *ha-zd-yā-p* etc.) Lat. *sēd-* (in *sēd-imus sēd-are*) for Idg. *\*se-zd-* i. e. *\*se-sd-* from  $\sqrt{\text{sed-}}$  'sit'; Lat. *ser-ō* 'I sow' for *\*si-sō* cp. Gr. *ἴημι* for *\*σι-ση-μι*,  $\sqrt{\text{sē-}}$ ; Mod.H.G. *beb-t* = O.H.G. *bibē-t*, Skr. *bī-bhē-ti* 'he fears'; another example which must be as old as the proethnic period is the perfect stem *\*ēd-* (1. pl. Skr. *ad-imá* Lat. *ēd-imus* Goth. *ēt-um*, Lith. part. *ēd-ęs*) for *\*e-ed-* from  $\sqrt{\text{ed-}}$  'eat'.

§ 7. Lastly, we must consider Vowel-Gradation (Ablaut, see I § 307 ff. p. 244 ff.) as a factor in the formation of Indo-Germanic words.

This appears in elements of all kinds: in root syllables, e. g. *i- ej-* 'go' Gr. *ἵ-μεν εἶ-μι*; in suffixes used to form noun-stems, e. g. *-tr- -ter-* Gr. *πα-τρ-ός πα-τέρ-ες*, or verb-stems, e. g. the present suffix *-nu- ney-* Skr. *ci-nu-más ci-nō-mi*; in case-endings, e. g. the genitive ending *-s -es -os* Skr. *sūnō-ś* O.C.Sl. *nebes-e* (for *\*-es*) Gr. *νεφέ-ος*; in personal endings, e. g. 3. sing. *-ti -tai* Gr. *δίδω-σι δίδω-ται*; and in the *reduplicatio praefixa*, e. g. Skr. pres. imper. act. *ci-kiddhi* indic. med. (intens.) *cē-kitē* from *cit-* 'perceive'.

We saw in vol. I (loc. cit.) that vowel-gradation, a mechanical consequence of shifting accent, has quite as little to do with morphological differences of function as any other phonetic variations which arose within a given group of forms through



the action of what is called phonetic law. For instance, the *o*-form of ablaut which appears in the root-syllable of perfect forms like *\*de-dork-e* *\*le-loiǵ-e* (Gr. *δέδορκε λείλοιπε*), as distinguished from *\*derk-* *\*leiǵ-* and *\*dǵk-* *\*liǵ-* in other forms of the verbal system, had originally no more connexion with the meaning of the perfect, nor had the *e*-form of ablaut, found in the formative suffix in the accusatives *\*pə-ter-ŋi* *\*mā-ter-ŋi* (Gr. *πατέρα μητέρα*) etc., as distinguished from *-tr-* *-tǵ-* in other cases, originally any more connexion with the notion conveyed by the accusative, than (say) the *σ* of the second persons *οἶσ-θα ἴσ-τε*, as contrasted with the *δ* of the 1. and 3. persons *οἶδα ἴδμεν οἶδε*, had to do with the distinction of persons. But the arbitrary phonetic differences produced by ablaut in the various groups of forms often acquired in time a special meaning, the particular phases of ablaut becoming closely attached to the particular idea conveyed by the whole word, and appropriated to this or that function in connexion with it. This is most clearly seen when such formative elements as had served, either solely or primarily, to distinguish the meaning of a particular form from that of other members of the same group, have been lost, thus leaving only the ablaut to indicate the meaning; e. g. Mid.H.G. 1. pl. pres. *binden* 'we bind' pret. *bunden* 'we bound' = Goth. *bindam bundum*, Idg. present stem *\*bhendho-* preterite stem *\*bhebhǵdh-*; Goth. acc. *aúhsan* dat. (loc.) *aúhsin* (nom. *aúhsa* 'ox') = Skr. *ukṣāṇ-am* (*ukṣāṇ-am*) *ukṣāṇ-i*; Goth. acc. *fadar brōþur* dat. *fadr brōþr* cp. Gr. *πατέρα πατρ-ί*. Thus even in proethnic Indo-Germanic the vowel-grade *-tēr-* e. g. *\*pōtēr* 'father' (Gr. *πατήρ*) had become in the nom. sing. the chief exponent of the special meaning of the case, as opposed to the voc. sing., Gr. *πάτερ*, and differences of ablaut like *δέρκοιτο δόρατοι*, *λείποι λipoι* had become connected with different kinds of action (continuous as opposed to momentary). In the same way other phonetic differences which had arisen accidentally became the exponents of different meanings. For example, in the masculine *i*-declension in Old High German it so happened that the whole plural had come to have the modified vowel: *gesti* etc. as opposed

to the sing. *gast*. The cases of the plural had originally been sufficiently distinguished from the singular by other means. But later on final *-e* was lost in Upper Germany, and partly so in Central Germany; and hence the modified vowel became, and still is, the sole sign of the distinction of number in the nom. and acc.: sing. *gast* pl. *gest* (*gäst*). Afterwards on this analogy *täg* was formed as a plural for *tag*, and *ärm* for *arm* etc.

In this way a definite phase of vowel-gradation in the Indo-Germanic languages has often become the mark of some definite meaning; so that the relations of Ablaut are of special importance in any account of their morphology.

In accordance with what has been previously said (I § 310) we distinguish 'Strong' and 'Weak' forms in the elements of which words are built up. The weak form shows the vocalism of the Lower or Weak Grade of Ablaut, the strong form that of the Higher or Strong Grade, and in each class again there are differences, which in forms of the strong grade may be very considerable (cp. e. g. I § 311).

The simplest of all the phenomena of vowel-gradation are those which appear in the terminations denoting case and person.

In the formation of stems, especially those of nouns, very complicated relations have sometimes arisen, chiefly because the original differences of gradation have been readjusted in course of the various processes of 'levelling' which the forms have undergone in one direction or another. Some such readjustments must have taken place soon after the differences in gradation had first appeared, i. e. long before the protoethnic language had broken up; and since then the process has been continually repeated. In this branch of our enquiry we can scarcely hope for anything like complete success in investigating the original distribution of the different phases of Ablaut.

Yet in a considerable number of groups of forms we have attained to a fair degree of certainty, and can even now reproduce, in all essential points, the vowel-gradation shown by the stem at the period of the first separation of the tribes. In many classes of noun-stems the formative suffix had Strong-Grade vocalism in

the nom. acc. voc. loc. sing., in the nom. acc. du., and in the nom. (no doubt also acc.) pl., e. g. Gr. *πα-τήρ* *πα-τέρ-α* *πά-τερ* *πα-τέρ-ι*, *πα-τέρ-ε*, *πα-τέρ-ες* *πα-τέρ-ας*; and in the other cases that of the Weak Grade, e. g. *πα-τρ-ός*, *πα-τρ-ῶν* *πα-τρά-σι*. And similar distinctions hold good to some extent in the stem-syllable of root-nouns, e. g. Skr. *pát* *pád-am* *pád-as* as opposed to *pad-é* *pad-ás* etc. The terms used to distinguish these forms are Strong and Weak Cases respectively; a more detailed account is reserved for the sections dealing with Case-formation. In the verbal system, the three singular persons of the active generally had the strong form, and the plural and dual of the active with the whole of the middle had the weak form; and indeed this difference appears equally in root-syllables, e. g. Gr. *εἶ-μι* *ἴ-μεν*, in suffixes of Tense, e. g. Gr. *δάμ-νῃ-μι* *δάμ-να-μεν*; and of Mood, e. g. Gr. *εἰ-ρή-ν* *εἰ-ρή-μεν* (\**ἔσ-ιη-ν* \**ἔσ-ι-μεν*).

§ 8. We have seen in the foregoing pages that the Indo-Germanic formative system in all its branches is really based upon composition. This being the case, the task of systematic morphology is to exhibit, first the processes of composition which gave rise both to what are usually known as compounds, and to all formations containing elements of the nature of suffixes or prefixes; and secondly, the developement of the analogical formations which are associated with these. It is clear however that this task can only be very imperfectly accomplished.

The furthest point to which we can trace the past history of Indo-Germanic speech, without entering upon a region of the merest conjecture, is an epoch when, so far as we can judge, many elements originally independent had become so completely lost in composition as to show no vestige of their original character, either in meaning or in form. The instinct of the language for the particular kind or kinds of composition by which these elements had assumed the shape in which we find them had by that time completely died out, and it is hence very probable that there had already been a good deal of shifting and displacement. It is therefore impossible for us to say whether any given formative element ever existed independently in

precisely the form which it has when we remove it from its surroundings, or whether one or other of its sounds may not have been a later accretion which originally formed no part of it (cp. Mod. HG. *-keit*, I § 14 p. 16, [Eng. *-ology* in *ge-ology*, cp. *theo-logy*], Lat. *-cĕtu-m* in *būcĕtu-m busticĕtu-m*, which was abstracted from such forms as *nuc-ĕu-m ilic-ĕtu-m*). 'By that time, too, hundreds of complex forms may have become simple units both in use and in appearance, so that, strictly speaking, we cannot be sure that any one formative element which we regard as a unit in morphology was really a simple form to start with. In modern times we are not in a position to determine what the actual processes of composition may have been — they were certainly many in number — whose work began and ended before the proethnic community was dissolved: all that can be done is to accept as data their after effects, direct and indirect. I would take this opportunity of once more calling attention to a point on which I have already laid stress (vol. I p. 17 f.). The formative elements which date from the proethnic period we call by such names as 'root', 'suffix', 'prefix'; but this does not imply that they were originally independent words. Thus the division of a word by hyphens, e. g. *\*seq-e-taĭ* (Gr. *ἐπ-ε-ται* Skr. *sác-a-tē*), merely indicates the parts which the speaker probably regarded respectively as the kernel of a whole group of forms (*seq-*), or as a formative element used in different words with the same special function (*-e-* and *-taĭ*).

Among the forms that serve to show the method of formation which prevailed in the parent language there are comparatively few in which we can feel sure that our analysis actually agrees with the original process of composition, so that the hyphen really marks the point where the word originally divided. We feel most confidence in analysing reduplicated formations like Skr. *dár-darti*; next, in the case of the augment, e. g. *\*é-dŕkom* 'I saw' (Gr. *ἐ-δρανον*); and the same may be said of some of the personal endings, as *-mi -maĭ, -ti -taĭ*, e. g. *eĭ-mi* 'I go' (Gr. *εἶ-μι*), since these are no doubt connected with *\*me-* 'I' *\*to-* 'the, that'.

The case is different with later compounds formed after

the first division of the language had taken place; e. g. Skr. *ekacittī-bhavanti* 'they become of one mind' Lat. *calē-bō* for \**calē fuō*. Here, unless the contrary is expressly stated, our hyphens always imply the assertion that in the case of the oldest examples of any formation which gave the type for the whole group, each of the parts thus separated was once really an independent word.

Remark 1. Of late years much labour and ingenuity has been spent in the attempt to determine the original form of Indo-Germanic 'roots', especially since the publication of de Saussure's suggestive *Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles* (Leipz. 1879). This subject, important as it undoubtedly is, I must dismiss with only a reference in passing, because of the grievous uncertainty of the theories hitherto advanced; nor do I wish to suggest to the beginner that he need at the outset give any special attention to the question. I still feel wholly uncertain whether Idg. \**aġe-aġo-* (Gr. pres. *ἄγε-τε* *āgo-uēr*, subst. *ἄγέ* *āgō-*) was earlier or later than \**aġ-* (Gr. *ἄν-ακ-ρό-*;) and Idg. \**ġenə-* (Skr. *jani-tār-*) than \**ġen-* (Skr. *jān-man-*), whether the shorter form came from the fuller or whether the latter was derived from the former by the addition of *-e-* *-o-* and *-ə-*. The relation of Idg. \**plē-* (Lat. *plē-nu-s*) to \**pel-* (Goth. *fil-u* Skr. *pī-par-ti*) is also quite obscure. \**plē-* may be regarded as standing for an older form \**pelē-*, and its *-ē-* as an element not originally belonging to the root. But we may equally well regard \**pelē-* as the original simple root-word from which all shorter forms have been derived. The authorities are cited by Hübschmann, *Das indogerm. Vocalsystem* p. 181 ff., Johansson, *De derivatis verbis contractis linguae Graecae* p. 82 sqq. 93 sqq., Bezzenberger, *Götting. gel. Anz.* 1887 p. 417.

Remark 2. Another question much discussed is that of the so-called 'root determinatives'. Certain consonants frequently appear as the final sound of roots in a larger or smaller number of the words which belong to them. E. g. *-dh-* in Skr. *rā-dh-a-ti* 'brings about, prepares, satisfies' Goth. *ga-rē-d-an* 'to reflect upon something' O.C.Sl. *ra-d-iti* 'to reflect upon, care for' beside Lat. *rē-rī*, *ra-tiō* Goth. *ra-þjō* 'ratio'; Gr. *πύ-θ-ω* 'putrefy' beside *πύ-ορ* 'pus'; O.C.Sl. *i-d-a-* 'go' beside Gr. *εἰ-μι* 'I go'; further, in the suffixes *-dh-ro-* *-dh-lo-* *-dh-mo-* (see § 77). *-s-* in \**kleu-s-* 'to hear' Skr. *śru-ṣ-ṭi-ṣ* 'courtesy, readiness' part. *śrō-ṣ-a-māna-s* O.Ir. *cluas* 'ear' (I § 516 p. 377) A.S. *hlū-s-t* 'hearing' O.C.Sl. *slu-ch-ū* 'act of hearing, hearing' beside \**kleu-* Skr. part. *śru-tā-s* Gr. *κλυ-ρό-* etc., and in \**ten-s-* 'extend, stretch out' Skr. *tsáyati* 'he pulls this way and that' *vī-tasti-ṣ* 'span' O.H.G. *dinsan* 'to drag, trail' Lith. *tesiu* 'I stretch' beside *ten-* Skr. fut. *taniṣyá-ti* Gr. *τετει* etc. The use of this *-s-* became widely extended in the Aorist and Future and also in Desiderative formations; it may also be etymologically connected with the *-es-* in Gr. *ξέν-* (*ξένω* 'I scrape, smooth' aor. *ξέσασα*) beside *ξέν-* (*ξύνω*) and *qes-* (Lith. *kas-aū* 'I scratch' O.C.Sl. *čes-ati* 'to comb, curry'); in *ap-es-* (*απέσ-μαι* 'to quench') beside *ap-η-* (*ἔ-σβη* 'was quenched') and *seq-* (Lat. *sēgni-s* etc.); in *u-es-* (Lat. *ves-ti-s*) beside *ey-* (Lat. *ind-uō*

Lith. *au-nù aũ-ti*), and many similar forms. *-ey-* *-u-* may sometimes be regarded in the same way, e. g. in *srey-* 'flow' (Skr. *srár-a-ti* Gr. *ῥεῖ*) beside *sev-* 'move forward' (Skr. *sár-a-ti* 'goes, flows' Gr. *ὀρε-μῆ* 'haste, impulse'). There need be no hesitation in assuming that in such instances we are dealing with elements which were not originally integral parts of the primitive word, or 'root', and that therefore, in parallel forms which we find without them, they have not been lost, but simply never existed. The name we give them — determinatives, formative suffixes, or what not — is a matter of no importance. Their origin and their original value are obscure. Where, as *-s-* in the aorist, they have a definite grammatical function, they may be named accordingly. Thus I describe *-s-* in *ῥεῖx-a* as an aorist-suffix, although I take it for granted that this element had originally nothing to do with the meaning of the aorist; but in doing so I imply no more than in calling e. g. *-mini* in Lat. *legimini* (= *λεγο-μενοι* § 71) a suffix of the second person plural.

## FORMATION AND INFLECTION OF NOMINAL (AND PRONOMINAL) STEMS.

§ 9. Our discussion so far has led us to the conclusion, that in the Indo-Germanic languages the first step towards a complete inflexional system is to be seen in the nominal compounds whose first member is an uninflected stem, and reduplicated nouns in which neither of the two members has sunk to the level of an inflexional element; that is, if we consider them apart from their case-suffixes and from any further derivative elements or other particles which may have become attached to them. It seems appropriate, then, to begin our account of the Morphology of Nouns, by treating first of Compound Words and of Reduplicated Forms.

### COMPOSITION OF NOUNS (NOUN-COMPOUNDS).<sup>1)</sup>

#### THE COMPOUNDS CONSIDERED IN RESPECT OF THEIR FORM.

§ 10. We may distinguish four classes of compound forms:

I. Compounds whose first part is the stem of an inflected noun or pronoun, e. g. Gr. *μονο-γενής* compared with *μόνος*;

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1) F. Bopp, Vergleich. Gramm. III<sup>3</sup> § 962 ff. F. Justi, Über die Zusammensetzung der Nomina in den idg. Sprachen, Göttingen 1861.

II. Compounds whose first part is a word which never admits of inflexion in any period of the history of the Indo-

L. Tobler, *Über die Wortzusammensetzung nebst einem Anhang über die verstärkenden Zusammensetzungen*, Berlin 1868. F. Meunier, *Les composés syntactiques en Grec, en Latin, en Français etc.*, Paris 1872. G. Meyer, *Beiträge zur Stammbildungslehre des Griech. und Latein.*, Curtius' Stud. V 1 ff.; *Die Dvandva-Zusammensetzung im Griech. und Latein.*, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXII 1 ff. L. Schroeder, *Über die formelle Unterscheidung der Redetheile im Griech. und Latein. mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Nominalcomposita*, Leipz. 1874; *Die Accentgesetze der homer. Nominalcomposita*, dargestellt und mit denen des Veda verglichen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIV 101 ff. H. Osthoff, *Das Verbum in der Nominalcomposition im Deutsch., Griech. Slav. und Roman.*, Jena 1878. The Author, *Erstarre Nominative*, Curt. Stud. IX 259 ff. — Aryan: W. D. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar* § 1246 ff. R. Garbe, *Das Accentuationsystem des aind. Nominalcompositums*, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIII 470 ff. F. Knauer, *Über die Betonung der Comp. mit a priv. im Sanskrit*, ibid. XXVII 1 ff. F. Spiegel, *Gramm. der altbaktr. Sprache* p. 102 ff. F. Justi, *Handb. der Zendsprache* p. 377 ff. F. Spiegel, *Altpers. Keilinschr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 171. — Greek: D. Pezzi, *La lingua greca antica*, 1888, p. 169 sqq. R. Roediger, *De priorum membrorum in nominibus Graecis compositis conformatione*, Leipz. 1866. W. Clemm, *De comp. Graecis quae a verbis incipiunt*, Giessen 1867; *Die neuesten Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der griech. Comp.*, Curt. Stud. VII 1 ff. F. Heerdegen, *De nominum compositorum Graecorum inprimis Homericorum generibus*, Berl. 1868. G. Meyer, *De nominibus Graecis compositis*, Breslau 1871; *Zur griech. Nominalcomposition*, Curt. Stud. VI 247 ff. K. Zacher, *De prioris nominum compositorum Graecorum partis formatione*, Halle 1873; *Zur griech. Nominalcomposition*, Breslauer philol. Abhandlungen I, Breslau 1886. F. Fügner, *De nominibus Graecis cum praepositione copulatis capita selecta*, Leipz. 1878. O. Neckel, *De nominibus Graecis compositis quorum prior pars casuum formas continet*, Leipz. 1882. R. Schroeter, *Quas formas nominum themata sigmatica in vocabulis compositis Graecis induant*, Köthen 1883. For other references see E. Hübner's *Grundr. zu Vorlesungen über die griech. Syntax*, p. 29 ff. — Latin: R. Kühner, *Ausführl. Gramm. d. latein. Sprache* I p. 693 ff. F. Stolz, *Die latein. Nominalcomposition in formaler Hinsicht*, Innsbruck 1877. F. Ulrich, *Die Composita bei Plautus*, Halle 1884. F. Skutsch, *De nominum Latinorum compositione quaestiones selectae*, Neisse 1888. For other references see E. Hübner's *Grundriss zu Vorlesungen über die latein. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> p. 43 f. — Keltic: J. C. Zeuss, *Gramm. Celt.*<sup>2</sup> p. 853 sqq. — Germanic: J. Grimm, *Deutsche Gramm.* II (1878) 303 ff. F. Kluge, *Verbalpartikeln in der Zusammensetzung*, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 68 ff. und 328, *Lautverschiebung in zusammengesetzten Worten*, ibid. 82 ff. J. Kremer, *Behandlung der ersten Compositionsglieder im german. Nominalcompositum*, Paul und Braune's

Germanic languages accessible to our investigation, and only appears in compounds, e. g. Gr. ἄ-βατος;

III. Compounds whose first part is an old adverbial word (with or without case-ending), which was also used uncompounded, e. g. Gr. ἐπί-θετος compared with ἐπι (ἐπὶ);

IV. Compounds whose first part is either a case-form which when it first entered into composition was a living member of some case-system, or an adverb which had only become such during the developement of the separate languages, and had the force of an adverb at the time when it was compounded; e. g. Gr. Διός-κουροι and παν-αίολος.

No differences in principle are implied by this classification. It is chiefly intended as a convenient means of survey. In the course of the developement of the different languages, the boundaries of the various classes often wavered considerably, and here and there new formations arose which departed widely from the type originally proper to their particular class.

Classe I and IV are often contrasted as 'genuine' and 'spurious' compounds. The latter are also called Juxtaposita.

### Proethnic Indo-Germanic.

§ 11. Class I. This type of formation was certainly represented by a large number of examples in the Indo-Germanic period, although there are not many compounds which occur simultaneously in different branches of the derived lan-

Beitr. VIII 371 ff. Th. Storch, Angelsächs. Nominalcomposita, Strassb. 1886. — Balto-Slavonic: J. Kremer, Behandlung der Suffixe in der Fuge nominaler Zusammensetzungen im Litauischen, Bezzenberger's Beitr. VII 8 ff. C. Pauli, Die Composition [in Prussian], Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VII 209 ff. A. Alexandrow, Litauische Studien I, Nominalzusammensetzungen, Dorpat 1888. — F. Miklosich, Vergleich. Gramm. II 347 ff.; Die nominale Zusammensetzung im Serbischen, Denkschr. der Wiener Akad. XIII 1 ff. Baudouin de Courtenay, Wortformen und selbst Sätze, welche in der polnischen Sprache zu Stämmen herabgesunken sind, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VI 204 ff.



guages, and therefore may reasonably be classed here. Several have a numeral for their first member; e. g. Skr. *dvi-pád-* Gr. *δι-πους* Lat. *bi-pēs* A.S. *twi-fēte* 'two-footed'; Skr. *tri-dánt-* *tri-dánt-* Lat. *tri-dēns* 'three-toothed'; Skr. *śata-pád-* Lat. *centi-pēs* 'hundred-footed'. O.Pers. *hama-pitar-* Gr. *ὁμο-πάτωρ ὁμο-πάτριος* O.Icel. *sam-feðr* 'having the same father, a common father'; Gr. *ὁμό-γνιος* Goth. *sama-kunja-* see I § 142. p. 128. Avest. *pouru-nar-* Gr. *πολυ-άνωρ* 'rich in men'; Skr. *puru-dāsas-* 'rich in wondrous deeds' Gr. *πολυ-δῆρεια* *πολύβουλον, πολύμητιν* (Hesych.). Gr. *ὤκυ-πους* Lat. *acu-pedius* 'swift-footed'; Skr. *aśu-pátvan-* Gr. *ὤκυ-πέτης* 'swiftly flying' Lat. *\*acu-piter*, which popular etymology changed to *accipiter*, as though from *accipiō*, and even to *acceptor*. Skr. *ny-mánas-* 'having the mind of a man', Gr. *Ἀνδρο-μένης*. Skr. *nāvajá-* i. e. *nāva* + *ajā-* 'driving ships, seaman', Lat. *navigō* 'I navigate' from *\*nāv-igo-* 'driving ships'. It is to be noticed that these formations scarcely ever correspond exactly; we have usually to suppose that analogy has modified the forms in the separate languages (e. g. Gr. *Ἀνδρο-μένης* instead of *\*ἀνδρα-*, see § 29).

### § 12. The termination of the first member.

Stems in *-o-* had *-o-*, cp. Gr. *ἵππo-δαμος* 'taming horses', (Gall. *Dēvo-gnata* (*dēvo-* 'god'), Goth. *garda-valdunds* 'master of the house', Lith. *gera-dėjis* O.C.Sl. *dobro-dějŭ* 'benefactor'. Whether *-e-* occurred as well as *-o-* (cp. Gr. *Ἀγέ-λαος* beside *ἀγό-*, see § 29. 30) is doubtful. The final vowel of the stem seems to have remained unchanged even where the second part of the compound began with a vowel: Skr. Ved. *yuktá-aśva-* 'who has horses yoked', O.C.Sl. *bělo-okŭ* 'white-eyed' (cp. also Pruss. *dago-augis* 'young sprig of a tree' *deina-algenika-mans* dat. pl. 'to day-labourers'), see I § 600 p. 453.

Stems in *-ā-*, in compounds formed in the separate families of language, sometimes end in *-ā-*, and sometimes have the same form as the *o-* stems. The former is frequent in Aryan and Greek, rare in Latin and Lithuanian: Skr. *urvāra-jŭt-* 'gaining arable land' Avest. *daēnā-vazah-* (proper name) from

*daenā-* 'law, faith', Gr. *βουλή-γόρος* 'giving counsel', Lat. *fabā-ginus* 'proceeding from beans', Lith. *sziksznó-sparnis* 'bat' (properly 'leather-winged creature'). The *-o-* form is not uncommon in Aryan and Greek; it preponderates in Latin and Lithuanian; and in Keltic, Germanic and Slavonic it is the only form found: Skr. Ved. *ukha-chid-* 'breaking the pot' from *ukhā-*, Avest. *gaḍa-para-* 'wielding a club' from *gaḍa-* (= Skr. *gadā-*), Gr. *ἔλο-τόμος* 'felling timber' from *ἔλγῃ*, Lat. *alī-pēs* from *ala*, Gall. *Teuto-bōdiacī* beside O.Ir. *tuath* f. 'people' ground-form *\*teutā*, Goth. *atrpa-kunds* 'of earthly origin' from *airpa*, Lith. *galvā-raisztis* 'headband' from *galvā*, O.C.Sl. *glavo-bolije* 'headache' from *glava*. From these data I do not venture to draw any definite conclusion for the proethnic period. It seems to me, however, improbable that the transition from *-ā-* to *-o-* took place independently in all the different languages. Indeed it is certain that the latter was the regular form in proethnic Indo-Germanic when the compound consisted of an adjective + a feminine substantive: Skr. *priya-bhārya* 'beloved wife', Gr. *ἀκρό-πολις* 'upper part of a city', O.Ir. *sen-mathir* 'old mother, grand-mother' from *\*seno-* (cp. however § 39), O.H.G. *junc-frouwa* 'young lady' for *\*jungo-*, Lith. *jaunā-motė* 'young woman' *sen-motė* 'old mother, grand-mother' for *\*sena-* (cp. O.Ir. *sen-mathir*), O.C.Sl. *plūno-luna* 'full moon'.

Stems in *-ī-* and *-ū-* had *-ī-*, *-ū-* before consonants and *ī-*, *ū-* before sonants. Skr. *dhī-jāvana-s* 'exciting devotion, inspiring', *bhrū-kupī-ś* 'frown'. Skr. *śriy-aditya-* (man's name) from *śrī-*, Gr. *σῦ-αγχος* 'choking swine' from *σῦ-ς*. Compare Skr. instr. pl. *dhī-śū* beside instr. sing. *dhīy-ā*.

Stems in *-i-*, *-u-*, nasals, liquids, and such of the stems in explosives as were declined with vowel-gradation had regularly the weak form of ablaut, from the proethnic period onwards, in compounds as well as in derivatives (e. g. Gr. *βαρυ-δαίμων* like *βαρύ-της*, Skr. *pīṭṭ-dēva-s* like *pīṭṭ-tva-m*).

Stems in *-i-* and *-u-* had *-i-*, *-u-* before consonants. Skr. *tri-pād-* Gr. *τρί-πους* Lat. *tri-pēs* A.S. *āri-fēte* 'three-footed', Gall. *tri-garanus* 'with three cranes', Lith. *tri-kójis* 'creature with three

feet' O.C.Sl. *trǐ-zabŭ* 'trident, three-prong'. Skr. *agni-dhāna-m* 'receptacle for fire', Lat. *igni-fer*. Proper names containing \**yēsu-* 'good': Skr. *vāsu-rōciṣ-* Avest. *vohu-raocah-*, Gall. *Visu-rīx* (woman's name) O.H.G. *Wisu-rīch*. Skr. *paśu-pā-s* 'cattle-keeper' Goth. *faihu-friks* 'covetous' Gr. ἡδύ-(F)επής 'speaking sweetly' Skr. *svādu-rāti-ṣ* 'bestowing beautiful gifts', Lat. *manu-festus*, Gall. *Catu-rīges* ('battle-kings') O.Cymr. *Cat-mōr*, O.H.G. *Hadu-mār*, Lith. *virszū-kalnis* 'mountain peak'. Before sonants we find sometimes *-i(i)-*, *-u(u)-*, sometimes *-i-*, *-u-*, cp. I § 120 p. 111 ff. The first form is certainly original in such words as \**tri-* 'three', \**dru-* 'wood': cp. Skr. Ved. *trī(y)-aruṣa-* 'marked with red in three places', Gr. τρι-οῖος 'three-branched', Lat. *tri-ennium*, Gall. *Tri-obris*, O.H.G. *dri-ortēr* 'triangulus'; Skr. Ved. *drū(v)-anna-s* 'having wood for food', Gr. Δρύ-οψ. Cp. further Skr. Ved. *hāri(y)-aśva-s* 'having golden-yellow steeds' *kṛṣṭi(y)-ōjas-* 'vanquishing the nations' beside *ahy-ārṣu-ṣ* 'falling upon dragons', *puru(v)-anīka-s* 'having many semblances' *madhu(v)-ād-* 'eating sweet things' *bāhu(v)-ōjas-* n. 'strength of arm' beside *pulv-aghā-s* 'harming much' (examples with *-y-*, *-v-* — which alone occur in classical Sanskrit — are rare in Veda; see Edgren, Journal of the Amer. Orient. Soc. XI 71); Gr. βωτι-άειρα fem. 'nourishing men', πολυ-ιππος 'rich in horses'; O.C.Sl. has an isolated example, *medv-ědŭ* 'bear' ('honey-eater') from *medŭ* = Lith. *medū-s* 'honey'.

Stems in *-n-* may have sometimes had forms in *-ŋ-*, before consonants, and forms in *-n-* or *-ŋn-*, before sonants. *-ŋ-* may be inferred from Greek compounds like *κρή-δεμνον* 'head-band' for \**κρη(σ)-α-*, *ὄνομά-κλετος* 'with famous name' (I § 224 p. 192). We may set beside them Lat. *nōmen-clātor* *nōmen-culatus* and' Skr. compounds like *śīrṣa-bandhana* f. 'head-band' *nāma-dhā-s* 'name-giver', and also *vṛṣaṇ-vasu-ṣ* 'strong as an ox' (cp. *vṛṣaṇ-vant-* and *vṛṣaṇ-yāti-* for \**uṛṣṇ-* I § 225 p. 192). As examples of *-n-* before sonants might be given Gr. ἀρ-ωδός 'singing for the prize of a lamb' (late), κυρ-ωπός 'dog-eyed', Lith. *szūn-obūlei* pl. 'hawthorn (dog-apples)', and for *-ŋn-* Ved. *vṛṣaṇ-aśvā-* 'having stallions for steeds, drawn by stallions' (said of a chariot). Yet it is very uncertain whether those forms are the direct representatives

of original types. What we most commonly find is a substitution of *o*-stems for the stems in *-n*-, and this mode of representing the *n*-stems in composition appears to me undoubtedly proethnic. Gr. *κτῶ-κρᾶνον* 'capital of a column' from *κτῶν*, *ἀκμό-θρον* 'anvil-block' from *ἄκμων*, *αἶμο-βαφής* 'dipped in blood' from *αἷμα*, Lat. *homi-cūda*, *sanguī-sūga*, *numi-clatori* (inser.), Mid. Ir. *talam-chumscugud* 'earthquake' from *talam* gen. *talman* (§ 37), Goth. *guma-kunds* 'of the male sex' from *guma* gen. *gumins*, *auga-daurō* n. 'window' ('eye-door') from *augō* gen. *augins*; Skr. compounds like *śīrṣa-bandhanā* may also be classed here, and all the more confidently because such forms as Skr. *ukṣānna* = *ukṣa-anna* 'devouring oxen' (from *ukṣan*) Avest. *zrodayu* = *zrva-āyu* 'specified time' (from *zrvan*-) clearly show the type of the *o*-stems (cp. *yuktāśva*-). This substitution of *o*-stems for stems in *-n*- is obviously connected with a similar change in the final members of compounds, as Skr. *tri-parva-s* 'with three edges' from *pārvaṇ*-, *priyā-dhāma-s* 'occupying a charming position' from *dhāman*-, Gr. *ἄπειρος* 'boundless' beside *ἀπειρων* (stem *\*περφορ*-), *ἄν-αιμος* 'bloodless' beside *ἀν-αἷμων*, Lat. *ex-sanguis* for an older *\*ex-sanguo-s* (see § 93, under Italic) from *sanguen*, *sublimu-s*, later *sub-līmi-s* (properly 'reaching up to the lintel') from *līmen*.)

Stems in *-m*-. Skr. *sa-kyt* 'once' Gr. *ἁπλόος* 'single' Lat. *sim-plex*, Idg. *\*sm-*, from *\*sem* 'unus' Gr. *εἰς* neut. *ἐν*. Gr. *δαπέδον* 'floor in a house', then 'ground' generally, for *\*dm-*, from *\*dem* 'house', see § 160, 2.

The Indo-Germanic type of formation in *r*-stems is shown in Skr. *pitr-śrāvāṇa-s* 'gaining glory for one's father' and *pitr-artham* 'for one's father's sake'. Cp. also Gr. *τετρά-γνος* 'containing four measures of land', from the Idg. stem *\*qetuer-* (*τετρα-* = Idg. *\*qetur-*, cp. I § 285), Goth. *brōþru-lubō* 'brotherly

1) No inference can be drawn from such Germanic examples as Goth. *hauh-hairta* 'haughty' beside *hairtan* n. 'heart'. For even granting that stems like these had always been *n*-stems, the *a*-inflexion must in any case have been forced upon them by the analogy of the strong declension of adjectives. Cp. Leo Meyer, Got. Spr. p. 247.

love' (? see § 40) and Gr. πατρ-ωνύμιος 'named from the father', ἀνδρ-άγρια 'spoils of an enemy'.

Stems in *-nt-* had *-nt-*: Skr. *bṛhad-rathá-* 'having a great car', Idg. *\*bhṛghyt-*.

Stems in *-s-*. Gr. *μῦς-πόρος* 'killing mice', Lat. *mūs-cipula* 'mouse-trap', Idg. *\*mūs-*. Stems in *-es-* no doubt had *-es-*: Gr. *σάκεσ-φόρος* 'shield-bearer', Goth. *sigis-láun* 'prize of victory', Skr. *rajas-tūr-* 'hastening through the sky'. *-s-* no doubt occurred as well, cp. Skr. *mandhātár-* 'thoughtful, devout person' for *\*manz-dhātár-*, beside *mánas-* Gr. *μένος*. The use of *-o-* stems in their place, which is found in Greek, Latin, Keltic, and Slavonic (§ 29. 34. 37. 47, cp. also the Germanic, § 40 Rem. 5) may be an independent developement of the separate languages.

§ 13. The action of analogy produced many changes in what we must assume to have been the original forms of the initial members of compounds.

On the one hand, we find one kind of stem taking the place of another, e. g. a stem in *-o-* replacing a stem in *-i-*, as Slav. *gosto-* instead of *gosti-* (§ 47). We have just seen (in § 12) that changes of this kind arose even in proethnic Indo-Germanic. Thus it may well be the case that *\*dyi-* 'two' (beside nom. acc. du. *\*dyōy*: Skr. *dvāú* etc.) was formed in this period to correspond with *\*tri-* 'three' (cp. e. g. *\*dyi-pod-* 'two-footed' beside *\*tri-pod-*) just as Gr. *διᾶ-ρόσιοι* was modelled on *τριᾶ-ρόσιοι*, *πεντᾶ-πους* (for *πεντέ-πους*) on *ἑπτᾶ-πους*, and so forth; a different explanation of *\*dyi-*, which does not seem to me convincing, is given by Bartholomae (Ar. Forsch. III 39). In the developement of the separate languages the use of *-o-* as the connecting link in compound words was especially frequent; hence this ending has been called the 'vowel of composition' ('Compositions vocal').

On the other hand, the stem is sometimes replaced by a case-form (the compound thus passing into Class IV). Of this kind are new formations like Skr. *agrē-gá-s* (loc. sing.) beside

the more archaic *agru-ga-s* 'going at the head', Gr. *Πυλογενής* (loc. sing.) 'born in Pylos', Mod.H.G. *befehls-haber lands-mann* (gen. sing.) for the older forms *befelch-haber land-mann*. In this class also a few examples may be proethnic, cp. Skr. *aṣṭá-pad- aṣṭá-pada-* Gr. *ὀκτώ-πους* 'eight-footed', Lat. *octō-jugis* (Goth. *ahtáu-* seen in *ahtáu-dōgs* 'eight-day' (adj.) for \**ahtō-*, following the uncompounded *ahtáu*) with the form of the nom. acc. du., and similarly, with the form of the nom. acc. sing., Gr. *ἐκατόμ-πους -πῆδος* Lat. *centum-peda* beside the more archaic Skr. *śata-pád-* Lat. *centi-pēs -peda* (cp. also Goth. *handa-faþs* 'centurio', Lith. *szimtu-kójis* 'hundred-footed').

Remark. Cp. the occurrence of the *-ō-* of the nom. acc. du. in the case-endings Skr. *-ā-bhyām* Lat. *-ō-bus* (*duōbus*). Skr. *aṣṭa-* (seen in Ved. *aṣṭa-karṇá-* etc.) and Lat. *octi-* (seen in *octi-pēs* etc.) do not represent the Idg. stem \**okto-*, from which the dual was formed, but they follow the analogy of *sapta-* and *septi-*, cp. Gr. *ὀκτα-* beside *ὀκτω-* in imitation of *ἐπτα-*.

The same substitution of case-form for stem is seen in certain derivatives formed by means of suffixes; examples of this are Skr. *tad-īya-s* 'belonging to that' *tad-vant-* 'provided with that' (*tá-d* nom. acc. neut.) *kī-yí-ṣ* 'desiring what?' (*kī-m* nom. acc. neut.), Skr. *divā-tana-s* 'diurnus' (*divā* instr. sing. 'by day', § 69), Skr. *uccāis-tardā-m* 'higher' (*uccāiṣ* instr. pl. 'high', § 75), Gr. *μυχόι-τατος* 'furthest back in the corner' (*μυχόι* loc. sing. 'in the corner, within', § 75), Gr. *ἰμιο-ς* 'powerful' (*ī-ψι* instr. sing. 'with power, with might'), Lat. *extrē-mu-s* (\**extrē-* adv., § 72, 2), Goth. *jái-n-s* 'that' (m.) (\**ioi* loc. sing., § 66).

§ 14. Class II: Idg. \**u-* \**un-* 'un-', connected with \**ne-* \**ne* 'not' (Skr. *ná nā* etc.): Skr. *a-mṛta-s á-martiya-s* 'immortal' *an-aśvá-s* 'without horses', Armen. *an-gēt* 'unknowing', Gr. *ἄμβροτος ἄμβροσιος* (cp. I § 120 p. 111) *ἄν-ιππος*, Lat. *in-somnis* (Skr. *a-svapná-s* 'sleepless'), O.Ir. *ē-tromm* 'not heavy, light', O.H.G. *un-ende n.* 'endlessness' (Skr. *an-antá-s* 'endless'), cp. I § 227 p. 194; and the parallel form \**ū-* 'un-' = Gr. *vā- vη-* etc., see I § 253 p. 207. Idg. \**dus-* 'mis- ill-': Skr. *dur-manas-* 'illwill, malevolence', Armen. *t-gēt* 'unknowing', Gr. *δυσ-μερής* 'ill-disposed', O.Ir. *do-chruth* 'deformed, ugly' (from *cruth* 'form', the *c* being

changed to *ch* on the analogy of *so-chruth* 'beautifully formed', see I § 658 p. 510 f.), O.H.G. *zur-lust* 'wilfulness, illwill'.

These initial members of compound words may once have been independent adverbial words which were restricted even in the proethnic period to use in composition; just as Idg. *\*su* 'well' and *\*sēmi* 'half', which in Aryan still occur as independent words, in the other branches of Indo-Germanic only survived in compounds.

§ 15. Class III. This class may be split up into numerous subdivisions; only a few of them can be noticed here.

Adverbs used in the separate languages as verbal prepositions are compounded with verbal nouns. Idg. *\*ēpi-dhato-s* 'added': Skr. *āpi-hita-s* 'shut, enveloped' Gr. *ἐπι-θετος* 'added'. Idg. *\*āpo-qiti-s* 'expiation, punishment': Skr. *āpa-citi-ś* Gr. *ἀπό-τισις*. Idg. *\*ni-zdo-s* 'place for sitting down' (✓*sed-*): Skr. *nīdā-s*, Arm. *nist*, Lat. *nīdu-s*, O.Ir. *net*, O.H.G. *nest*, see I § 590 p. 447. Idg. *\*peri-srogo-s* 'a flowing round': Skr. *pari-srāva-s*, Gr. *περί-ρροος*. It was not before the period of separate development that adverbs of this kind were closely united with the finite verb, as in Gr. *ἐπι-τίθημι*, and it is clear that the older practice of compounding them with nouns gave considerable impulse to this tendency.

Remark. The group of purely verbal compounds then reacted upon the class of nominal compounds. It is true enough to say that e. g. Gr. *ἔξοχος* 'eminent, prominent' is not a compound of *ἐξ* and *ἔχος*, nor Goth. *aflēts* 'remission, forgiveness' a compound of *af* and *lēts*, but that those words are simple derivatives from the verbs *ἐξέχω* and *aflēta* (J. Grimm, D. Gr. II [1878] 694, Zacher, Zur griech. Nominalcomp. 8); and there is after all good reason for adopting Zacher's name for them, 'pseudo-compounds'. But it must not be forgotten that in creating such forms the language is merely adding new examples to old classes, whose types have come down from the proethnic period, and that by far the greater number of the so-called compounds in the Idg. languages were certainly not formed by any real process of composition, but merely through analogical imitation of old typical forms; that is to say, they are only 'pseudo-compounds'.

Adverbs, used in the separate languages as prepositions governing a case, are compounded with nouns which are found governed by them; *ἐγκέφαλος* = *ἐν κεφαλῇ ὄν*. In the proethnic

period, when this group of forms began to develop, prepositional phrases like Skr. *ánu satyám* 'conformably to truth' Gr. *ἐν κεφαλῇ* 'in the head' Lat. *ante portam* can hardly, as yet, have become a recognised construction. The need of derivatives, however, had already given rise to compounds, exactly in the same way as in Mod.H.G. *lang-weilig* is derived from *lange weile*, in Lat. *Sacraviēnsēs* from *sacra via* etc. (cp. § 3 Rem. p. 4 f.). Then, the more firmly the prepositional construction established itself in the separate languages, the easier was it to form corresponding compounds, and the more freely were they coined. Skr. *api-karṇá-m* 'that which is situated by the ear, the region of the ear', Gr. *ἐπί-γαιος* adj. 'on the earth'. Skr. *upári-martya-s* 'rising above mortals', Gr. *ὑπερ-άνθρωπος ὑπερ-ἦνωρ* (the same). Lat. *inter-vallum* 'that which is situated between two palisades (*inter vallos*), intermediate space', Skr. *antar-hastá-s* adj. 'in the hand'. Goth. *uf-áíþeis* 'under an oath, bound by an oath', Skr. *upa-kakṣá-s* 'reaching to the armpit'. Lith. *pér-galvė* f. 'that which is laid over or around the head, cowl', Gr. *περι-κέφαλον περι-κεφαλαῖά* 'head-covering'. It is noteworthy that Sanskrit and Greek agree in using as adverbs the acc. sing. neut. of these adjectival compounds, e. g. Skr. *praty-ákṣa-m* from *praty-ákṣa-s* 'lying before the eyes', *ati-mātrá-m* from *ati-mātrá-s* 'exceeding the proper measure', Gr. *ἐμ-πεδον* from *ἐμ-πεδος* 'situated on the earth, firm', *ὑπέρ-μορον* from *\*ὑπέρ-μορος* 'beyond destiny'.

The negative particles *\*ne*, *\*nei* (cp. O. Brugmann, *Über den Gebrauch des condicionalen NI in der älteren Latinität*, 1887, p. 32 f.), *\*mē* are compounded with the pronominal stems *\*qi-* *\*go-*. *\*ne*: *ná-ki-š* 'no one, nothing, not' (*ki-* instead of the regular *ci-*, see I § 448 Rem. p. 333). *\*nei*: Avest. *naē-ci-š* 'none', Lith. *nė-kas* O.C.Sl. *ni-kŭto* 'none'. *\*mē* (prohibitive) Skr. *mā-ki-š*, Gr. *μή-τις*.

§ 16. Class IV. Compounds of this kind do not appear in any great numbers until the later periods of the history of the languages. Of these, too, by far the greatest number are due to no real process of composition, but merely to the ana-



logy of already existing types. The following may be regarded as formations which had the character of compounds as early as the proethnic period.

The words for the tens from thirty upwards, as Gr. *τριάκοντα*, *τετταράκοντα*, which have a nom. acc. pl. neut. as their initial member.

Idg. *\*duō-dekḗn* *\*duyō-dekḗn* 'twelve': Skr. *dvā-daśa* *duvā-daśa*, Avest. *dva-dasa* (with *a* instead of *ā*, following *dva*), Gr. *δύ-δεκα* *δυώ-δεκα*, Lat. *duo-decim* (with *o* instead of *ō*, following *duo*); compare Skr. *dvādaśama-s* Lat. *duodecimu-s* 'twelfth'. Idg. *\*tréjēz-dekḗn* 'thirteen': Skr. *tráyō-daśa*, Lat. *trēdecim* (I § 594 p. 450), Mid.H.G. *drī-zehen* (the sounds at the junction of the two words have been modified on the analogy of the two uncompounded forms, for *-zd-* would have become *-st-* in Germanic).

Remark. We may generalise so far as to assume that in proethnic Indo-Germanic there already existed compounds for all the numbers 11—19. Yet it must be noticed that the names of the numbers up to nine are not all genuine case-forms, e. g. Idg. *\*penge* 'five' seen in Skr. *pāñcadaśu* Lat. *quindecim* Goth. *fimftaihun*.

Possibly there were also in the Indo-Germanic period compounds containing case-forms of *\*diu-* 'heaven'; cp. Skr. *divō-rúc-* 'shining from heaven' Gr. *Διός-δοτος* 'given by Zeus', Skr. *divi-jā-s* *divi-jāta-s* 'born in heaven'. The Greek compound *δεσπότης* 'master of the house', whose first member was the Idg. gen. *\*dem-s* (I § 204 p. 171 and § 160 below) may also have been inherited from the parent language.

To this class also belong such forms as Skr. *tad-vaśā-s* 'having a desire for that', Gr. *ποδ-από-ς* 'whence coming?' with the form of the nom. acc. sing. neut. See I § 228 p. 195 and § 163 below.

§ 17. The forms of this class, like those of Class I, gave rise to many analogical innovations. The most noteworthy of these is that the case-ending of the first member of the compound ceased to be regarded as a case-ending, and was used in composition with nouns which could not be joined with

it uncompounded; e. g. Gr. *ῥεόδοτος* (beside *ῥεός*, gen. *ῥεοῦ*) on the analogy of *διόσ-δοτος*, Mod.H.G. *hilfstruppen* 'auxiliary force' (beside *die hilfe*, gen. *der hilfe*) on the analogy of forms like *hungers-not*. See § 24. 32. 44. 47.

§ 18. Compounds of all classes have been used from the earliest period as personal names<sup>1)</sup>, and it must be assumed that even in the parent language this was the commonest method designating of persons.

It remained in living use amongst all the Indo-Germanic peoples except the Italic<sup>2)</sup>. Examples are: Skr. *áśva-mēdha-s* (*aśva*- 'horse'), *dur-mitrá-s* (*duṣ*- 'mis-'), *upa-diśa-s* (*upa* 'hither, this way'), *divō-dāsa-s* (*divás* gen. of *div*- 'heaven'); Gr. *Ἰππόμαχος*, *Ἀ-δμητος*, *Ἰππό-δικος*, *Ἀργί-λινκος*; Gall. *Dēvo-gnāti* (*dēvo*- 'god'), *Su-carus Su-caria* O.Bret. *Hu-car Ho-car* (*su*- 'well'. Skr. *sú*, *su*-, cp. I § 573 p. 430), *Ro-smerta* (*ro*: Gr. *ρο*); Goth. *Austro-valdus* with Latinised termination (*austro*- 'east'), O.H.G. *Wolf-boto* (*wolf*- 'wolf'), O.H.G. *Un-forht* (*un*:- Gr. *α*-); Lith. *Vaisz-nor-s*, *Nor-buta-s*, *But-vila-s* (*\*vaisza-s* or *\*vaiszu-s* 'guest' cp. *vaiszinù* 'I receive as a guest, entertain', *nora-s* 'will', *būta-s* 'house')<sup>3)</sup>, Pruss. *Buti-labes* (*buta*- 'house') *Austi-gaudis* (*austa*- 'mouth') *Na-bute* (*na* 'after, in accordance with'), Serv. *Vuko-mir* (*vuk* O.C.Sl. *vlūkū* 'wolf'), *Ljubo-mir* (O.C.Sl. *ljubū* 'dear').

These compounds had in many respects a peculiar history.

Amongst the Greeks and the Germanic peoples, it was a custom to insert in a child's name one of the words which were found compounded in the name of the father or the mother:

1) See in particular A. Fick, *Die griech. Personennamen nach ihrer Bildung erklärt, mit den Namensystemen verwandter Sprachen verglichen und systematisch geordnet*, Göttingen 1874.

2) And perhaps the Armenians. On the subject of personal names in Armenian I have received communications from Prof. Hübschmann, and I am satisfied that in the present state of our knowledge it can neither be affirmed nor denied that this people retained any genuine Indo-Germanic compound names. In the case of geographical names, however, the old principle of nomenclature may be said to be still fully in force.

3) In Lithuanian this mode of forming family names is now obsolete.

e. g. *Δίνο-κράτης*; son of *Δίνο-κλῆς*; *Εὐ-κράτης* son of *Εὐρυ-κράτης*, *Ἰνδρό-νικος* son of *Νίκο-κλῆς*; in the 8<sup>th</sup> century A. D. we have *Walt-bert* son of *Wald-ram*, *Wald-bert* and *Wolf-bert* sons of *Hram-bert*, *Wine-gaudus* son of *Wine-burgis* (Stark, *Die Kosenamen der Germanen*, p. 159)<sup>1</sup>). This explains the fact that words of the most heterogeneous meaning were often combined to form one name, as Gr. *Ἰππό-λᾶς*, *Ρόδ-ιππος*, O.H.G. *Wolf-dag*, *Fridu-gundis*.

One of the two compounded words was sometimes used alone as an abbreviation for the whole name (these are called 'Kurznamen' 'short names'), and suffixes expressing endearment were often added at the same time to this single stem. This practice of abridgement, which shows the same kind of linguistic thrift as we see e. g. in Mod.H.G. *bahn* = *eisenbahn*, *lager* = *lagerbier*, *soda* = *sodawasser*, *kilo* = *kilogramm*, *ein viertel neuen* = *ein viertel liter neuen weines*, in London slang phrases such as *zoo* = *zoological garden*, *pops* = *popular concerts*, *bus* = *omnibus*, and in Gr. *πᾶ*, *μᾶ* from *πατήρ*, *μάτηρ*<sup>2</sup>, may be regarded as unquestionably belonging to the proethnic period. Skr. *dēva-s* *dēvaka-s* *dēvika-s* *dēviya-s* *dēvala-s* *dēvila-s* = *dēva-datta-s* *dēva-kṣatra-s* *dēva-śravas-* etc. Gr. *Ζεύς* *Ζευτιάς* = *Ζεύς-ιππος* *Ζεύς-δάμος* *Ζεύς-θεός* etc. Gall. *Toutus* *Toutius* *Toutillus* = *Touto-bocio* O.Cymr. *Tut-ri* (cp. Gall. *Toutio-rīx*) etc. O.H.G. *Wolfo* *Wolfilo* (Goth. *Vulfila*) *Wolfin* = *Wolf-brand* *Wolf-braht* *Wolf-gang* etc. Pruss. *Bute* *Butil* *Buteko* = *Butilabes* etc. Serv. *Vuk* *Vukoj* *Vukel* *Vukolin* = *Vuko-voj* *Vuko-mir* etc. (*vuk* = O.C.Sl. *vŭkŭ* 'wolf'). This shortening was also effected by dropping the first member of the compound,

1) In Greek the influence of the father's name may be observed even in names consisting of single stems, the formative suffix being taken over to the new name, e. g. *Βράχ-υλλος*; son of *Βράχ-υλλος*; *Μαρμεν-τακος*; son of *Φιλ-τακος*. See J. Baunaok, *Stud. auf dem Gebiete des Griech.*, I 1, 57.

2) The psychological side of this practice of abbreviation has been examined by Behaghel (*Die Deutsche Sprache*, p. 68 f.). It springs from the general tendency to leave unspoken whatever can be understood, or is at once suggested by the immediate context.

e. g. Gr. *Κλη̃τος* = *Ἀνάκλητος* (a bishop in the first century), *Vulfus* = *Hun-ulfus*, Scirorum primas, saec. V, Jornandes c. 54.

Where this kind of abbreviation took place the feeling for the etymological structure of the compound was sometimes lost, and so the initial consonant or consonants of the second member remain in the curtailed form. Gr. *Νίκο-μᾶς* = *Νίκο-μήδης*, *Δημο-σθᾶς* = *Δημο-σθένης*, *Εὐ-χρῖς* = *Εὐ-χρηστος*, *Πολυ-ξῷ* = *Πολυ-ξένη*. O.H.G. *Adal-bo* = *Azel-bero* and *Adel-boldus*, *Sibo* = *Sibold Sigi-bald*, *Rat-po* = *Rat-poto*, *Thiemo* = *Thiet-mārus*, *Ercam-bius* = *Ercam-bertus*.

Remark. I do not know what view to take of the frequent strengthening of a medial consonant in abbreviated names in Greek and in Germanic; e. g. Gr. *Ξερνῷ*, *Ἀγαθῶ*, *Δικῶ*, *Καλλο-νῶ*, *Κλεό-μυς*, *Θεο-πῶ*, *Νίκο-τῶ*, *Κλεο-σθῆς*, O.H.G. *Itta* = *Ita-berga*, *Sicco* = *Sige-rich Sigi-bertus Sigi-fridus*, *Aggo* = *Ago-bardus*. Cp. Fick, *Die griech. Personennamen* p. LIX sq. and Bezzenberger's *Beitr.* III 277 f., Baunack, *Studia Nicolitaina* (Lips. 1884) p. 47 f., and *Studien auf dem Gebiete des Griech.* I 1, 60, Stark, *Kosenamen* p. 19 ff.

The student should compare the examples of abbreviated names in other languages collected by R. Mowat, in his essay *De la déformation dans les noms propres* (*Mém. de la Soc. de Ling.* I, 171 ff.).

§ 19. Accentuation of Compounds. In languages where the free Indo-Germanic accentuation can still be observed, the position of the accent in compounds varies considerably in many ways, and it is certain that even in the proethnic period a complicated system had been developed. Certain principles, however, can be everywhere recognised, and must probably be assumed as holding good for that period.

1. Where the meaning was not 'epithetised' (§ 50) the compounds of Class I (see above) were usually oxytone if the second member was a *nomen agentis*: Skr. *radhra-cōdā-s* 'driving on the weary' (*cōdā-s* 'driving on') *aśva-hayā-s* 'driving on the steeds' (*hayā-s* 'driving on'), Gr. *ψυχο-πομπός* 'conducting souls' (*πομπός* 'conductor') *παιδο-τρόφος* for *\*παιδο-τροφός* (I § 676 p. 542 f.) 'nourishing children' (*τροφός* 'nourisher'). On the other hand, where the meaning was 'epithetised', the first member usually

bore the accent, no matter of what parts of speech the word was compounded: Skr. *hári(y)-aśva-s* 'having golden-yellow steeds' *hīraṇya-kēśa-s* 'golden-haired', Avest. *stehr-paēsah-* 'adorned with stars' = pr. Ar. *\*stḡ-ṛaiśas-* (I § 260 p. 212, § 288 p. 229 f., § 674 p. 539), Gr. *βαθύ-κολπος* 'with deep, full bosom' *κλυτό-πιλος* 'having glorious steeds' *χαλκό-πους* 'bronze-footed' (as regards instances like *εὐρύ-ρέεθρος* 'with wide stream' for *\*εὐρύ-ρεεθρος*; see I § 676, 2 p. 541 and Wheeler, *Der griech. Nominalacc.* 43 ff.), A.S. *fyðer-fēte* 'four-footed' for pr. Germ. *\*fīþur-* (I § 529 p. 384 f.) like Skr. *cātuṣ-pad-*. Thus we find existing side by side forms like Skr. *rāja-putrá-s* 'king's son' and *rāja-putra-s* 'having kings for sons', Gr. *παν-τρόπος* 'turning all' (cp. *τροπός* 'turner, strap by means of which the oar is turned') and *πολύ-τροπος* 'of many wiles' (cp. *τρόπος* 'a turn') with many similar examples.

Remark 1. The exceptions to these rules still need careful investigation. Thus for example, Sanskrit compounds of *-pati-* 'lord', though they belong to the *immutata* or unepithetised class, accentuate the first member, as *gaṇá-pati-ṣ* 'lord of a troop' *púr-pati-ṣ* 'lord of a stronghold', and the *d* of Goth. *-fadi-* in *hunda-fadi-* 'leader of 100 men' points to the same accentuation, pr. Germ. *\*xundá-faði-* (I § 530 p. 386 f.). May not this substantive have been originally a *nomen actionis* meaning 'rule, lordship' (cp. § 149), so that the compounds in question would originally have been *mutata* (epithetised)?

2. Compounds with *\*y-* *\*yn-* 'un-' accented this prefix if they were the same part of speech as their final member. Skr. *á-kumāra-s* 'non-boy, matured youth' (*kumārá-s*), *á-dirgha-s* 'not long' (*dīrghá-s*), *á-kṣita-s* 'imperishable' (*kṣitá-s*), *án-andha-s* 'not blind' (*andhá-s*). Gr. *ἄ-δωρα* 'gifts that are no gifts' (*δῶρα*), *ἄ-δηλος* 'not plain' (*δηλος*), *ἄ-q θιτος* = Skr. *á-kṣita-s*, *án-altoz* 'insatiable'.

Remark 2. If the phonetic law for *ǵ*, which was laid down in I § 226, is correct, Skr. *án-* and Gr. *ǽn-* must once have been regular even where the next part of the compound began with a consonant. In that case the unaccented *a-* *ǽ-* of epithetised compounds like Skr. *a-tamás-* 'without darkness' Gr. *ǽ-δ(f)ής* 'fearless', must have passed into more general use, thanks no doubt to the fact that before a sonant every *\*yn-*, accented and unaccented alike, regularly became *an-* *ǽn-* (cp. *án-andha-s* and *an-énás-* 'sinless', *ǽn-altoz* and *ǽn-αιδής* 'shameless').

3. Compounds consisting of adverbs + participles in *-to-*, abstract substantives in *-ti-*, or similar verbal nouns (Class III), had the accent upon the adverb, just as the corresponding forms of the finite verb in a principal clause threw back their accent upon the adverbs which qualified them (cp. I § 669 p. 534). Skr. *prá-tta-s* 'given up' Gr. *πρό-δοτος* 'abandoned', Skr. *prá-tti-ś* Gr. *πρό-δοσις*; A.S. *frá-coð* Goth. *frá-kunþs* 'despised', O.H.G. *frá-tāt* 'transgression'. In Greek the accentuation followed new rules; thus we have *ἀπο-τελεύτητος* instead of \**ἄπο-τελευτᾶτος*, *ἀπό-τισις*, for \**ἄπο-τισις*, cp. *ἐνν-ρέεθρος* above, 1.

4. Cumulative numerals (*Dvandva*) had the accent on the first number, as Skr. *dvā-daśa* Gr. *δώ-δεκα* 'twelve'.

### Aryan.

§ 20. In the proethnic period of Aryan the existing types of formation underwent no important changes.

In certain forms, as Skr. *áśvā-magha-s*, we find *-a-* where we should expect *-a-*. These no doubt arose by analogy in proethnic Aryan, if they are due to the influence of Indo-Germanic stems in *-a-*, or if they contain the form of the instr. sing. See § 22, with the Remark.

Examples of compounds which accurately represent the Indo-Germanic types are: Skr. *vīra-hán-* Avest. *vīra-jan-* 'slaying men'. Skr. *áva-hata-* Avest. O.Pers. *ava-jata-* 'beaten off, struck down, killed': cp. Lat. *au-*. Skr. *dūrē-śruta-* proper name, Avest. *dūraē-srūta-* 'far-famed', containing the loc. sing. of the stem *dūra-*.

§ 21. In Sanskrit, nominal compounds were freely developed. In the Veda and the Brāhmaṇa compounds containing more than two members appear but rarely; but in the classical language, especially in the artificial style, stem-compounds (Class I) consisting of several members are quite common, e. g. *sakala-nīti-śāstra-tattva-jñā-s* 'knowing (*jñā-*) the essence (*tattva-*) of all (*sakala-*) manuals (*śāstra-*) of deportment (*nīti-*)'. Later poets created compounds which were ab-

solute monstrosities; see the examples given by Justi, *Über die Zusammensetzung der Nomina*, p. 17.

### § 22. Class I.

*o*-stems. *aśva-yúj-* 'yoking horses': Gr. *Ἰννό-ζυγος*. Ved. *yuktá-aśva-s* and *yuktáśva-s* 'for whom horses have been yoked'; in classical Sanskrit only the contracted form occurs. No satisfactory explanation has been given of the *-ā-* in Ved. *āśva-magha-s* 'rich in horses' *gūrtā-vasu-ṣ* 'possessing agreeable things' and other similar examples.

**Remark.** Cp. *-ā-* beside *-a-* in Iranian (§ 25) Here we may conceivably have either 1. the feminine *-ā-* (cp. Gr. *ῥατα-φύκος* beside *ῥατα-φύκος* § 29); 2. Ar. *ā* = Idg. *o* in open syllables (I § 78 p. 69); 3. the effect of some principle of rhythm (cp. Avest. acc. *ver<sup>o</sup>prā-jan-em* beside gen. *ver<sup>o</sup>prā-yn-ō* nom. *ver<sup>o</sup>prā-ja -jā*); or 4. the instrumental in *ā* taking the place of the stem. The origin of the *ā* need not, of course, be the same in every instance. Cp. also Skr. *āśvā-vant-* and the like, § 127.

*a*-stems. Ved. *jīdā-vāja-s* 'having the speed of the bow-string': Lith. *gijà* 'cord'. Parallel to these are forms with *-a-*, Ved. *ukha-chīd-* 'breaking the pot (*ukhā-*)' etc., see § 12 p. 24 f.

*ī-*, *ū-*stems. *śacī-vasu-ṣ* 'powerful', *tanū-tyāj-* 'abandoning life and limb'. Cp. § 12 p. 25.

*i-*, *u-*stems. *tri-pād-*, *paśu-pā-s*, *trī(y)-aruṣa-* etc. (§ 12 p. 25 f.). Cp. also *dyu-kṣa-* 'dwelling in the light of heaven' beside *div-īt-* 'going to heaven' (cp. instr. pl. *dyū-bhiṣ*: instr. sing. *div-ā*): nom. sing. *dyāu-ṣ*, Gr. *Ζεύς*.

Nasal stems. *nāma-dhā-s* etc., see § 12 p. 26 f. *sa-kṣt* Gr. *ἀ-πλόος*, see *ibid.* p. 27.

*r*-stems. *pitṛ-śrāvaṇa-s* 'bringing honour to a father', *pitṛ-artham* 'for a father's sake'. Cp. § 12 p. 27 f.

*nt*-stems. *bṛhāt-kētu-ṣ* 'having a lofty banner': acc. sing. *bṛhānt-am*. Cp. § 12 p. 28.

*es*-stems. *rajas-tūr-* 'hastening through the atmosphere'. The *-ō-* in *rajō-mēgha-s* 'cloud of dust' *vacō-vid-* 'skilled in hymns' (*vācas*: Gr. *ἔπος*), like the *-ō-* of the instr. pl. (*rájō-bhiṣ*), is taken from the nom. acc. sing. in *-ō* (*rájō*), see I § 591 p. 447 f., and § 24 below.

It is not uncommon to find the types of Classes I and IV confused, a case-form taking the place of a stem. Examples are given in § 24.

§ 23. Class II. *á-gata-s* 'not gone, untrodden': Gr. ἄ-πατος 'untrodden'; *án-ápta-s* 'not reached, not reaching to, unskilful': cp. Lat. *in-eptu-s*. *duṣ-pāra-s* 'hard to make one's way over, hard to pass': Gr. δύσ-παρος, the same. The opposite of the latter form, *sú* 'well', was not restricted to use in compounds until the post-Vedic period (as in *su-śrávas-* 'famous'); cp. § 26.

Class III. *prá-tata-s* 'outspread' *prá-tati-ṣ* 'an outspreading': Gr. πρό-τασις 'a stretching forward, assertion'.

*ánti-gṛha-m* 'the space over against (before) the house': Gr. ἀντί-θύρον 'the space over against (before) the door'. *anu-ṣatyá-s* 'conformable to truth (*ánu satyám*)'. *pari-hastá-s* 'placed round the hand (*pári hástam*)'. *á-dēva-s* 'going to the deity (*dēvám á*)'.

§ 24. Class IV. *pitā-mahá-s* 'grandfather on the father's side' (gen. *pitāmahásya*) from *pitá mahá-s* 'pater grandis'; from which came the feminine derivative *pitāmahī* 'grandmother on the father's side'. Cp. Lat. *rōs-marīnus* gen. *rōsmarīnī* § 36.

*divō-já-s* 'child of heaven' (gen. of *div-*). *dasyah-putra-s* 'son of a slave-woman' (gen. of *dāsī*). *bráhmanas-páti-ṣ* 'lord of prayer', *śubhás-páti-ṣ* 'lord of adornment' (gen. of *bráhman-*, *śúbh-*). *yudhi-ṣthira-s* proper name, 'firm in battle' (loc. of *yúdh-*). *diva-kírtya-* 'to be repeated by day' (instr. of *div-*).

This group of forms was considerably enlarged because case-forms were sometimes substituted for stems in compounds of the type of Class I; e. g. *divi-kṣít-* 'dwelling in heaven' (loc. of *div-*), *apsu-kṣít-* 'dwelling in the waters' (loc. pl. of *ap-*), *agrē-já-s* 'going at the head' (loc. of *agra-*, *agra-ga-s* is also found), *vājam-bhará-s* 'carrying off booty' (acc. of *vāja-*), *agnim-indhá-s* 'kindling fire' (acc. of *agni-*). In such compounds as these there can have been no transition from a phrase to a compound word, but merely an analogical imitation of compounds already in



existence; for at the time when these were formed, their final members were no longer in use as independent words.

The same holds good of all such 'epithetised' compounds of this class as had that meaning as soon as they came into existence; cp. *rāyās-kāma-s* 'having desire for wealth' (gen.) from *kāma-s* 'desire', *dūrē-antas* 'ended, ending in the distance' (loc.) from *ānta-s* 'end' (compare *dūrē-śrutas*, a proper name, 'far-famed'), *śatām-ūti-ś* 'furnishing a hundred (acc.) aids' from *ūti-ś* 'help' (with the simple stem: *śatā-vāja-s* 'furnishing hundredfold sustenance').

It often happened that the case-ending of the first member was used in new formations after it had ceased to be recognised as such, so that one part of the new compound shows a case-form which does not appear when the word is independent: thus *vānas-pāti-ś* 'lord of the wood' (stem *vāna-*, gen. *vānasya-*) is formed on the analogy of compounds ending in *-as-pati-ś*, whose first member was the genitive of a consonantal stem, as *brāhmanas-pāti-ś*; *vasun-dhara-s* 'concealing treasure' instead of \**vasu-dhara-s* (cp. *vasu-dhāra-s*) from *vāsu* n. 'treasure', on the analogy of forms like *dhuran-dhara-s* 'bearing a yoke' (acc. *dhur-am*) *kulan-dhara-s* 'sustaining one's family' (acc. *kula-m*).

A further consequence of the dull appreciation of these case-forms was their use in new formations without their proper meaning, i. e. as though they were simple stems. Thus e. g. *apsu-*, loc. pl. of *ap-* 'water' (*apsu-kṣīt-*, see above), was used in place of *ap-* in *apsu-yogá-s* 'the binding effect of water' (Ath.-Vēda X 5, 5 beside *sōma-yogá-s* 'the binding effect of soma'), cp. the adjective *apsavya-s* 'situated in the water', which was formed from *ap-sú* as *madhavya-s* from *mádhu* ('sweet draught').

In imitation of old pronominal compounds like *tad-vaśá-s*, containing the neuter element *-d* (§ 16), neuter pronominal forms in *-m* were made to serve as the initial members of compounds, as *idā-rūpa-s* 'having this form' beside masc. *ayám* 'this', *kio-kāraṇa-s* 'having what cause?' beside masc. *ká-s* 'who?' (cp. the parallel Vedic form *kád-artha-s* 'having what purpose?' *kad-* = Lat. *quod*).

From the proethnic Aryan period onwards combinations of two dual forms were common; e. g. *mitrá várūṇā*, 'Mitra and Varuṇa', properly 'Mitra and the other (sc. Varuṇa) and Varuṇa and the other (sc. Mitra)'. Each dual form was inflected independently. Side by side with them, however, we find *mitrá-várūṇabhyam mitrá-várūṇayōṣ*, which should be compared with such forms as *dva-daśabhiḥ trayō-daśabhiḥ*. In these the process of composition is complete, and the same may be said of the new compounds formed on the model of those whose first member is a dual form ending in *-ā*, as *agnāviṣṇū* 'Agni and Vishnu' (Ath.-Vēda) instead of *agnī-viṣṇū* (cp. *agnī-ṣōmā* in the Rig-Veda); which is shewn also by the substitution of *-a-* for *-ā*, as the termination of the first member, on the analogy of Class I; as *parjanya-vāta* beside *parjanya-vātā* 'rain-cloud and wind'. Cp. also the derivatives in *-vant-*, *mitrá-várūṇa-vant-* 'accompanied by Mitra and Varuṇa'.

The compounds *pitā-putrāu* 'father and son' *mātā-pitarāu* 'mother and father' *hōta-pōtārau* 'summoner and purifier' must have been preceded by older phrases such as *pitā putrah*, *mātā pītā*, *hōta pōtā*, which did not receive the dual inflexion until the process of composition was complete. Cp. O.C.Sl. *bratŭ-sestra* § 47.

When *anyō-'nyam* and *paras-param* 'alter alterum' had become compounds, the inflexion of the initial member was dropped and the form of the nom. sing. masc. was applied to all the cases; hence e. g. *anyōnyām* 'altera alteram' instead of *\*anyā anyām*, *tayōḥ . . . kāmō 'bhāt . . . anyōnyam prati* (Nala 1, 17) 'eorum (in eis) amor enatus est alterius in alterum' instead of *\*anyasya anyam prati*. Cp. Gr. *ἀλλήλων* § 32, Mid.H.G. *ein-ander* § 44 and Lith. *kŭts kŭtą* § 46.

### § 25. Iranian.

Class I. Stems in *-o-*. Avest. *ver<sup>h</sup>pra-ja-* 'victorious': Skr. *vytra-hān-*. Avest. *yuxta-aspa-* and *yuxtāspa-* 'for whom steeds have been yoked': Skr. *yuktā-aśva yuktāśva-*. Avest. *srīraoxšan-* (proper name) = *srīra* + *uxšan-*. O.Pers. *xšaša-*

*pavan-* 'guardian of the land, satrap': Avest. *xšaṇra-* Skr. *kṣatrá-* 'lordship, kingdom'. O.Pers. *xšayāršan-* (proper name) = *xšaya-* + *aršan-*. Sometimes *-a-* is found in place of *-a-*, as Avest. *aša-dā* 'giving what is pure', acc. *ver'pra-janem* beside nom. *ver'pra-ja-*, O.Pers. *ariyā-rāmna-* (proper name), perhaps also *uua-maršiyu-* 'dying by suicide' (cp. Avest. *xuā-daēna-* 'having one's own faith'); on this point see § 22 Rem. In Avestic *-ō-* is often found instead of *-a-*, the form of the nominative being used instead of the stem (cp. the Author, Curt. Stud. IX 269, Bartholomae, Die Gāpā's 81); e. g. *daēvō-dāta-* 'made by the demons' (beside *daēvu-yāza-* 'demon-worshipper'), even where the *o*-stem was neuter, as *xšaṇrō-dah-* 'bestowing lordship' (nom. *xšaṇpre-m*). This *-ō-* spread still further; see below.

Stems in *-a-*. Avest. *daēnā-vazah-* (proper name), from *daēnā* 'faith'. At the same time we have forms with *-a-*, Avest. *gaḍā-vara-* 'wielding the club' (*gaḍā-*) etc. (see § 12 p. 24 f.) and with *-ō-* instead of *-a-*, compounds like *daēnō-disa-* 'teacher of the law'.

Stems in *-i-* and *u-*. Avest. *aži-ciṇra-* 'sprung from the serpent', *pri-ayara-* 'space of three days'. Avest. *pouru-nar-* 'rich in men', *urv-āpa* 'with broad stream', *per'pu-ainika-* 'with wide front', O.Pers. *parūw-zana-* (read *paruzana-*) 'rich in people'. Here too we sometimes find in Avestic the form of the nominative in place of the simple stem: e. g. *nasuš-pacya-* 'burning of corpses' or 'arising in the burning of corpses', *bāzuš-aojah-* 'strong-armed', *vanhuš-data-* 'well made'.

Nasal stems. Avest. *ašava-frazanti-* 'pious offspring' from *ašavan-*. Forms with *-ō-* instead of *-a-* on the analogy of the *o*-stems: Avest. *bar'smō-zasta-* 'holding twigs for offering in the hand' from *bar'sman-*. Avest. *zem-fraṇah-* 'encompassing the earth' from *zam-*.

Stems in *-r-*: Avest. *stehr-pačsah-* 'adorned with stars'. *ner'-bar'-zah-* 'man's height': Skr. *ṇṛ-bāhū-ṣ* 'man's arm'. Compounds in which the strong form of the stem is inserted: *nar'-gar-* 'devouring men', *atar'-carana-* 'belonging to fire', with others like them; cp. dat. abl. pl. *star'-byō* beside *ner'-byō*. The form

of the nom. sing. has replaced the simple stem in *ātarš-ciṣra-* beside *ātarš-* *ciṣra-* 'sprung from fire, combustible'.

Stems in *-nt-*. Avest. *raēvas-ciṣra-* 'of splendid family' (*-sc-* for *-tc-*, see I § 473 p. 349) from *raēvant-*. O.Pers. *dāraya-vau-* (proper name) 'possessing property' (gen. *dāraya-vahauš*) for *\*dārayad-vahu-*: cp. Skr. *dhārayat-kṣitiṣ* 'sustaining the races of mankind'; cp. Hübschmann, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 603 f.

Avest. *viš-pati-* 'lord of a village': Skr. *viś-pāti-ṣ-* *zaraz-dah-* 'giving the heart' with *-zd-* for *-d + d-* (cp. I § 476 p. 351), from *zarad-*: Skr. *hṛd-*.

As examples of the nominative used in place of the simple stem we may notice here Avest. *vāxš-aēša-* 'the desire of the hymn' (stem *vāc-*), *afš-ciṣra-* 'sprung from water' *awē-dāta* 'resting in water' (stem *ap-*), *kerfš-xwar-* 'eating flesh' (stem *kehrp-*).

Stems in *s-*. Avest. *vacas-tašti-* 'preparation of words, text', *temas-ciṣra-* 'sprung from darkness', *uogaz-dastema-* 'most helpful'. Compounds with *-ō-*, which was taken from the nom. sing., are *ayō-zaya-* 'with iron weapon' *ayō-verṣra-* 'with offensive weapon of iron' *ayō-ayra-* 'iron arrow' (Skr. *ayō-gra-* 'pestle') from *ayah-*: Skr. *āyas-*. O.Pers. *vahyaz-dāta-* (proper name), like Avest. *vañhaz-dah-* 'giver of the best', beside the comparative Avest. *vañhuh-* 'better': Skr. *vásyas-*.

**Remark.** The student should compare the Avestic use of the nominative form instead of the stem in derivatives made by formative suffixes and even in the simple cases: *srīrō-tara-* 'more beautiful' (*srīra-*), *spētō-tema-* 'most holy' (*spenta-*), like *daēvō-dāta*; *huḍānuš-tema-* 'wisest' (*hu-ḍānu-*) like *nasuš-pacya-*; dat. abl. *rāyē-byō* from *vāc-* like *vāxš-aēša-*. Cp. § 13 p. 29.

§ 26. Class II. Avest. *a-γru-* 'not pregnant, virgin': Skr. *á-gru-*; O.Pers. *a-kšatu-* 'uninjured': Skr. *á-kṣata-*; Avest. *an-ašavan-* 'impious': cp. Skr. *án-ṛta-*. Avest. *duš-manah-* 'thinking ill' Skr. *dur-manas-* Gr. *δυσ-μενής*. The Idg. *\*su* 'well' (Avest. *hu-ber-ta-* O.Pers. *u-barta-* 'well born, well cherished': Skr. *sú-bhṛta-*), the opposite of Idg. *\*dus-*, appears in Avestic, just as in the Veda, as an independent word (*hu*).

Class III. Avest. *upa-yata-* 'subactus, married': Skr. *úpa-yata-*. O.Pers. *fra-tarta-* 'drawn away': cp. Skr. *prá-tīrṇa-*.

Avest. *paiti-biši-* 'directed against the enemy, conquering the enemy'. *antar-dašyu-* adj. 'within the country'. *pairi-dašyu-* 'lying around the country'. *upāpa-* 'adj. in the water'.

§ 27. Class IV. The use in Avestic of the form of the nom. sing. instead of the simple stem, as in *daēvō-dāta*, has been spoken of in § 25 p. 42.

The Avestic adjectives *aərōmainyava-* and *spentōmainyava-* were no doubt formed from the phrases *aərō mainyuš* 'the evil spirit' and *spentō mainyuš* 'the holy spirit': cp. Skr. *pītāmah-* § 24, Gr. *Νεῖαπολίτης* § 32. O.Pers. *aura-mazdā* (with acc. *aura-mazdām*) 'Ormuzd' should be regarded merely as a concretion of two nominative forms, not a compound of two stems (*aura-* 'lord', *mazdāh-* 'wise one'): Avest. *ahurō mazdā*.

Avest. *drujīm-vanant-* 'overcoming the fiend' (acc. of *druj-* f.). *vīren-jan-* with the acc. sing. beside *vīra-jan-*, see § 20. *ahūm-mer'nc-* 'life-destroying' with the acc. sing., beside *ahū-mer'c-*. *vīspā-hišant-* 'able to do everything' (acc. pl. neut. of *vīspa-*). *dūraē-fraḍāta-* 'made in the distance' (loc. of *dūra-*). *raḫaē-štār-* 'standing in the chariot (loc. of *raḫa-*), warrior': cp. Skr. *saṃyē-ṣṭhar-* 'standing on the left', *-sthar-* for *\*st-tar-*, see I § 316 p. 255. Epithetised compounds: *dar'γem-jūti-* 'having one's life long (acc. sing. neut. of *dar'γa-* used adverbially), long-lived'; *z'mas-ciḫra-* 'having an earthly origin' (*z'mas-* gen. of *zam-*); *aγraē-raḫa-* (proper name) 'whose chariot is at the head' (loc. of *aγra-*).

Avest. *aēvan-dasa-* 'undecimus' from *\*aēvan-dasu-* 'undecim'; the first half of the word is no doubt *aēvem*, the form of the neuter and of the masculine alike.

Combinations of two dual forms occur in Avestic as in Sanskrit (§ 24 p. 41), e. g. *ahura miḫra* and *miḫra ahura* 'Ormuzd and Mithra', *āpa urvairē* 'water and plants' (*ap-* 'water', *urvārā-* 'plant'), *pasu vīra* 'cow and man'. But the fusion of these elements is not by any means so close as it is in Sanskrit,

since the first member always retains its own inflexion, e. g. dat. *ahuraēibya mīpraēibya*. Cp. Bartholomae, Bezzenberger's Beitr. X 267 ff., XIII 57 f.

### Armenian.

§ 28. Class I. Here the Indo-Germanic differences in the termination of the stem of the first word were largely obliterated. Where the second member begins in a consonant we find an *-a-*, the so-called 'vowel of composition', whose origin is as yet unexplained.

Compounds in which the second member begins in a sonant: *dr-and* 'door-post, threshold' from *\*dur-*, pl. *durē*. *hair-anun* 'having one's father's name' from *hair*, gen. *haur*. *skesr-air* 'mother-in-law's husband, father-in-law' from *skesur*, gen. *skesri*. *hing-ameay* adj. 'of five years', from *hing*.

Compounds in which the second member begins in a consonant: *dr-a-kiç* 'door-companion, neighbour'. *lsn-a-goin* 'whitish' from *lusn*, pl. *lusun-ē*, 'λευκώματα' and *goin* 'colour'. *lus-a-vor* 'clear' from *lois*, gen. *lusoy*, 'light', *-vor* being a suffix which corresponds to the Gr. *-φῶρος* 'bringing'; a later compound is *lus-a-ber* 'light-bringing, enlightener' (cp. I § 485 p. 358 for an account of Idg. *bh*). *ms-a-ker* 'eating flesh' from *mis*, gen. *msoy*, 'flesh'. *mi-a-cin* 'unigenitus', from *mī*, gen. *mioj*, 'one'. Combined with the termination of stems in *-iç-*, *-a-* became *-e-*, e. g. *age-vor* 'wearing a tail' from *agi*. This *-a-* was even introduced into compounds whose first member was the case of a noun; see below, Class IV.

Remark 1. This vowel of composition, *-a-*, no doubt formed the original ending of some one form or set of forms when used as the first member of a compound, and then became general. Phonetic laws, however, forbid our assuming that this represents the Idg. suffix *-o-*. I conjecture that it first occurred in words borrowed from the Iranian (e. g. *bar-a-pan* 'doorkeeper' = O.Iran. *\*dvura-pāna-* or *\*dvāra-pāna-*), and thence spread further by analogy. Compare the *-o-* borrowed from the Greek in Latin compounds like *albo-galērus*, § 34.

Remark 2. It is not clear whether such compounds as *stin-di* 'sucking the breast, suckling' (*stin*, gen. *stean*, 'woman's breast') *akn-kal* 'in one's

eye, visible' belong to Class I, but have never had the composition-vowel *-a-*, or whether they contain case-forms (Class IV).

Class II. *an-ban* 'carens ratione et verbo': cp. Gr. ἄ-φανος; *an-kin* 'without a wife, widower': cp. Gr. ἄ-γυνος; *an-anun* 'ἀν-ώνυμος'; *an-arg* 'unhonoured'. *t-gēt* 'not knowing' (beside *an-gēt*): Skr. *dur-vēda-* 'unlearned'; *t-zōr* 'not mighty, weak' (beside *an-zōr*). Its opposite, *h-* = Skr. *sú* 'well', is found only in composition; e. g. *h-zōr* 'excellent in strength, mighty'.

Class III. Excluding *ni-st*, which has become a simple word (§ 15 p. 30), I know of no compounds containing prepositional words that are certainly proethnic. I strongly suspect that *ham-* 'with, together' (e. g. *han-dart* 'quiet, soft': cp. Skr. *sq-dhṛta-*; *han-dēs* 'proof': cp. Skr. *sq-dēśa-* 'information') was borrowed from Iranian (Avest. *ham-*).

Class IV. *haur-elbair* 'father's brother', *haur* gen. sing. of *hair*. *diuç-azn* 'divine race, he who is of divine race, demi-god, hero', *diuç* gen. pl. of *dev*, which was borrowed from Iranian. The vowel of composition, *-a-* (see above, Class I), is inserted e. g. in *arñ-a-kin* 'husband's wife', *arñ* gen. sing. of *air*; *mels-a-sēr* 'loving sins', *mels* acc. pl. of *mēl*.

*air-ev-ji* 'man and horse, knight' sometimes inflected both of its parts, e. g. gen. *arñ-ev-jiōy*, sometimes only the final noun, gen. *air-ev-jiōy*; cp. Mod.H.G. *der wert deines grund und bodens*, 'the value of your estate'.

## Greek.

### § 29. Class I.

Stems in *-o-*, where the second member began in a consonant, had *-o-*: ἄγρο-νόμος 'dwelling in the country' (ἀγρό-ς). It must be left an open question whether the *-ε-* in such compounds as Ἀγέλαος (from ἀγό-ς 'guide') ἀρχέ-πολις (from ἀρχό-ς 'governor') was derived from Indo-Germanic stem-forms in *-e-*, or whether it was substituted by the Greeks for an older *-o-* in consequence of the association of the first member with a verbal stem (for which see § 30).

Where the second member began in a sonant, elision was

the rule (I § 600. 603 p. 457): *ἰππ-αγωγό-ς* 'transporting horses' (*ἵππο-ς*). This elision dates from the proethnic period of Greek, and the type then established gave rise later to such forms as *καχ-ῥία* 'ill condition' (*ῥίω* for *\*σεχω*, I § 564 p. 421) *φιλ-εργός* 'loving work' (*ῥογ-ον* for *φέργον*, I § 164 p. 145), by the side of which we also find phonetically regular forms like *ῥαβδούχος* 'holding a staff' (for *\*ῥαβδο-(σ)οχος*) *κακο-εργός* *κακοῦργος* 'doing evil'. Forms like *ἀράχνο-ῖφής* 'woven by spiders' (Philo) are obviously new formations of a later date; cp. Lat. *multi-angulus* § 34, Goth. *galiuga-apauſtaulus* § 40.

The stem-final *-o-*, as we shall soon see, was extended from *o*-stems to others of the most widely different classes; monosyllabic stems were least affected by the tendency (e. g. *χέρων*, *πύγ-μάχος*; see below).

*-ā-* (Ion. Att. *-η-*) often appears instead of *-o-*; e. g. *θανατηφόρος* beside *θανато-φόρος* 'death-bringing' (*θάνατο-ς*), *ὀμβρη-γενής* 'rain-born' (*ὄμβρο-ς*).

Remark. This *-a-* appears side by side with *-o-* even where the latter was due to form-association, as *ἀσπιδ-η-φόρος* beside *ἀσπιδ-ό-δουπος*; stem *ἀσπιδ-*, see below.

As regards the origin of this *-a-*: the wide extent of its usage is certainly due to the action of analogy, and it is conceivable that its origin is to be found 1. in forms like *να-γενής* (*νεη-γενής*) *ὀλιγη-πελῶν*, which contained adverbs like Dor. *ἄμα ἀμῦ*, *κρυφῶ* (Westphal, Meth. Gramm. II 8 f., Mahlow, Die lang. Voc. A E O 131 f.); 2. in a number of instances where *ā-* and *o*-stems existed side by side; 3. in such compounds as *νικη-φόρος* *βουλη-φόρος*, *αἰθρη-γενής* *μοιρη-γενής*, the terminations *-ηφόρος* *-ηγενής* being regarded as indivisible and thus coming into general use; just as in Attic, compounds like *ῥαβδούχος* (*ῥάβδο-ς*) and compounds like *κακοῦργος* (*κακό-ν*), being virtually analysed *ῥαβδ-ούχος* *κακ-ούργος*, gave rise to new formations, *πολι-ούχος* *παν-ούργος* and the like; and just as feminines from *n*-stems, such as *τίκτανα* i. e. *\*τεκταν-ια* (from *τέκτων*), suggested new formations like *λύκ-αινα* (from *λύκο-ς*) (§ 110). I feel certain that a great part at least of the instances where *-a-* is found in place of *-o-* are to be explained in this last way. Cp. also *-η-ει* (*-ā-Feiv-*) in § 127.

Stems in *-ā-*: followed by those whose nom. sing. ends in *-ā* (§ 109). *νικη-φόρος* 'bringing victory' (*νίκη*). *ὕδρια-φόρος* 'bearing a water-vessel' (*ὕδριā*). Ion. *μοιρη-γενής* 'born to good fortune' (*μοῖρα* for *\*μοριā*). By the side of *-ā-* there are a few



instances of *-α-*; as *Ἀλκά-θους*, *τιμωρός* for *\*τιμα-ορος* 'guarding a man's honour, protecting, helping' (Wackernagel, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXVII 263, XXVIII 132); the historical relation of *-α-* to *-ᾱ-* is obscure. *-ο-* frequently appears instead of *-α-*: *Νικό-μαχο-ς*: *νίκη*; *πολίτο-φθόρος* 'destroying the citizens': *πολίτη-ς*; Dor. *ἔστιο-πάμων* 'house-owner': *ἔστιᾱ*; *ἄελλό-πος* 'storm-footed': *ἄελλα*. The influence of *ο*-stems is seen also in the loss of the final vowel of the stem when the second member begins in a sonant, e. g. *Νίκ-ιππος*. Cp. § 12 p. 24 f.

Stems in *-ι-* and *-υ-*. An original type of formation may be preserved in such compounds as *σύ-αγχος* 'choking swine' (*σῦ-ς*). Cp. § 12 p. 25. Where the second member begins in a consonant we find the vowel short, thanks to the analogy of the preceding group: e. g. *σν-φορβός* 'swineherd'; in the same way we have loc. pl. *σν-σί* for *\*σῦ-σι* following *σν-ός* *σν-ῶν* etc., see § 160, 4. Some forms insert *-ο-*: *ύ-ο-μουσῖᾱ* 'swine's music' *σν-ο κτόνος* 'killing swine', *ιχθυ-ο-φάγος* 'eating fish' beside *ιχθυ-βόλος* 'striking fish': *ιχθυ-ς*.

Stems in *-ι-* and *-υ-*. *μαντι-πόλος* 'busied with prophecy': *μάντι-ς*. *βιωτι-άνειρα* f. 'nourishing men': *\*βῶτι-ς* 'act of nourishing'. *ἄστυ-γείτων* 'living near the city': *ἄστυ*. *πολυ-ανθής* 'with many blossoms': *πολύ-ς*. Cp. § 12 p. 25. With *-ο-*: *φνσι-ο-λόγος* 'investigator of nature': *φύσι-ς*.

*ναυ-πηγός* 'shipbuilder' for *\*ναμ-* (I § 611 p. 461): cp. Skr. *nāu-cara-s* 'going by ship'. From such forms *ναυ-* came to be used even where the following member began in a sonant, e. g. *ναύ-αρχος* 'ship's commander', instead of *να(φ)-* (cp. Lat. *nāv-igō* § 11), which is contained in *Νέαρχος* if this is for *Νέᾱρχος*, from *\*Νη-αρχος* (cp. I § 611 ad fin.). Examples of inserted *-ο-*: *νη-ο-σσοός* 'preserving ships', which may be compared with *βο-ό-κληψ* 'cattle-thief' (*βο-η-ρόμος* 'pasturing cattle') beside *βου-ρόμος*; hence the correspondence of *νηο-βοο-* with the Skr. forms *nāva- gava-*, which appear as the initial members of compounds, is an accident.

Stems in *-υ-*. With *α* = Ing. *υ*: *ὀνομά-κλυτος* 'with famous name'. We should no doubt compare *κυνάμνις* 'dog-fly'; the regular

form would be \**κνα-μνια*; the *-ν-* came from forms like *κυν-ός κυν-ηγός*; \**κνα-* = Skr. *śuva-* (instr. pl. *śuvā-bhiḥ*) Idg. \**kuuṃh-*. It is questionable whether such compounds as *κυν-ῶπις* 'dog-eyed' are the immediate representatives of any original type of formation.

With *-ο-* instead of the *n*-suffix: e. g. *κτό-κράνο-ν* 'capital of a column'. See § 12 p. 27.

Compounds in which we have a strong form of the *n*-stem are a new formation in Greek. If their second part began in a consonant, *-ο-* or *-ᾱ-* was inserted. *φρεν-ο-μανής* 'mad'. *κτιόν-ό-κράνον* beside *κτό-κράνον* (see above). *ῥην-ο-φορεύς* 'bearing a sheepskin'. *ἄγων-ο-θέτης* 'director of a contest'. *λιμεν-ή-οχος* 'closing in the harbour' (cp. *πολι-ᾶ-οχος*) beside *λιμεν-ο-σκόπος* 'watching the harbour'. *ἀκτιν-η-βολία* 'the shooting of rays' beside *ἀκτιν-ο-βολία*. Probably the only example without *-ο-* (*-ᾱ-*) is *φρέμ-πᾶρος* 'with impaired understanding' Hesych. (the correct spelling is due to Lobeck), which appears beside *φρεν-ο-μανής* and the like as *μελαγ-χροιής* *μελάγ-χροος* beside *μελαν-ό-χροος* 'with dark skin' (*μέλας* gen. *μέλαν-ος*, compar. *μελάν-τερος*), cp. also *χέρ-νιψ* beside *χερ-ό-νιπτρον* p. 50. Where the second member begins in a sonant: *φρεν-ώλης* 'distracted in mind'; *τεκτόν-αρχος* 'presiding over the artificers'; *ἄγων-άρχης* 'director of the contest'.

*ἄ-παξ* 'once': Skr. *sa-kṣt* 'once', Idg. \**seh-*. *χθον-ο-τροφής* 'nourished by the earth', beside Skr. *kṣam-*, a new formation like *κτιόν-ό-κράνον*; as to *ν* instead of *μ* see I § 204 p. 172 and below, § 160, 2.

Stems in *-r-*. Whilst the Indo-Germanic type was faithfully followed where the second member began in a sonant, e. g. *πατρ-ωνίμιος ἀνδρ-άγοια* (§ 12 p. 28), where this began in a consonant it was the rule to insert *-ο-*, as *πατρ-ο-φόνος* 'patricide'. This was preceded by a form \**πατρα-φονος*, cp. loc. pl. *πατρά-σι* and Skr. *pitṛ-śrāvaṇa-s*. Thus we still find *τετρά-γνος* = Idg. \**getur-*, where *α* was preserved by the parallel compounds with *ἐπτα-* etc.<sup>1)</sup> The strong form of the stem is

1) I no longer compare the first part of the pl. *ἀνδρά-ποδα* with Skr. *nr-* (G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 23), but I regard the word as a new formation. Brugmann, Elements. II.

often found instead of the weak, as *ἀστερ-ο-ειδής* 'star-like' from *ἀστήρ ἀστέρος*; this is regular in *nomina agentis* such as *λαμπτήρ-ο-φόρος* 'bearing lights' (*λαμπτήρ*) *ρήτορ-ο-διδάσκαλος* 'teacher of rhetoricians' (*ρήτωρ*); the original type is shown by Skr. *hṛīḥ-śādāna-m* 'seat of the offerer' (*hṛītar-*); see § 120. Monosyllabic *ρ*-stems sometimes have and sometimes have not *-ο* or *-ᾱ*: *χέρ-νιψ* 'water for washing the hands' and *χειρ-ό-νιπτρον* *χειρ-ό-νιπτρον* 'wash-hand basin' (for the etymology of *χείρ* cp. § 132), *πυρ-καίή* 'burning-place' and *πυρ-ο-ειδής* 'fire-like' *πυρ-η-τόκος* 'producing fire'.

Stems in *-nt-* show here as in their declension (§ 125. 126) their strong instead of their weak form. *δρακοντ-ό-μαλλος* 'with snaky locks', the weak form of the stem being \**δρακατ-*. *ὀδοντ-ο-φυής* 'sprung from teeth'. *γιγαντ-ο-φόνος* 'killing giants'. *παντ-ο-μίσής* 'all-hateful'. Before sonants: *πάντ-αρχος* 'all-governing'.

Stems ending in other explosives. *πυγ-μάχος* 'pugilist'. *ποδ-ώκης* 'swift-foot, swift-footed'. These usually have *-ο* or *-ᾱ*: *φλογ-ο-ειδής* 'flame-like'; *νιφ-ό-βολος* 'pelted with snow'; *ἀσπιδ-ό-δουπος* 'clattering with shields' *ἀσπιδ-η-φόρος* 'shield-bearing'.

Stems in *-s-*. *μῦσ-φόνος* 'killing mice': Lat. *mus-cipula*.

*es*-stems have *-εσ-* in poetic diction, as *ἐπεσ-βόλος* 'hurling words, speaking boldly', *ἐγχεσ-φόρος* 'spear-bearing'. At the same time we find *-ο* instead of *-εσ-*, sometimes even in Homer, and regularly in prose: *ἐίρο-κόμος* 'spinning wool', *ἐπο-ποιός* 'epic poet', *ἀληθ-ό-μαντις* 'prophet of truth'; similarly *ψευδ-άγγελος* 'messenger of falsehood', where the second part begins in a sonant. *-ο* for *-εσ-* no doubt arose from the similarity of the nominative forms, *ἔπος*: *ἵππο-ς*. Examples with *-ᾱ* instead of *-ο*: *ξίφη-φόρος* 'sword-bearing' (beside *ξίφο-φόρος*), *θύη-πόλος* 'busied with sacrifice'.

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mation modelled upon *τετράποδα* (Iw. Müller's Handbuch II 70 Rem. 1). Of course it is conceivable that this form arose at a time when \**πατρα-φονος* was still spoken and that afterwards the *-α* in *ἀνδρα-ποδ-* remained because it was supported by the *-α* of *τετρα-ποδ-*. Cp. also Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 298.

Stems in *-ασ-* were treated in much the same way. *σελασ-φόρος* 'light-bringing', *κερασ-φόρος* 'horn-bearing' (cp. Skr. *jyotiṣ-pakṣa-s* 'winged with light', § 134, 2). At the same time we find forms with *-ο- -ᾱ-*, as *κερο-φόρος*, *κερο-δόχος* and *κρηγ-δόκος* 'holding or containing flesh'. There is no example amongst *-es-*stems analogous to Hom. *κερα-ο-ξός* 'worker in horn' (with regard to the apparently similar Hom. *ἐλεό-θρεπτος* beside *τὸ ἔλος* see p. 34 ff. of R. Schroeter's treatise cited on p. 22).

§ 30. From the phrase *καλὸς κἀγαθός* was formed the abstract substantive *καλοκἀγαθία* 'character of a *καλὸς κἀγαθός*'. Cp. O.C.Sl. *osmo-na-desetŭ* § 47 and the use of the bare stem in Mod.H.G. phrases like *freund- und verwandtschaft*, *gold- und silberschmid*.

In Greek, as in Germanic and Slavonic (§ 41. 47), a large number of compounds came to be regarded in a new way. Their first member now appeared to the popular consciousness to have a verbal instead of a nominal force. This gave rise to many new formations in which real verbal stems were employed as the initial members of compound words.

Thus *τανύ-γλωσσο-ς*, whose meaning originally was 'with outstretched (adj. \**τανύ-ς* = Skr. *tanú-*) tongue', was explained to mean 'stretching out the tongue' (and compared with *τάνν-ται*), *φιλό-ξενος* 'to whom a stranger or guest is dear (*φίλος*)' was explained as 'loving one's guest' (and compared with *φιλέω*), *φυγο-πτόλεμος* 'unfriendly (\**φυγο-ς*: cp. Lat. *lūci-fugu-s*) to war' as 'fleeing from war' (and compared with *ἐφυγο-ν*), and so forth. Hence arose new formations like *μισό-ξενος* (first modelled upon the form *φιλό-ξενος*, cp. *μισέω*: *φιλέω*) 'hating a stranger', *φαινο-μηρίς* 'showing the hips' (*φαίνω*), *ἐθελό-πονος* 'willing to work' (*ἑθέλω*). As to the *-ε-* of *Ἀγί-λαος*, *ἀρχέ-κακος* etc. see § 12 p. 24, § 29 p. 46. If this is not the *e*-form of the suffix, and so derived from the pre-Greek period, we must assume that it was borrowed from forms like *ἄγε-ι ἄγε-τε* when the first part of such compounds came to be regarded as a verbal stem.

New formations of all kinds were introduced by compounds like *τερψί-μβροτος τανυσί-πιτρος ἀρκεσί-γυιος*, the initial members of which were abstract nouns formed with the suffix *-τι-* (§ 100) *τέρψ-ις* 'delight' *τάνυσι-ς* 'outspreading' *ἄρκεσι-ς* 'help, strengthening', because these were associated with the aorists in *-σ-* (*ἔτερψα ἔτάνυσα ἤρκεσα*), and were consequently regarded as having a verbal force, 'delighting men' 'spreading the wings' 'strengthening the limbs'. The new verbal signification was all the more easily established in these forms because of compounds like *φυγο-πτόλεμος*, whose first member had been identified as an aorist-stem at an earlier stage of Greek. Thus in the first place, where the abstract noun and the *σ*-aorist showed different grades of ablaut in the root-vowel, that of the latter was introduced: by the side of *στασί-αρχος* (*στάσις*) arose *Στησί-χορος* 'bringing on the chorus' (on the model of *ἑστησα*); *φθισί-μβροτος* 'destroying men' (on the model of *ἔφθισα*) as contrasted with *φθίσις*. Next, the connexion of these aoristic compounds in the mind of the speaker with such others as *λειπο-ψυχέω φυγο-πτόλεμος ἀρχέ-κακος φυγ-αίχμης* led to an imitation of the ending seen in the initial members of these latter forms. Hence compounds like *λειψό-θριξ* 'having lost one's hair' *περσέ-πολις* 'destroying cities' *Στησ-αγόρης* (contrast *στασί-αρχος* from *στάσι-ς*). But on the other hand the *-ι-* of compounds in *-σι-* crept into compounds whose initial member was the stem of a present or a strong aorist. Hence such forms as *ἀλεξί-κακος* 'keeping off harm' (*ἀλέξω*) *λαθι-κηδής* 'forgetting care' (*ἐλαθον*, cp. *λησί-μβροτος*). This process of mutual assimilation may have been aided by the double type of the *σ*-aorist, *ἔδειξα* and *ἔξον* existing side by side. Many other new formations were caused by the association of these *-σι-* compounds with those of Class IV whose initial member was a loc. pl. in *-σι*, as *ὀρεσί-τροφος* 'reared on the mountains'; see Osthoff, Verb. i. d. Nominalc. 193 ff. Lastly, we must notice certain other new formations: *Πρωτεσί-λαος* (beside *Πρωτό-λαος*, from *πρῶτος* 'first') formed on the model of *Ἀγεσί-λαος Ἀρκεσί-λαος* and the like, and *Ερμησί-λειος*

*Ἑρμῆσι-άναξ* *Ἑρμῆς-ανδρός* (from *Ἑρμῆς*) modelled on such forms as *Ἀγῆσι-λαός* *Ἠγῆσι-άναξ* *Ἀγῆς-ανδρός*.

§ 31. Class II. *ἄγνωτο-ς* 'unknown': Skr. *á-jñātas* Lat. *ignōtus* for *\*in-gnōtus* (I § 506 p. 370); *ἄνυδρος* 'waterless': Skr. *an-udrā-s*. On the analogy of forms like *ἄυπνος* 'sleepless' *ἄωνος* 'wineless', in which the hiatus was due to the loss of some consonant (the older forms were *\*ἄ-σπννο-ς*, *\*ἄ-φουνο-ς*, though the latter can hardly have been developed regularly from a pre-Greek form *\*η-μοῖνο-*, see I § 225 p. 193), there were formed several other compounds like *ἄοδμος* *ἄοζος* (with *ὁδ-* cp. Lat. *od-or*; *ὄζος* = Goth. *asts*) by the side of the forms *ἄν-οδμος* *ἄν-οζος* which are also found. *δύσ-φορος* 'hard to bear'; cp. Skr. *dur-bhara-s* 'hard to bear, to nourish'.

Class III. *ὑπό-θετος* 'placed under' *ὑπό-θεις* 'groundwork, foundation': Skr. *upa-hita-s* 'placed under, situated' Lat. *sub-ditus* *sub-ditiō* (*sub-* for *\*x-ub-*? see I § 568, 2 p. 424, II § 2 p. 3).

*προς-έσπερος* 'towards evening': Skr. *prati-dṣā-* 'towards evening'. *παρά-βακτρος* 'situated near one's staff', *παρά-νομος* 'contrary to law'. *ἀνά-λογος* 'corresponding to *λόγος*'. *ἐγ-κέφαλος* 'being in the head, brain'. These compounds generally end in the suffix *-ιο-*, as *ὑπ-ασπίω-ιο-ς* *παρα-θαλάσσι-ιο-ς* *ἐν-αγών-ιο-ς*; see § 63.

*οὐ-τις* 'no one' beside *μή-τις*, no doubt took the place of an Idg. form *\*ne-qi-s* at the time when *\*ne* was driven out of use by *οὐ*, a form whose origin is still obscure (cp. § 15 p. 31). Later arose *οὐδ-είς* 'no one' and the like.

§ 32. Class IV. By the side of *δω-δεκα* (§ 16) arose *ἐν-δεκα* 'eleven' (*ἐν-* nom. acc. neut.), *τρεῖς-καί-δεκα* 'thirteen', *τετταρεσ-καί-δεκα* 'fourteen' (nom. pl. masc. fem.); another word for 'thirteen' is the Att. *τρίσ-καί-δεκα* (acc. pl.), note also the form *τρεῖςκαίδέκατος* 'thirteenth', and others of the same sort.

From *Νεῖα πόλις* ('Newtown') were formed gen. *Νεῖας πόλεως* and *Νεῖαπόλεως*, and further *Νεῖαπολῆτης*. Similarly *τριτημόριος* 'making the third part' was probably based on *τρίτη μόρᾱ*.

*Διός-κουροι* 'sons of Zeus', hence *Διοσκούρειον*, *διός-δοτος* 'given of Zeus', properly 'one given belonging to Zeus' (gen.

of Ζεύς). νειώσ-οικοι 'ship's houses, arsenal' (gen. of ναῦς). νόσ-κύαμος 'pigs' bean' (gen. of ὕς). Πελοπόννησος for Πέλοπος νῆσος 'island of Pelops' (cp. I § 565 p. 422 f.). διτ-φίλος or διτ φίλος 'dear to Zeus' (loc. of Ζεύς). δονρί-κτῆτος 'won in battle' (loc. of δόρυ). ξαρί-δρεπτος 'plucked in spring' (loc. of ἔαρ). Ἀλκιμέδων 'ruling in might' (loc. ἀλκ-ι). κηρεσσι-φόρητος 'driven or impelled by the Kêres' (loc. pl. of κήρ). πᾶσι-μέλων 'of interest for all' (loc. pl. of πᾶς). Ἰφι-μέδουσα (proper name) 'ruling with might' (instr. of ἴ-ς Lat. *vi-s*). παν-ἡμαρ 'the whole day' (acc. neut. of πᾶς). νουν-εχόντως 'in an intelligent way' (acc. of νοῦς).

This group of forms was considerably enlarged by the employment of case-forms instead of the first stem of the original stem-compounds (Class I). Among mixed formations of this kind are compounds whose final member has survived only in forms belonging to Class I, and no longer exists as an independent word, as πυλοι-γενής 'born in Pylos' (loc. of Πύλο-ς), δορί-μαχος 'fighting with the spear' (loc. of δόρυ), Ἰφι-κράτης proper name (cp. Ἰφι-μέδουσα above), νουν-εχής 'having intelligence, intelligent' (cp. νουν-εχόντως above), δικασ-πόλος 'administrator of justice' (acc. pl. of δίκη, cp. I § 204 p. 171).

As these words were formed not by any real process of composition but on the analogy of already existing compounds, so also were those which never had any but an 'epithetised' meaning; e. g. ἀερί-οικος 'having one's dwelling in the air' (ἀέρ-ι).

When the termination of the first member was a case-ending whose true character was no longer clearly perceived, it often happened that it was applied to stems with which it properly had nothing to do, as θεός-δοτος 'god-given' (also θεό-δοτος, from θεό-ς) on the analogy of διός-δοτος; Ανκόσουρα a town in Arcadia ('Wolf's-tail', from λύκο-ς) on the analogy of forms like Κυνός-ουρα ('dog's tail'); ποσειτρόφος 'nourishing grass' and ποισίχρους 'grass-coloured' (from πόα ποιή 'grass, herb') on the analogy of forms like ὀρεσί-τροφος and ἀνθεσί-χρους (with loc. pl. of τὸ ὄρος 'mountain' and τὸ ἄνθος 'blossom').

A further consequence of the obscuration of the case-ending of the initial member, was the use of this ending in

new formations as though it were only the ending of a simple stem, and therefore with no trace of the function properly belonging to the case; e. g. ἀταλά-φρων 'with untroubled mind' (cp. ἀταλα-φρονέων, ἀταλὰ φρονέων, acc. pl. neut. of ἀταλό-ς), ἀρει-θύσανος 'fimbria Martialis' (cp. ἀρεί-φατος 'slain in war', loc. of Ἄρης), πυρι-ήκης 'with fiery point' πυρί-πνοος 'breathing fire' πυρί-παις 'fire-child' (cp. πυρί-κανστός 'burnt with (in) fire', loc. of πῦρ), Ἀλκί-νοος Ἀλκί-φρων (cp. Ἀλκι-μέδων), χολοι-βόρος 'consuming gall' or 'consuming like gall' (cp. χολοί-βατος 'dipped in gall' beside χολό-βατος χολο-βαφής), κηρεσι-φόρος 'death-bringing' (cp. κηρεσι-φόρητος p. 54), ἰχθυσι-ληιστήρ 'fish stealer' (ἰχθύς) etc.

Remark 1. Compounds containing real stems in -ι-, as μαντι-πόλος, may also have given the appearance of simple stems. to initial members of compounds which were locatives ending in -ι- like πυρι-. And in discussing those forms which contain locatives pl. in -αι-, stem-compounds like τερεψί-μβροτος ἀρεσι-γυιος τανυσι-πτερος (see § 30 p. 52) must not be forgotten. Compare also the fact that the abbreviated form Ἡρι-ς was made from Ἡρι-γένεια Ἡρι-γόνη and the like, whose initial part was the loc. Ἡρι 'early', no doubt on the analogy of Ζεῦξι-ς: Ζευξι-δαμος; and in the same way the abbreviated form Ἰφι-ς was made from Ἰφι-άνασσα and like, which contained the instr. ἱ-φι.

It should be observed, however, that a large proportion of the new formations we are now considering are only found in late poets whose diction contains much that is artificial.

The form παν-, found in use as well as παντ-(ο-), is the neut. πᾶν which stands for \*παντ, and was used originally with the force of an adverb in compounds like παν-αίολος 'all-gleaming' πᾶν-σοφος 'all-wise' πᾶμ-πρωτος 'quite the first, the very first'. From these forms it spread to others, with the same meaning as παντ-(ο-), e. g. Παν-έλληνες 'the united Hellenes' πᾶν-δημος 'concerning the whole people' πᾶμ-μηνος 'lasting through all the months'. παν-οὔργος 'clever in any business' followed the type of forms like κακοῦργος i. e. κακο-(F)εργός.

Remark 2. In some combinations, παν- may possibly be the regular phonetic representative of the stem παντ- (cp. χερ- beside χερ-ο- and the like). So much may be admitted; but it seems to me improbable that this was generally the origin of the form.

Other examples with adverbs: ἀκαλα-ρείτης 'flowing quietly'



(acc. pl. neut.), *άμα-τροχιά* 'collision of wheels' (instr.), *παλαι-φατος* 'told from of old, foretold' (loc.).

*ἐγ-χειρί-θετος* 'placed in the hand'; *ἐμ-πυρι-βήτης* 'standing in the fire' derived from the phrases *ἐν χειρὶ θείναι*, *ἐν πυρὶ βῆναι*.

*ἀλλήλους* 'each other', which was used as readily of two single things or persons as of two pairs or two larger contrasted groups, must imply a proethnic Greek phrase \**ἄλλος-ἄλλον*, du. *ἄλλω-ἄλλω*, pl. \**ἄλλοι-ἄλλους*. \**ἄλλᾶλλ-* arose by contraction in the combinations \**ἄλλᾶ-ἄλλᾶν* \**ἄλλα-ἄλλα*, and then spread through the other cases. Next the dual and plural inflexion was used even where only two single things were spoken of. Lastly -*ἄλλ-* became -*ἄλ-* Ion. -*ηλ-* (cp. Wackernagel, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXX 294 f.). A more detailed discussion may be found in Fleckeisen's *Jahrb.* 1887, p. 105 ff.

Similarly we have *αὐτοσ-αυτό-* (also *αὐσ-αυτό-*) in the Delphic dialect and elsewhere. Originally the phrase *αὐτοσ-αυτοῦ* was used only in reference to a nom. sing. masc. in the sense of 'ipse sui', with the parallel forms \**αὐτᾶ-αυτᾶς* etc. But when the phrase passed into a single word, the first member became incapable of inflexion, and the form of the nom. sing. masc., as occurring most frequently, was used throughout. Hence e. g. Delph. inscr. *κυριεύουσα αὐτοσαντᾶς* and *κυριεύοντες αὐτοσαντῶν*, Heracl. inscr. *μετ' αὐτοσαντῶν*.

The genuine forms *ποδ-από-ς* *ἀλλοδ-από-ς*, whose etymological structure had become obscured (§ 16 p. 32), gave rise to new formations like *ἡμεδαπός* 'born in our country, countryman' *παντοδαπός* 'of all sorts or kinds, manifold', as though the second member of the compound were -*δαπο-*. The same *δ* occurs in *ὅστις ὅτι* 'who (whoever)' for \**σφό-δ τις*, \**σφό-δ τι*, see § 4 p. 9.

*τοῦτο* = \**τό ὃ το*, where *ὃ* is a particle = Skr. *ú*. The forms masc. \**ού-* and fem. \**αύ-* = Idg. \**só u*, \**sá u*, date from the pre-Greek period and perhaps these were pronounced as monosyllables \**σόμ* \**σάμ* even in proethnic Indo-Germanic: cp. masc. Skr. *só*, O.Pers. *hauv*. Then the neuter *τό* was added to these with the force of an adverb (cp. O.C.Sl. *kŭ-to* 'who?') giving the forms \**ούτο* \**αυτό* (for \**αύτο*, by the regular change,

I § 611 p. 461) and a new formation *τοῦτο* (instead of \**τοδ-υ-το*). Then these forms, whose ending was invariable, were influenced by other pronominal forms whose endings were inflected, and thus we have finally *οὗτος αὐτᾶ* etc. Cp. Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. IV 139 f., Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 257 f., G. Meyer Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 396.

The phrase *ἐμavτόν* = *ἐμὲ αὐτόν* 'me ipsum' gave rise in Attic to the new formations *ἐμavτοῦ ἐμavτιῶ*, while in Ionic *ἐμεωντοῦ* = *ἐμέο αὐτοῦ* (cp. *τῶντό* = *τὸ αὐτό*) produced *ἐμεωντιῶ* and *ἐμεωντόν*.

### Italic.

§ 33. In the Italic group, especially in Latin, the practice of compounding noun-stems by the method of Class I survived in popular speech, though only to a small extent. Amongst the Romans it received an artificial stimulus and attained a certain degree of importance through the close adherence of Latin poetry to Greek models. But eminent stylists and grammarians of the classical period recognised the spurious character of words coined on Greek types, and protested against encumbering the language with new formations of this kind. The developement of the Fourth Class of compounds, however, was by degrees extended all the more widely for this restriction in Class I. As regards Classes II and III, Italic stands in the same position as the other branches of Indo-Germanic.

§ 34. Class I. We may discuss the Latin forms first.

Stems in *-o-*. Where the stem-final of the first member was not entirely lost before an initial consonant in the second part, it took the intermediate form of the irrational vowel. Accordingly it usually appears as *-i-*, e. g. *belli-ger* (beside *bellum*); before labials and before *l* as the sound intermediate between *u* and *i*, e. g. *centu-peda centi-peda*, *māgnu-ficus māgnificus*, *cunu-ligus*. Where *-o-* appears instead, as in *albo-galērus Ūno-mammia sexcento-plāgus* (Stolz, Die lat. Nominalc. 19 ff.), we must assume that it is due to the influence of words borrowed from the Greek, or sometimes to the influence of Gallic (cp.

the Armenian *-a-* in compounds, which — if our conjecture be right — was borrowed from Iranian, § 28 Rem. 1 p. 45)<sup>1)</sup>. The final of the stem has completely disappeared in *prīn-ceps* from *prīmo-*, *oin-vorsei* (S. C. de Bacch. 19) from *oino- ūno-*, and some other instances; see I § 633 p. 474. Where *r*, following a consonant, preceded the final vowel of the stem, it sank with the latter to *ɣ*, perhaps as early as the protoethnic Italic period, whence the *er* which appears in the historical period of Latin; e. g. *sacerdōs*, which was directly preceded by the form *\*sácɣ-dō(t)-s* (see vol. I loc. cit. and Stolz, Wien. Stud. IX 304 f.); such words as *sacru-fex sacri-fex*, *agri-cola* were formed afresh at later period<sup>2)</sup>, just as *acri-tas* took the place of *\*acertās*, which would have been the regular form, and *facili-tas* arose by the side of the older form *facul-tas*. Where the second part began in a sonant, the vowel was elided, as *somn-ambulus*, *rēm-ex*, *māgn-animus*, *flex-animus* (touched to the heart<sup>3)</sup>); such forms as *multi-angulus* (beside *mult-angulus*) came into use later on by analogy (like Gr. ἀπαχνο-ὄτης, § 29 p. 47) see I § 604 p. 458.

Since compounds like *albo-galērus* cannot count as genuine Latin formations, we are left in doubt whether the *-i-* (*-u-*) of historical Latin stands for Idg. *-o-* or *-e-*. The probabilities however are in favour of the former. Cp. § 12 p. 24.

Stems in *-iō-* regularly show *-i-*, as *medi-terrāneus* from *mediu-s*, *offici-perda* from *officiu-m*. Cp. *capis* I § 135 p. 122, also Goth. *arbi-numja* § 40 and the remarks on the gradation

1) The *-o-* of *ho-diē* must be regarded as of genuine Latin origin, if Danielsson (Stud. gramm., Upsal. 1879, p. 51 sq.) is right in his explanation of the word; he supposes that an old form *\*hō-diē* (Class IV) was re-modelled on the analogy of Class I (cp. *multi-modis* § 36), and that the *o* was preserved from being weakened to *-i-* or *-u-* by its position in the accented syllable. But perhaps we ought rather to derive *ho-diē* from an instr. sing. *\*hō*, with its *ō* shortened on the analogy of *modo* and similar words (cp. *quo-que*). A third derivation is suggested by L. Havet, Mém. de la Soc. de Lingu. IV 229 sq.

2) *sacerdōs* was not transformed into *\*sacridōs*, because its component parts had ceased to be clearly recognised.

of the suffix *-iō-* which will be found in § 63. If this *-i-* stands on the same footing as the *-r-* of *\*sacr-dōs* (see above), the derivative *socie-tās* (from *sociu-s*) must bear the same relation to the above mentioned compounds as *sacri-fex* to *sacer-dōs*. *Med-amna* 'Μεσονομαία' follows the analogy of *magn-animu-s* (see above). *trit-avo-s* then might be referred either to a form *\*trit-iō-* (cp. *tertiu-s*, Avest. *pritya-* etc.) or to *\*trito-* (cp. Gr. *τρίτο-ς*).

*-i-* corresponds in Latin to the *-o-* which serves in Greek as the 'vowel of composition' after most consonantal stems, cp. e. g. *ὀδοντ-ο-φνής* 'sprung from teeth' and *dent-i-frangibulus*. It seems probable that the Lat. *-i-* here sometimes represents the Idg. *i* of *i-stems* (cp. *igni-fer* from *igni-s*), especially when we consider how frequently the consonantal stems pass into the *i*-declension, e. g. *nāv-i-s* and *dent-i-bus dent-i-um* § 93 (Italic). Then e. g. *nāv-i-fragus* (beside the older *nau-fragus*) will have been formed from *nāv-i-s*, that is from an *i-stem*.

Stems in *-ā-*. *-ā-* is hardly to be found except where the second member has sunk to the level of a suffix: *fabā-ginus*, cp. *fabalis fabāceus*; *oleā-ginus -gineus*. Elsewhere the forms are treated like the *o-stems*. *tubi-cen*: *tuba*; *aqui-dūcus*: *aqua*. *tubu-lūstrum* and *tubi-lūstrum*: *tuba*. *-o-* (a Grecism): *viocūrus*: *via*; *blatto-sēricus*: *blatta* (cp. *holo-sēricus*). *glōri-ficus*: *gloria* like *offici-perda*. The *i* of *tībī-cen* (: *tibia*) has not been explained; is it parallel to Skr. *śact-vasu-ṣ*?

Stems in *-i-* and *-u-*. *angui-cornis*: *angui-s*. *tri-dēns*: dat. *tri-bus*. *morti-fer*: gen. pl. *morti-um*, Skr. *mṛti-ṣ*. The disappearance of the final *-i-* of the stem in *fūn-ambulus* from *fūni-s* is to be explained as due to the analogy of *o-stems*; *fūni-ambulus* was a later analogical formation like *multi-angulus* (p. 58); cp. also *sēm-ermis sēm-ustus* beside *sēmi-ermis sēmi-ustus* from *sēmi-* = Skr. *sāmī* 'incomplete, half'. *-u-* occurs in *u-stems* only before labial sounds, as in *acu-pedius* (cp. Gr. *ὠκύ-ς* 'swift') *manu-festus* (*manu-s*), and since in such instances *i* is sometimes written as well as *u* (*mani-festus*) the sound must have

been intermediate between *u* and *i* (I § 49 p. 41 f.). Thus the *u*-stems also were treated in the same way as those in *-o-*.

*nau-fragus*, like Gr. *ναυ-πηγός*, is no doubt a complete, not a syncopated form; *nāv-igō* is of the same kind, cp. § 11 p. 24; *nāv-i-fragus* and *nāv-i-ger* are new formations. Similarly we have *bū-caeda* and *bov-i-cīdium*: cp. Gr. *βου-* and *βο-ο-* § 29 p. 48; yet we must notice, first, that *bou-* was probably borrowed from Oscan (I § 432 Rem. 1), and secondly that the meaning 'great' in *bū-mammus* etc. points to Greek influence.

Nasal stems. *nōmen-clātor* like Gr. *ὀνομά-κλυτος*? *homi-cīda* (acc. *homin-em*): Goth. *guma-kunds* 'of the male sex' (*guma*, gen. *gumins*), *sanguī-sūga* (*sanguen*), inscr. *numi-clatori*. See § 12 p. 27. With the last group we should probably compare *nūncupō* for *\*nōmi-cupō*, cp. *prīnceps* p. 58. There is a third group, the largest and the latest formed, consisting of words like *īmāgin-i-fer germin-i-seca Aniēn-i-cola aquilōn-i-gena*, cp. Gr. *φρεν-ο-μαρής* etc. (§ 29 p. 49).

*sim-plex*: cp. Gr. *ἀ-πλόος*, § 12 p. 27. We must also mention here *septem-fluos decem-peda nūn-dinae*, beside which are found *septi-rēmīs sept-ennis*, *dec-ennis* (cp. *octi-pēs oct-ennis* from *octō*).

Stems in *-r-*. *frātr-i-cīda sorōr-i-cīda*, cp. Gr. *πατρ-ο-φόνος ῥητορ-ο-διδάσκαλος* (§ 29 p. 50).

Stems in Explosives. *dent-i-frangibulus serpent-i-gena. ped-i-sequos frond-i-fer. vōc-i-feror. rēg-i-fugium*.

Stems in *-s-*. *nas-turtium mūs-cipula. jūdex* for *\*jouz-dic-s*, *jū(s)-stitium*, and beside it *jūr-i-dicus*. Stems in *-es-* show *-i-* and *-er-i-*: *foedi-fragus volni-ficus* and *foeder-i-fragus mūner-i-gerulus*. The forms with *-i-* only are no doubt due to the similarity of the nominative terminations of the two stems, *foedus*: *haedu-s*. Nouns in *-ōs -ōris* (§ 133): *labōr-i-fer odōr-i-sequos*; the form *rūmi-ficō* by the side of *rūmor*, implies, as does also *rūmus-culu-s*, an older word *\*rūmus -eris* or *-oris* (cp. *decus* beside *decor*), cp. also *horri-fer -ficus* beside *horror*. The form *cini-flō*, from *cinis -eris*, is due to the nominative-ending *-is* (cp. *angui-s*), since we could hardly derive

it phonetically from a form like *\*cinis-flō*; cp. the new formations *cucumī cucumim* beside *cucumis -eris*, and another word which must also be explained by reference to the form of the nominative, *lapi-cīda* from *lapis -idis*.

Remark. We must no doubt assume the loss of *-i-* through syllabic dissimilation in the following: *trucidāre*, for *\*truci-i-cīdāre*, *arcubī* ('qui excubant in arce') for *\*arc[i-c]ubī*, *cordolium* for *\*cord[i-d]olium*. See I § 643 p. 482. The monosyllabic stems contained in *pelluviae* for *\*ped-luviae* (I § 369 p. 280), *sōl-stitium* (beside *sōl-i-fer*) and other such compounds may or may not have dropped an *-i-* (I § 633 p. 474). With *pelluviae* compare *malluviae* for *\*man-luviae*.

In the monuments of the Umbro-Samnitic dialects this class of compounds is very scantily represented. If we disregard compounds containing numerals, and uncertain instances like the Osc. *.ovfrīkūnūss*, whose initial part is mutilated (Pauli, Altit. Stud. II 118), there remains only the Osc. *med-dīss med-dis*, whose first part is the same as the Umbr. *meṛ-s mers* 'ius, fas' (§ 132. 163).

*du-* for Idg. *\*dyi-* 'two' is peculiar to the Italic languages: Lat. *du-plus du-plex du-centī du-bius* (I § 170 p. 150), Umbr. *du-pla* 'duplas' *du-pursus* 'bipedibus'. I regard it as a new formation of proethnic Italic, suggested by *quadru-*: Lat. *quadru-plus -plex -pēs*, and in early Latin *\*quadru-centī* for *quadrin-gentī* (Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 283); *quincu-plex* etc. are formed on the same model. Umbr. *petur-pursus* 'quadru-pedibus' was a new Umbrian formation.

§ 35. Class II. Lat. *in-jugis*: Skr. *a-yuga-s* Gr. ἄζυγος 'unyoked'; *in-eptus*: cp. Skr. *án-āpta-s* 'unattained, unskilled'. Umbro-Samnitic has *an-* 'un-', which seems to correspond to Gr. *μη-* = Idg. *\*ǵ-* (I § 253 p. 207): Umbr. *antakres* 'integris' Osc. *an-censto* fem. 'incensa, not valued'.

In Italic, Idg. *\*ne* 'not' was also restricted to use in compounds, as Lat. *ne-fas*.

Class III. Lat. *com-mōtus* Umbr. *comohota* 'commota', Lat. *con-ceptus* Falisc. *cun-captum* 'conceptum', Lat. *con-ventiō con-ventus* Osc. *kúm-bennieís* gen. 'conventus'; O.Ir. *com-* e. g. *ro co-scad* 'correptus est'. Lat. *per-emptus per-versus* Umbr.

*per-etom* 'peremptum': Skr. *pari-vṛtta-s* 'turned about' Lith. *pér-versta-s* 'reversed, changed'. Lat. *ab-ditus*: Gr. ἀπό-θετος 'set aside, secret', *ab-ductiō*: Mid.H.G. *abe-zuht* 'a drawing away'. Lat. *por-tentum por-rectum* Umbr. *pur-ditom* 'proditum': no doubt to be compared with Gr. πάρα (Stolz, Arch. f. lat. Lexicogr. II 498 f.).

Lat. *inter-mē(n)stris inter-mēnstruos* Umbr. *anter-menzaru* 'intermenstruarum', cp. Lat. *inter mēnsēs*. Lat. *amb-urbium*, Osc. *am-víanud* abl. of the stem *am-viano-* 'that which lies on both sides of the way', hence 'vicus, platea' (cp. Bücheler in Nissen's Pomp. Studien 499). Lat. *per-nox per-dius* (*per noctem, per diem*); *per-fidus* (*per fidem fallere*). *sub-jugu-s* (*sub jugō*). *ante-novissimus* (*ante novissimum*).

Idg. \**ne* 'not', as has been said above (Class II), was restricted in Italic to use in composition, as Lat. *ne-fās*.

Lat. *ad-modum. in-vicem. af-fatim* 'to satisfaction'. *dē-nuō* for *dē novō* I § 172 p. 152. *ilicō* for \**in slocō* 'on the spot'. I § 81 p. 73. *pro-fectō* for \**prō factō* properly 'as good as something done' I § 682 p. 549. Many such phrases were reduced to single words largely through the enclisis of the noun and the isolation caused by phonetic change.

§ 36. Class IV. In Umbrian *desen-duf* corresponds to the Lat. *duo-decim* (§ 16 p. 32), cp. Gr. δέξα δύο beside δώ-δεκα. Lat. *un-decim*, explained in I § 633 p. 474 as standing for \**ūnu(s)-decim*, may contain other case-forms; according to Wackernagel (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 284) it stands for \**ūnum-decim*, cp. Gr. ἑν-δεκα.

Lat. *Ju-piter Juppiter* is said (no doubt correctly) to be = Gr. Ζεῦ πάτερ, and is therefore a vocative used as nominative (I § 612 p. 463), Umbr. *Iu-pater*. Lat. *Diēs-piter*, gen. *Diēs-pitris*; an analogous form is *Mars-piter*, also *Māspiter* (I § 269 p. 217). The words *postrī-diē cottī-diē* (*cottī-* for \**quettī-*, see I § 419 p. 307, § 431 p. 320, originally meaning 'on which-soever day of a series'; Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 147 gives a different explanation), and *merī-diē* (properly 'in the clear

day', from *meru-s*, see Stowasser, Archiv f. lat. Lexicogr. I 273 ff.) contain two locatives. The nom. *merīdiēs* is like the Mod.H.G. *die mitternacht* 'midnight', which comes from the gen. dat. *mitter nacht* 'at midnight', and *cottidiānu-s merīdiānu-s* like *mitternächtig*.

We have a group of words which did not become compounds until the literary period of Latin: *holus atrum*, *rōs marīnus*, *fēnum Graecum*, *jūs jūrandum*, *rēs publica*, *alter uter* etc.: gen. *holusātrī* beside *holeris atrī*<sup>1)</sup>, *rōsmarīnī* beside *rōris marīnī*, *alterutrīus* beside *alterīus utrīus* and so forth (Neue, Formenl. I<sup>2</sup> 590 f.).

*Sacraviēnsēs* from *sacra via*, *quartadecumānī* from *quarta decuma* (*legiō*).

In some cases the initial member follows the analogy of Class I: *Aquiflāviēnsēs* from *Aquae Flaviae*; *equiferī* 'wild horses' *ovifer* 'wild sheep' instead of *equos ferus* and *ovis fera*, influenced no doubt by the type of Greek compounds like *αἴγ-αγρος* 'wild goat' *ὄν-αγρος* 'wild boar' (cp. the Author, Rhein. Mus. XLIII 404); *multi-modīs*, *omni-modīs* instead of *multīs modīs*, *omnibūs modīs* (Danielsson, *Studia grammatica*, Upsal. 1879, p. 51).

In the literary period of Latin, phrases like *aquae ductus* and *aquae ductiō*, *agrī cultūra*, *plēbis scītum*, *fidei commissum*, *capite cēnsī*, *jūre cōsultus* etc. became compounds. Then, by a transition to Class I, *aqui-ductus*, cp. *aqui-dūcus* 'ἰσθαγωγός'. *pater-familiās*, like Mod.H.G. *mutter-góttes*, 'mother of God' *leib-brót* 'loaf of bread' (O.H.G. *leip prōtes*) Pol. *štuka-mięsa* 'piece of meat'.

\**quot annī*, \**quot mēnsēs*, originally relative clauses (cp. Gr. *ὀσημέριον* 'daily'), in course of time ceased to be regarded as such, and then the compounds *quotannīs*, *quotmēnsibus* were

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1) The *i* of the form *holisātra* (Apicius) was due to the analogy of compounds of Class I like *multi-sonus*; for the formation is too late to admit of the supposition that it was caused by the natural course of phonetic change, as in the second syllable of *īlicō* for \**inslocō* (I § 81 p. 73.)



formed, like *his annīs* (Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 146 f.). Cp. Lith. *kas-vākara* § 46.

*breve iter*, *longum iter* became *breviter*, *longiter*, and so forth. Thus arose the adverbial suffix *-iter -ter*. See Osthoff, Archiv f. lat. Lexiogr. IV 455 ff.

*nu-dius tertius* 'the day before yesterday', properly equivalent to 'nunc dies tertius' (*nu* = Skr. *nū* Gr. *νῦ* etc.). Hence *nudius-tertiānu-s* 'belonging to the day before yesterday'.

*male-volēns*, *male-dīcēns* (from which were formed *malevolentissimus*, *maledīcentior*, cp. Mod.H.G. *tieffühlendst*, *freigelegener*). *bene-volēns*. Derivatives of these are *malevolentia benevolentia*, and on their analogy were formed *malevolus benevolus*, *maleficus beneficus* for the older forms *mali-volus beni-volus*, *mali-ficus beni-ficus* (Class I, cp. *benignus* for *\*beni-gnu-s*, I § 619 p. 466 f.). A compound found in Tertullian, *altēgradius* = *altē gradiēns*, shows the same type as *male-volus*.

In later Latin, as we have already seen (§ 33 p. 57), this class grew more and more extensive. Especially where the inflexional differences of the cases had disappeared, and the first member of the compound consequently lost its proper meaning as a case, compounds of Class IV came more and more into favour. By far the greatest part of the nominal compounds now found in the Romance languages belong to this class. This disuse of Class I, in favour of Class IV is most clearly seen in 'epithetised' compounds, as French *rouge-gorge* 'red-gullet' *pattepelue* 'hairy-paw' i. e. 'fawner, sneak'. See A. Darmesteter, *Traité de la formation des mots composés dans la langue française* etc., Paris 1875.

### Old Irish.

§ 37. Class I. The final vowels of the stem of the initial members were accurately preserved only in Gallic. In Irish they suffered syncope and disappeared (I § 634).

Stems in *-o-*. O.Ir. *ech-rad* fem. (collective) 'horses': Mod. Cymr. *eb-rwydd* 'quick' Gall. *Epo-rēdia*, pr. Kelt. *\*ekyo-rēda-* (as to the second part, see Zimmer, Kelt. Stud. II 24), beside O.Ir. *ech*

'horse', Skr. *áśva-* Gr. *ἵππο-* etc. O.Ir. *dag-duine* 'bonus homo', from *dag* 'bonus'¹): Gall. *Dago-vassus*. O.Ir. *Doman-gart*: O.Cymr. *Dofn-garth*, Gall. *Dubno-rîx Dumno-rîx*, from *domun* 'world'; *doman-* for \**domno-* through the intermediate stage \**domp-*, see I § 623 Rem. 1 p. 469. Gall. *vergo-bretus* name of a magistrate amongst the Aedui, = 'cuius iudicium efficax est', beside O.Cymr. *guerg* 'efficax'; *Nerto-mārus* from *nerto-* 'strength, might'. In Irish the change of *t*, *c* to *p*, *χ* (*th*, *ch*) at the beginning of the second member indicates that the first originally ended in a vowel (I § 514 p. 375 f., § 658 p. 510), as *fîr-threbaire* 'true wisdom' from *trebaire*, *nocht-chenn* 'bare-headed' from *cenn*. The same is true of the *f* in such compounds as *find-folt* 'white hair' from *folt*, and the *s* in compounds like *macc-slabrad* 'plaything' from *slabrad* 'chain' (I § 576 p. 431, § 658 p. 510). Where the second member began in a sonant, *-o-* disappeared in proethnic Keltic: e. g. O.Ir. *find-airgit* 'white silver' (cp. Gall. *Vindo-magus*) *fîr-aingliu* 'veros angelos'; so in Gallic we find *Art-albinnum* beside *Arto-briga* as compared with O.Ir. *art* 'stone'; here too should be classed compounds like Mid.Ir. *(h)uasal-athair* 'patriarch' ('august father'), if the elision of *-o-* in this position was later than the loss of initial *p-* (I § 339 p. 268).

Remark. In Gall. *-u-* is sometimes found instead of *-o-*, e. g. *Virdu-mārus* and *Virdo-mārus*, *Adiatu-māru-s* and *Adiato-rîx*, and sometimes *-a-*, as *Reita-genus* (Esser, Beitr. zur gallo-kelt. Namenkunde I 5. 6 f.). These differences are due in part to an inexact representation of unaccented vowels in writing, but in part also to dialectic variation.

O.Ir. *aili-thir* 'stranger, pilgrim' from *alio-* and *tîr* 'terra'. *nûe-litridi* acc. 'novos, recentes litteratores': cp. Gall. *Novio-danum* 'Newtown'.

Stems in *-ā-*. It may be assumed that *-o-* was regularly found even in proethnic Keltic (§ 12 p. 24 f.). Gall. *Teuto-bōdiac̃* *Touto-bociō* beside O.Ir. *tuath* f. = Goth. *þiuda* f. 'people', common ground-form \**tey̥tā*, so that no doubt O.Ir. *Tuath-char* and

1) With this combination of adjective and substantive, and with those to be mentioned below compare § 39.

O.Cymr. *Tut-ri* originally had *-o-*. O.Ir. *dāl-tech* 'forum' (house of assembly) *dāl-suide* 'forum' (seat of assembly) from *dāl* f. O.Ir. *briathar-chath* 'battle of words' for *\*brētro-* through the intermediate stage *\*brēt̪̥-*, beside *briathar* f. 'word' for *\*brētra-* (I § 623 Rem. 1 p. 469, § 634 p. 475).

Stems in *-i-*. O.Ir. *muir-bran* 'mergus' ('sea-raven') from O.Ir. *muir* n. 'sea' for *\*mori*: Gall. *Mori-tasgus Mori-dūnum*. In these and other words the palatalisation of the last consonant of the first member is an obvious trace of the *-i-* which once stood before it (cp. *buaid-lia* 'fornix', properly 'triumphalis lapis' from *buaid* n. 'victory', *suin-chenelæ* 'proprium genus').

Stems in *-u-*. O.Ir. *cath-buadach* 'victorious in battle' *cath-lach* 'battle-host, assembled fighting men' *cath-charpat* 'battle-chariot' from *cath* 'battle': Gall. *Catu-slōgus* (= *cath-lach*) *Caturīgēs*, O.H.G. *hadu-*. *bith-beo* 'semper vivus', from O.Ir. *bith* 'world', which when used as the first member of a compound took the meaning 'everlasting, ever' (cp. § 4 p. 6): Gall. *Bitu-rīgēs*. *fid-bocc* 'ligneus arcus', from *fid* 'wood, tree', O.H.G. *witu* 'wood'.

To determine the chronology of the loss of the final vowel in the first member, we have the evidence of such forms as the nom. pl. *gnīmartha* beside sing. *gnīm-rad* 'act, deed', compared with the *u*-stem *gnīm*, cp. *ech-rad* above. Since *-ar-* came immediately from *-r-*, and this came from *-rē-* (I § 634 p. 475), the stem-final of the first member must have already disappeared before the process of *samprasāraṇa* began. Indeed, even in Gallic we find *Lūgdunum* for *Lugu-dūnum* (Dio Cass. XLVI c. 50 τὸ Λουγούδουνον, ὡς δὲ Λούγδουνον καλούμενον).

Stems in *-n-*. For these the form in *-o-* is substituted, as in Gr. *κτό-κοῦνον* (§ 12 p. 27); e. g. Mid.Ir. *talam-chumscugud* 'earthquake' from *talam*, gen. *talman*, f. 'earth'.

Stems in *-r-*. The examples of these stems are not free from difficulty. O.Ir. *athar-gein* 'procreation (of the father)' *māthar-marbthach* 'matricide' *māthar-lach* 'matrix', the *-thar* being no doubt for *\*-tr-o-* (cp. Gr. *μητρο-ο-κτόνος*). *athr-amil* 'patri similis' *mādr-amil* 'matri similis' beside forms like *sain-*

*samail sain-email*. Where the final member begins in a sonant: *athir-oircnid* 'patricide'. *sethar-oircnid* 'murderer of a sister' is no doubt modelled on forms like *máthar-marbthach*, where the gen. sing. determined the type.

Stems in Explosives. All of these must have had *-o-*. O.Ir. *carat-rad* 'friendship' from *cara*, gen. *carat*; compare Gall. *Carent-o-magus*. Mid.Ir. *oiged-chaire* 'friendship between guest and host' from *oegi*, pl. *oegid* 'guest'. O.Ir. *rig-thech* 'king's house' *rīg-fáith* 'royal poet' from *rī*, gen. *rig*, 'king', cp. Lat. *rēg-i-fugium*. Cp. also Gall. *Cinget-o-rīx* beside *Cinges* gen. *-etis* O.Ir. *cing*, acc. *cingid*, 'vir fortis, heros'; Gall. *Brig-o-banne* and *\*Brig-o-gilum* (whence the modern *Brigueil* and *Brieulles-sur-Bar*), beside O.Ir. *bri*, gen. *breg*, 'rising ground'.

Stems in *-es-* show in Irish the same type as Gr. *εἰσο-κόμος*. O.Ir. *teg-lach* 'household, familia' (O.Cymr. *teulu* 'familia'), beside *tech* n. 'house' = Gr. *στέγος*, *tecnate* 'domesticus, familiaris' for *\*tech-gnate* (the spirant having been assimilated to the initial consonant of the second member) a derivative from *\*tech-gnath* (*gnath* 'consuetus'). O.Ir. *leth-cholba* 'the pillar by the side, the second pillar', *led-marb* 'half dead', from *leth* n. 'side, half'. It is probable that Gallic names like *Cartis-mandua Civis-mārus* (see Zeuss<sup>2</sup> 785. 853) represent the same type of compound as Gr. *ἐπεσ-βόλος*; yet it is at least possible that a vowel has fallen out after the *-s-*, cp. e. g. gen. *Viscari* for *\*Visu-cari*.

§ 38. Class II. Idg. *\*ǵ-* 'un-' appears in Irish in different forms according to its phonetic surroundings. *ǵ-* before *t*, *c*: O.Ir. *ǵ-tromm* 'not heavy, light' *ǵ-cain* 'indecent'; but in Cymr. *an-*, as *annheilwng* 'unworthy': O.Ir. *ǵtualng-ithe* 'indignatus', cp. Mod.Cymr. *cant*: O.Ir. *cēt* 'hundred', I § 243 p. 201. *in-* for *\*en-* before *d*, *g* (cp. I § 520 p. 378): O.Ir. *in-derb* 'incertus' *in-gnad* 'insolitus'. *an-* before vowels, Idg. *\*ǵn-* I § 243, 4 p. 202: O.Ir. *an-eolas* 'inscientia', beside *eola* 'gnarus', *an-se* 'heavy' beside *asse* 'light'. By analogical transference *an-* came to be used before explosives, even in O.Ir.: *an-cretem* 'infidelitas', *an-dach* 'nequitia', *an-glan* 'immundus'. Further examples of this

kind are *an-fiss* 'inscitia', *an-bsud* 'instabilis' (*foss* 'quietude'), Mid.Ir. *ain-mine* 'roughness' and the like.

*do-* *du-* in *do-chruth* 'deformed' etc.: Skr. *duṣ-*, cp. § 14 p. 29. The opposite of this, *so-* *su-* = Idg. \**su-*, is kept in Keltic (as in Armenian, § 28 p. 46) only in composition: O.Ir. *so-nirt* 'good in strength, strong' from *nert* 'strength', *su-thain* 'everlasting' from *tan* 'time'.

Class III. O.Ir. *cuim-rechta* 'alligatus' beside *con-riug* 'alligo': cp. Lat. *com-ēsus*. *es-arte* 'caesus, expalmat' beside *es-arcon* 'excisio': cp. Gr. ἔξ-αιρέω 'selected'. *etar-scarthi* 'divisa': cp. Lat. *inter-fectus*. *acsiu* 'act of seeing' dat. *acsin* beside the pres. *ad-chiu*: cp. Lat. *ad-emptiō*.

O.Ir. *ess-amin* Mod.Cymr. *eh-ofyn* 'fearless' Gall. *Ex-obnus* *Ex-omnus*, from pr. kelt. *ex* 'out' = Lat. *ex* and (O.Ir.) *omun* 'fear'. Gall. *Ambi-rēnus* (around the Rhine), *Ad-lēdus* (by the river Ledus), *Are-morica* (before the sea).

O.Ir. *ro-*, an intensive particle, as *ro-mōr* 'very great' *ro-chain* 'very beautiful', stands for pre-Keltic \**pro-* (I § 339 p. 268): cp. Gr. πρό-καλος 'very beautiful' πρό-κακος 'very bad'. O.Ir. *ēr-*, also an intensive particle, as *ēr-chosmil* 'very similar' *ēr-chian* 'very long', comes from \**ex-ro-*; for the loss of the *-o* see I § 634 p. 475.

§ 39. Class IV. Besides compounds in which an adjectival stem was followed by a substantive (Class I), in Irish, as in the other Indo-Germanic languages, inflected adjectives were combined with substantives. Such phrases often developed into compounds, and this process was all the more natural because the adjective lost the characteristic inflexion of many of its cases, and thus the phrase looked like a compound of Class I. Hence the two groups overlapped, and in particular instances it is difficult to decide how the compound arose. In none of these words have we any clear traces of the destructive influence which the accent elsewhere exerts upon the final members of compound words, e. g. *drog-scēla* 'malinuntii' *dag-gnīm* 'good work' (I § 685 p. 552), and therefore we might in all cases decide in favour of Class IV. But there

is nothing to prevent our assuming that compounds belonging to Class IV influenced the accent of those of Class I. See Zimmer, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXIV 224 f., *Kelt. Stud.* II 19 ff. We shall find a similar confusion of two different types of composition in High German, § 44.

### Germanic.

#### § 40. Class I.

Stems in *-o-*. Where the second member began in a consonant the vowel seems always to have survived in protoethnic Germanic. In Gothic we find stems sometimes with *-a-* and sometimes without, but no rule has yet been discovered to account for this difference, although it must be connected with some variation of accent<sup>1</sup>): *guda-faúrhts* 'God fearing' *gud-hūs* 'God's house' from *guþ* 'God', *áina-baur* 'innate, native' *áin-falþs* 'simple' from *áins* 'one', *láusa-vaúrds* 'speaking folly' *láus-qiprs* 'with empty stomach' from *láus* 'loose, empty, null', *akrana-láus* 'fruitless' from *akran* n. 'fruit', *þiudan-gardi* f. 'king's house' from *þiudans* 'king'. In West Germanic, where the vowel still appears as *o* in the oldest monuments (I § 83 Rem. I p. 77), the law of syncope described in I § 635 p. 476 was in operation; but its results were largely obscured by new formations. The following are examples of the regular developement. O.H.G. *tago-sterno taga-stern* 'daystar, morning star', *spilo-man spila-man* 'player', *wego-wiso wega-wiso* 'guide'. On the other hand we find *boum-garto* 'orchard', *wín-rebe* 'vine', *himil-zungal* 'stars of heaven', *houbit-band* 'head-band'. Parallel to these stand such forms as *eban-lîh* 'aequalis' *regan-mānōd* 'rainy month' *atun-zuht* 'respiration' *accar-bigengo* 'agricola' *vogal-chrūt* 'chick-weed', which come from prehistoric ground-forms containing *\*ēno-* *\*rezo-* *\*ēmo-* *\*akkro-* *\*fuzlo-* (cp. Goth. *ibna-leiks*, *figgra-gulþ* 'finger-ring' and *Austro-valdus*, Count of Toulouse, 588 A. D.). However, it has still to be determined (cp. Kaufmann, Paul-

1) See Holtzmann, *Altdeutsche Gr.* I 2, 55; Kluge, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXVI 81; Kremer, *Paul-Braune's Beitr.* VIII 381. 438. Kremer's theory is the least satisfactory.

Braune's Beitr. XII 537 ff.) how far the historical form of the first member may have been due merely to the influence of the uncompounded word (*eban regan* etc.).

Remark 1. In O.H.G. through the partial coincidence of the *i-* and the *a*-declension, *-i-* often intruded in place of *-o-* *-a-*, as *wegi-rih* beside *wego-rih* *wega-rih* 'waybread, plantain' (properly 'way-ruler'). Cp. Rem. 3 *infr.*

The treatment of *-o-* in proethnic Germanic, where the second member began in a sonant, is uncertain (cp. I § 606 p. 459). It is possible that in some forms the hiatus remained (see above, § 12 p. 25), cp. Goth. *galiuga-apaüstaiulus* 'false apostle' (from *galiug* n. 'lie'), O.H.G. *sigo-ēra sige-ēra* beside *sig-ēra* 'honour shown for victory'. Elision is by far the most frequent: Goth. *hals-agga* 'curve of the neck, nape' from *halsa-* 'neck', *all-andjō* 'complete' from *alla-* 'all'; O.H.G. *wer-alt* O.Sax. *wer-old* A.S. *wor-old* O.Icel. *ver-öld* 'age of men, period, world' beside Goth. *vair* (stem *vaira-*) 'man', O.H.G. *ein-ougi* A.S. *ān-eāge* O.Icel. *ein-eygr* 'one-eyed' beside Goth. *áins*. O.H.G. *eban-alt* 'equally old' Mid.H.G. *oster-ābent* 'Easter-eve, day before Easter' for *\*ebn- \*ōstr-*, show the same analogical change as is seen in O.H.G. *ebano ebunōn* (see I § 215 p. 182 f.); the regular type is preserved in *Vestr-alpus*, an Alemannic chief (Ammian).

Forms containing the suffix *-jo-*. Goth. *alja-kuns* 'of other origin, strange', *frapja-marzeins* 'derangement of mind' (*frapi* n.), and on the other hand, with a long syllable before the suffix, *arbi-numja* 'receiver of an inheritance, heir' (*arbi* n.), *agláiti-vaurdei* 'improper speech' (*agláiti* n. 'impropriety'). Cp. the contrast of gen. sing. *harjis* and *hattrdeis*, I § 120 p. 112 f., § 143 p. 128 f., II § 63. In West Gothic *-i-*, not *-ja-*, is found from the sixth or seventh century onwards even in the former class of words. In Old High German *-i-* is universal, as *eli-lenti* 'foreign' *eli-boro* 'alienigena' *heri-berga* 'camp, shelter' *arpi-lōs* 'without inheritance'. It is questionable whether we should assume that *-i-* had appeared after short syllables, as in *eli-* (cp. O.Sax. *eli-lendi* O.Fris. *īli-lende*), before the consonant-strengthening (I § 143 p. 129) and the syncope (I § 635 p. 476) of West Germanic (Sievers, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XII 488 ff.); see

Kaufmann *ibid.* 537 ff. *-jo-* *-ijo-* are frequently found in proper names belonging to different Germanic stocks in the first centuries A. D., as *Χαρίο-μῆρος* *Hario-baudes*, *Inguio-mērus*.

Stems in *-a-*. It may be assumed that even in proethnic Germanic *-o-* was regular (§ 12 p. 25). Goth. *airþa-kunds* 'of earthly origin' from *airþa* 'earth', *hveila-hvairbs* 'accommodating oneself to the time', *πρόσκαιρος* from *hveila* 'time, while'. O.H.G. *beto-man* 'one who prays' *beta-hūs* 'house of prayer' from *beta* 'prayer'; on the other hand *erd-rīhhi* 'kingdom of earth' from *erda*, *brāch-mānōt* 'month of the first ploughing, June' from *brācha* 'land broken up'. O.H.G. *ahsal-pein* 'shoulder-bone' from *ahsla* 'shoulder', like *vogal-chrūt*. O.H.G. *erd-aphil* ('earth-apple') 'cucumber, melon' from *erda-*, *scab-isen* 'shaving tool' from *scaba* 'shaving tool, plane', like *wer-alt*. Mid.H.G. *nādel-aere* 'needle's eye' from O.H.G. *nadlu* Goth. *nēþla* 'needle', like *ōster-ābent*. Compare p. 70.

Words containing the suffix *-iē-*, *-iā-*: Goth. *pūsundi-faþs* 'leader of a thousand' from *pūsundi* f. (nom. pl. *pūsundjōs*) 'thousand'; O.H.G. *sunti-lōs* 'sinless' from *suntia suntea sunta* 'sin', *redi-haft* 'eloquent' from *redia reda* 'speech', like *eli-lenti*; see above.

Remark 2. In these feminines *-o-* and *-a-* often occur as well as *-i-*, e. g. *redo-haft reda-haft*, *hella-fiur* 'hell-fire' (from *hella* Goth. *halja* 'hell'). Here analogy has been at work; this new formation spread in the *-iē-* (*-iā-*) stems, not in those with *-jo-*, because the sonant *-i-* which stood at the point of juncture was not supported in the former class of stems as it was in the latter (cp. *heri-berga* beside nom. acc. *heri*) by the case-forms of the uncompounded word; the *-i-* of the compound was especially liable to alteration after the *ī* of the original word had been completely assimilated to the preceding group of consonants.

Stems in *-i-*. In proethnic Germanic *-i-* was no doubt kept in all compounds whose second member began in a consonant. Goth. *-i-*, as *gasti-gōþs* 'hospitable' from *gasts*, *draúhti-vitōþ* 'service in war, fight' cp. *ga-draúhts* (stem *ga-draúhti-*) 'warrior'; rarely the *-i-* is lost (cp. the loss of *-a-* above): *brāþ-faþs* 'bridegroom' from *brūþs* 'bride', *þut-haúrn* 'horn for blowing' from *\*puti-* 'noise, sound' = O.Icel. *pytr* Mid.H.G. *duz*. In O.H.G.



the forms are syncopated according to rule. *steti-got* 'genius loci' *turi-sūl* 'doorpost, post', but *tāt-rahha* 'narrative of what has happened' *gast-hūs* 'strangers' shelter' *truh-sāzo trut-sāzo* (Mid.H.G. *truht-saeze*) 'lord high steward'.

Remark 3. In O.H.G. through the partial coincidence of the *i-* and the *o*-declension *-o-* *-a-* often took place of *-i-*, as *scrita-māl* beside *scriti-māl* 'pace, step' from *scrit*, pl. *scriti*. Cp. Rem. 1 above.

Stems in *-u-*. In proethnic Germanic *-u-* always appeared in compounds whose second member began in a consonant. Gothic has always *-u-*, as *faihu-gairns* 'covetous' from *faihu* 'cattle, possessions', *filu-fáihs* 'very various' from *filu* 'much, very'. In O.H.G. the forms were altered by the law of syncope: *fihu-wiāri* 'cattle-pond', *filu-sprähhi filo-sprähhi* 'speaking much', *witu-hoffa wito-hoffa* ('wood-hopper') 'hoopoe' from *witu wito* 'wood', *Hadumār* proper name (*hudu-* 'battle': Gall. *catu-*), but on the other hand *töd-līh* 'mortalis, mortiferus' from *töd* = Goth. *dáuþu-s* 'death', *hungertag* 'day of fasting' for *\*hungru-* (cp. *accar-bigengo* p. 69) cp. Goth. *hūhru-s* 'hunger'.

Stems in *-n-* in proethnic and later Germanic show the same type as Gr. *xiō-xqārov* (§ 12 p. 27). Goth. *guma-kunds* 'of the male sex' O.H.G. *gomo-heit goma-heit* 'persona' beside Goth. *guma* O.H.G. *gomo* m. 'human being, man', cp. Lat. *homi-cida* p. 60. O.H.G. *hano-crād hana-crāt* 'crowing of a cock' from *hano* Goth. *hana* m. 'cock'. O.H.G. *namo-haft nama-haft* 'having a name' from *namo* m. Goth. *namō n.* 'name'. Goth. *áuga-daurō n.* ('eye-door') 'window' O.H.G. *oug-brāwa* 'eyebrow' from Goth. *áugō* O.H.G. *ouga* n. 'eye'. O.H.G. *herz-blīdi* 'heartily agreeable' from *herza* Goth. *haiřtō n.* 'heart'. When the second member begins in a sonant: O.H.G. *brunn-adara* 'vein of a spring' from *brunno* Goth. *brunna* m. 'spring, brook'.

Remark 4. It is noteworthy that the type of compound containing a genitive (Class IV), such as *hanin-fuoz*, *Franchōno-lant* (§ 44), common enough even in O.H.G., in later times continually encroached upon the stem-compounds of Class I, particularly in the Modern period. The chief factor in this development was the circumstance that *-en* came ultimately to be the ending of other cases besides the genitive, and hence lost its originally definite character. Cp. J. Grimm, D. G. II (1878) p. 528. 591 ff.

Stems in *-r-*. In Gothic we have the form *brōþru-lubō* 'brotherly love'; it is uncertain whether the first part represents Idg. *\*bhraty-* (I § 299 p. 237 f.), or whether, like the nom. pl. *brōþrjus*, it was a new form modelled upon the *u*-stems. *brōþr-a-lubō* also occurs, cp. Gr. *πατρ-ο-φόνος* etc. O.H.G. *pruodar-līh* 'brotherly' may be variously explained; *fatar-erpi* 'patrimonium' is in any case a new form instead of *\*fatr-*. We also find *pruader-līh* *fater-līh* and the like, where *e* is due to the influence of the inflected forms of the uncompounded word.

O.H.G. *fiant-līh* 'hostile' *friunt-līh* 'friendly', *fuoz-scamil* 'footstool', like Gr. *δρακοντ-ό-μαλλος*, *ποδ-ο-στράβη*. At the same time it must be observed that in O.H.G. many of these consonantal stems have gone over bodily to one of the vowel-declensions, e. g. *mānōd* 'month' (Goth. still has dat. sing. *mēnōþ* nom. pl. *mēnōþs*), with which compare e. g. *mānōd-sioh* 'lunaticus'.

Stems in *-s-*. Goth. *sigis-láun* 'prize of victory' (cp. Goth. *Sigis-mēres* Burg. *Sigis-mundus* O.Frank. *Sigis-bertus* etc.) from *sigis* n. 'victory' (stem *sigis-a-* or *sigiz-a-*): Skr. *sáhas* n. O.H.G. *egis-līh* 'horrible' beside Goth. *agis* n. 'fear' (stem *agis-a-*), cp. also O.H.G. *egis-o* m. 'fright' *egis-ōn* 'frighten' like Gr. *συχασ-φόρος*. The following may also belong to this group, if they have lost the vowel of the suffix *-es-*: Goth. *þrūts-fill* A.S. *ðrust-fel* (for *\*ðruts-*) 'scab' and A.S. *Hēns-brōc*, name of a place, compare probably O.Icel. *höns* (only in pl.) 'fowls'. Rather more frequently we have *-es-* stems extended by *-o-*: Goth. *áiz-a-smiþa* O.H.G. *ēr-smid* 'copper-smith', O.H.G. *Lembir-bah* (cp. *Kelbiris-bach* with the gen. sing., Class IV) Mid.H.G. *eier-vel* (A.S. *æzer-felma*) 'skin of an egg', Mid.H.G. *rinder-hirte* 'cowherd' (A.S. *hrýðer-heord* 'herd of cattle'). After *-er-* became a sign of the plural (§ 132) the first member of these compounds took a plural meaning (*rinder-hirte* = 'herdsman of cattle').

Remark 5. The transference of these stems to the *o*-declension (§ 132), caused by the loss of the final *-os* in the nom. and acc. sing., gave rise to alterations of the stem in compounds, on the model of the *o*-class; thus O.H.G. *rind-stal*. The oldest example of this type is perhaps

the form *requa-* 'darkness' (cp. Goth. *riqis* Skr. *rdjas-*), seen in *requa-livchano*, which occurs on an inscription of the second or third century A. D. (found in the District of Cologne), if Holthausen is right in explaining it as 'living in the darkness'; but perhaps it is better to refer it to the analogy of nom. *\*requaz* : *\*walfa-z*.

§ 41. In many compounds, in Germanic as in Greek and in Slavonic (§ 30. 47), the popular conception of the first member underwent a change, and the latter was regarded as having a verbal instead of a nominal force.

Thus in O.H.G. first of all nominal stems in *-i-* (for an original *-i-*, *-iō-*, *-iā-* or *-iē-*) came into immediate connexion with verbs in *-ien*, e. g. *spuri-* in *spuri-hunt* 'hunting-hound' (Mid.H.G. *spür spur* f. n. 'trace, track') came into connexion with *spurien spurren* 'to trace'; *smelzi-gold* ('melted gold') 'refined gold, standard gold' (*smelzi* n. 'gloss produced by melting, enamel') with *smelzen* (Goth. *\*smaltjan*) 'liquefy'; *deche* (older *\*decchi-*) seen in *deche-lachen* 'cloth or sheet for covering' (*decha*, older *\*decchia*, 'covering') with *decchen* (O.Icel. *þekja*) 'to cover'; *slengi-stein* 'sling-stone' (*slenga*, older *\*slengia*, 'sling') with *slengen* (O.Icel. *slengya*) 'to sling, hurl'. Hence numerous new formations whose initial members were real verbal forms, as *deni-lachan* 'cloth for spreading out, tent-cloth' from *denen* 'to spread out', *wezzi-stein* 'whetstone' from *wezzen* 'to whet'. The next step was to give a new verbal signification to nominal stems ending in original *-o-*; thus O.H.G. *strit-muot* 'eagerness for the fray' *strit-louft* 'race' (*strit* m. 'strife') was referred to *stritan* 'strive', *scelt-wort* 'abusive word' (*scelta* f. 'abuse') to *sceltan* 'to abuse', giving a type which was followed by large number of new formations like *melc-faz* 'milk-vessel' from *melchan* 'to milk'. Then, when the *ō* and *ē* in inflexional syllables had sunk to *e*, which also represented *a* and *e*, when e. g. *beta-hūs* 'house of prayer' and *betōn* 'to pray' had become *bete-hūs beten*, and *lina-berga* 'railing, trellis' and *linēn* had become *line-berga linen* respectively, the numerous forms of this kind gave a fresh impulse in High German to the verbal interpretation of the initial members of compounds, and the new type of formation already established was taken into yet wider use; e. g. Mid.H.G. *lebe-site* 'manner of life' from *leben* 'to live'.

Remark 1. In Mid.H.G. the stems of all classes of verbs had begun to be used in the initial part of compounds, and the number of such verbal compounds has been considerably on the increase down to modern times. There were always a number of words which to the popular consciousness appeared halfway between nominal and verbal compounds; as do even now such words as *streit-lust*, *tanz-lust*, *schlummer-stätte*, *raub-vogel*, cp. *streit* and *streiten*, *tanz* and *tanzen* etc. [Similar uncertainty is felt in English with regard to compounds like *show-room* *paint-brush* *watch-tower* *slaughter-house*.] But such forms inevitably came to be regarded as verbal when the noun was no longer used uncompounded, e. g. in *bethaus*, which was formed from O.H.G. *bēta* Mod.H.G. *bete* 'prayer', but, when this noun was lost, was of necessity connected with the verb *beten*.

Remark 2. The same process of analogical formation arising from a new interpretation of nominal stems is found in the other West Germanic dialects and in those of Scandinavia; whether it also took place in Gothic is doubtful. See Osthoff, *Verbum in der Nominalc.* p. 10 ff.

Remark 3. Connected with this is another characteristic of High German which may be mentioned here; — the new meaning given to the initial member of adjectival compounds in *-bar*, *-lich*, *-haft*, *-sam*. E. g. O.H.G. *danc-bāri* Mid.H.G. *danc-baere* at first meant exactly 'gratias (re-) ferens' (O.H.G. *danc* Goth. *þagks* 'thanks'), O.H.G. *scīn-bāri* Mid.H.G. *schīn-bære* literally meant 'bearing an appearance, having an appearance'. Now when the second member had acquired the character of a suffix, the first was referred to the verb to which it was akin (Mid.H.G. *danken* and *schinen*). Hence further new formations like Mid.H.G. *hel-baere* 'seeking to hide oneself' Mod.H.G. *trink-bar* *anwend-bar* etc., in which the second member is used like a primary suffix. See Osthoff loc. cit. p. 112 ff.

§ 42. Class II. Germ. *un-* 'un-' before consonants and before sonants: Gr. *ἀ-* *ἀν-* etc. Goth. *un-kunþs* O.H.G. *un-kund* 'unknown': cp. Gr. *ἄγνωτος*. Goth. *un-veis* O.H.G. *un-wīs* 'inexperienced': Lat. *in-vīsus*; Goth. *un-vīss* 'uncertain': Gr. *ἄιστος* 'unseen, unknown' (cp. *ἄοιος* § 31), cp. I § 527 p. 382. Goth. *un-agands* 'not fearing'; O.H.G. *un-ende* n. 'endlessness': Skr. *an-antá-s* 'endless'. Germ. *tuz-* 'ill-, mis-' = Gr. *δυσ-*: Goth. *tuz-vērjan*, a denominative formation, 'to doubt' ('be chary of faith'), O.H.G. *zur-wāri* 'suspiciousus, suspectus'.

In the course of the separate developement of Germanic several particles were restricted to use in composition, e. g. *fra-* = Gr. *πρό* in Gothic and in West Germanic.

§ 43. Class III. Goth. *fra-kunþs* A.S. *fra-coð* 'despised': cp. Skr. *prá-jñāta-s* 'different, recognisable'. O.H.G. *frá-tat*

'transgression': cp. Gr. *πρό-θις* 'a setting forth', Lith. *pra-dėti* 'to begin' *prā-džia* 'beginning'. As regards the accent see § 19, 3 p. 37. Goth. *af-stass* f. 'separation, defection': cp. Gr. *ἀπό-στας* 'separation, defection'. O.H.G. *in-ziht* f. 'accusation': Lat. *in-dictiō*, Gr. *ἐν-δείξις* 'an information'.

Goth. *anda-nahti* n. 'the time towards night': cp. Lith. *añt-kaklė* 'that which one has on one's neck (*añt kāklo*), burden', Gr. *ἄνρα, ἀνρί. ὑφ-άφεις* 'under an oath, bound by an oath': cp. Gr. *ἐν-υπιδίος. φαύρα-δαύρι* 'that which is before the door, street': cp. Gr. *παρα-θαλάσσιος*.

Goth. *miþ-gasinþa* m. 'travelling companion', Mid.H.G. *mit-erbelinc* 'co-heir': Gr. *μέγα*. Goth. *ufar-fullei* O.H.G. *ubar-fulli* f. 'superabundance': Skr. *upári*.

O.H.G. *niwiht* Mid.H.G. *niht* 'nothing' contrasted with Goth. *ni vaihts* 'nothing' *ni vaihtái* 'in nothing, not at all': Goth. *vaihts* 'thing, something'; we have also O.H.G. *neowiht* 'nothing' for *ni ēo wiht* 'no thing at all'. O.H.G. *neoman* Mid.H.G. *nieman* 'no one' for *ni ēo man*, cp. Goth. *ni manna* and *manna ni* 'no one'.

§ 44. Class IV. O.H.G. *drī-zug* A.S. *drī-tiz* 'thirty' = Goth. *preis tigjus*, acc. *þrins tiguns*; O.H.G. *zwein-zug* A.S. *twēn-tiz twēn-tiz* 'twenty' was derived from old phrases containing a dative, cp. Goth. *tváim tigung* 'duabus decadibus'. Other instances of this kind do not occur until later periods. Thus Mod.H.G. *jung-geselle* 'bachelor' *neu-jahr* 'New Year' *ober-rock* 'overcoat' are from the Mid.H.G. phrases *junc geselle* 'young comrade' *niuwe jār*, *ober roc*, and these forms are therefore stem-compounds (Class I) only in appearance. Mod.H.G. *jeder-mann* 'every one', gen. *jedermanns*, from *jeder mann* 'every man'. From the common phrases in which a preposition (*ze*, *in* etc.) was combined with a place-name consisting of adjective and substantive, arose new nominative forms, as Mid.H.G. *Höhen-burc*, *Höhen-vels*; cp. the nom. sing. *Schwaben* from *zen Swāben* (dat. pl.).

Many compounds in Germanic contain the genitive. In High German these continually grew more numerous; their

developement out of mere phrases may often be traced in the literary monuments of the language, e. g. Mod.H.G. *hungers-nōt* from Mid.H.G. *hungers nōt*, *Baierland* from O.H.G. *Beiero lant*.

O.H.G. (Alemann.) *Zios-tac* A.S. *Tīwes-dæz* O.Icel. *Týs-dagr* 'Tiu's (Zio's) day, Tuesday', cp. gen. Gr. *Δι(φ)-ός* Skr. *div-ás*. Similarly O.H.G. *donares-tag* A.S. *ḥunres-dæz* O.Icel. *þörs-dagr* 'Thursday'.

Goth. *baúrgs-vaddjus* 'wall of a fortress or city' from *baúrg* 'fortress, city'. Instead of *dulgis skula* 'he who has a debt (*dulg-s* m.) to pay, debtor' (Luke 7, 41) it is perhaps better to write *dulgisskula*. Crim.-Goth. *hæmis-clep* would no doubt in Wulfila's Gothic appear as *\*háimis-hlāifs* 'house-bread'.

O.H.G. *gotes-hūs* 'God's house', *hundes-fluuga* (beside *hunt-fluuga*) 'dog-fly', *Suabo-lant* 'Swabia', *hanin-fuoz* 'crow-foot' (name of a plant, lit. 'hen's-foot'), *ohsin-zunga* 'ox-tongue' (name of a plant), *gerstün-korn* 'barley corn', *Franchōno-tal* 'Frankenthal' (valley of the Franks); with these latter forms containing the gen. sing. or pl. of *n*-stems cp. § 40 Rem. 4 p. 72. In this class (not in Class I, § 40) should no doubt be placed the further examples O.H.G. *truhti-gomo* 'follower' *brūti-gomo* 'bridegroom'. In the Mid.H.G. period first occur compounds with the gen. pl. *aller*, as *aller-best*, *aller-grōzest*; in O.H.G. we have the phrase *allero bezzist*. From the beginning of the Modern period substantives are compounded with adjectives in forms like *manns-toll* (Mid.H.G. *mannes tol*) 'ἀνδρομανής' *geistes-arm* (cp. (cp. Mid.H.G. *lasters arm*) 'poor in spirit'.

In Mod.H.G. it was often forgotten that *-s* was a sign of the genitive in such compounds as *hunds-fliege*. Hence many new formations; on the one hand, forms like *hilfstruppen* 'auxiliary troops' *nahrungsmittel* 'means of subsistence, provisions' from *hilfe* and *nahrung*, gen. sing. *hilfe*, *nahrung* (Grimm, D. Gr. II 922); on the other hand forms like *bauersmann reitersmann* instead of *bauermann* 'countryman' *reitermann* 'cavalry-man'. Similarly in English occurs *doomsday*: A.S. *dōm-dæz*, *herdsman*: Mid.Eng. *herde-man*. Cp. § 17.

**Remark.** Compounds containing a dative or accusative governed by the second member do not seem to occur in Gothic nor in the older periods of High German. In any case we must reject the view (Mahlow, *Die langen Vocale* p. 100) that Gothic *seinai-guirnái* 'φιλαντοι' (gloss on 2 Tim. 3, 2) contains a dat.-loc. and means 'desiring for his own, i. e. for himself'. It is a matter of choice whether to regard this, like the reading *lāusaivaúrdái* beside *lāusavaúrdái* 'μαρμολόγοι' (Tit. 1, 10), as a mere mistake in writing, or to assume that the scribe wished to represent the sound of *ē* instead of *ā*, following the pronunciation of his day; cp. *Sunjai-fripas* (Lat. *Suniefridus*) in the Naples Document (Wulfila ed. Bernhardt p. 649), where *ai* is certainly to be read as *ē*.

The close connexion between the nom. sing. *ein* and the oblique cases of *ander*, which was established in O.H.G., produced the Mid. and Mod.H.G. *ein-ander*. In O.H.G. we still find such a phrase as *sie sind ein anderen ungelīh* 'they are unlike each other' (lit. 'one to others'). Cp. Skr. *anyō-nya-* § 24 p. 41.

#### Balto-Slavonic.

§ 45. During the proethnic period of Balto-Slavonic only a few new uses seem to have been developed. Two points may be mentioned.

1. The original Indo-Germanic compounds with *\*y-* 'un-' (Class II) gave way to compounds with *\*ne* 'not'. Cp. Lith. *ne-gālė* 'weakness, sickness, disease' O.C.Sl. *ne-mošŭ* 'feebleness, weakness', with Lat. *in-valitūdō* O.H.G. *un-maht*. [Besides *\*ne-*, another particle, which appears in Lith. as *bė*, in O.C.Sl. as *bezŭ*, and is connected with Skr. *bahiṣ* 'outside, without', had no doubt begun to be used as a negative prefix; cp. Lith. *be-dūgnis* O.C.Sl. *bez-dūnŭ* 'groundless', Lith. *be-dėris* O.C.Sl. *bez-bogŭ* 'godless'.

2. The compound adjectival declension came into use, as Lith. *gerās-is* 'the good (masc.)' = *gėras jis* (I § 147 p. 131), O.C.Sl. *novŭ-jŭ* *novy-jŭ* 'the new (masc.)' (I § 84 p. 80).

#### § 46. Lithuanian.

Class I. The nom. sing. of compounds of this group generally ends in *-is* masc. (gen. *-io*) and *-ė* fem. (cp. § 63).

Stems in *-o-*. Where the second member begins in a consonant, *-a-* is found less and less frequently in the course

of the literary period; the conditions of its loss still need careful investigation (cp. I § 636 p. 477, § 664, 1. 2 p. 522). The old form *veida-mainis* is now *veid-mainys* ('changing the countenance') 'hypocrite' from *vėida-s* 'countenance'. Old form *auksa-kasis*, modern *auks-kasis* 'gold-digger' from *auksa-s* 'gold'. *darbā-vētė* 'place of work' from *dārba-s* 'work', *svetimā-szalis* 'foreigner, stranger' from *svētima-s* 'strange', *gera-dėjis* 'benefactor', *visa-galīs* (beside *vis-galīs*) 'all-powerful, almighty' (or perhaps the last two contain an acc. neut., and belong to Class IV?). *szón-kaulis* ('side-bone') 'rib' from *szóna-s* 'side of the body', *vilk-paūtis* 'wolf's egg' (a kind of malodorous fungus) from *vilka-s* 'wolf', *minkszt-prōtis* 'weak in mind, soft-head' from *minkszta-s* 'soft, tender'. In Prussian -a- is generally kept, e. g. *lauca-gerto* 'partridge' from *lauka-n* acc. 'field', *labba-segīsna-n* acc. 'benefit' from *labba-s* 'good'.

Where the second member begins in a vowel, -a- is always dropped, e. g. *vėn-ākis* 'one-eyed man' from *vėna-s* 'one'. In Prussian on the other hand (as in Slavonic, § 47) the stem-final is kept; *dago-augis* 'summer shoot or sprout' beside *daga-gaydis* 'summer wheat' (cp. *deina-algenika-* below, p. 80).

Forms containing the suffix -io-. We still find -ja- in the older authorities, e. g. *nauja-vedis* 'newly married man' from *naūja-s* 'new'; cp. Pruss. *caria-woytis karige-wayte* 'review' (*g* in *karige-* = *j*), *crauya-wirps* 'blood-letter' from *crauyo krawia* 'blood'. In the modern language -io- stems are treated as though they were stems in -o- or -i-. The stem-final has been lost e. g. in *jaut-vedė* 'leading-rope for oxen', *jaut-akis* 'ox-eye' (a plant) from *jautis -cžio* 'ox', *vėžligė* 'cancer' from *vėžỹ-s* 'crayfish', *krau-leidys* 'blood-letter' from *krauja-s* 'blood'; examples with -a- are *grėbl-ā-kotis* 'rake-handle' from *grėblỹ-s*, *brol-ā-vaikis* 'brother's son' from *brōli-s*. Cp. also *nauji-kaulis* 'bony ex-crescence'.

Remark 1. We meet with spellings like *nauj-veda* beside *nau-vedā* 'newly married man', *krauj-gyslė* 'vein of blood', *vėj-malūnis* 'windmill' (cp. *bažnyč-kėmis* beside *bažnyt-kėmis* below). These forms cannot be said to represent the stage preceding the loss of the *j*, which is only restored in them from the uncompounded word.



Remark 2. This treatment of *jo*-stems in composition, which is also found in Lettic, reminds us of the treatment of the same stems where they are extended by derivative suffixes: *jaut-akis* like *jaut-ūžis jaut-aitis* 'little ox'. The form *žem-obūlys* (from *žėmė*), which will be noticed further on, should be compared with *kart-ūžė kart-aitė* 'little cow' from *kārė* 'cow'. In Prussian *kel-laxde* 'spear-shaft' (beside *kelia-n* 'spear') seems to correspond to these Lithuanian compounds.

Stems in *-a-*. *-ō-* is quite rare; the example *sziksznō-sparnis* 'bat' was mentioned on p. 25. These stems are usually treated like stems in *-o-*. *galva-žudys* and *galv-žudys* 'murderer' from *galvā* 'head'. *vasarā-sziltis* 'warmth of summer'. *barzd-skutys* 'beard-shaver, barber' from *barzdā* 'beard'. *nugar-kaulis* 'backbone' from *nugarā* 'back'. *bal-ūpė* 'moorland stream' from *balā* 'moor, marsh', *vasar-augis* 'this year's shoot' from *vasarā* 'summer', like *vėn-akis*; cp. on the other hand Pruss. *deinalgenikamans* dat. 'to day-labourers' from *deina-n* acc. f. 'day' (Lith. nom. *dėnā*).

Feminines in *-ia -ė -i* are treated like the *-jo-* stems. *gīr-paršzis* 'little wild pig' from *gīria gīrė* 'wood'. *bažnyt-kėmis* (also *bažnycz-kėmis*, see Rem. 1) 'village with a church' from *bažnyčia* 'church' (borrowed from Slav.). *žėm-skirė* 'landmark, field-boundary', *žem-obūlys* 'earth-apple' from *žėmė* 'earth'. *mařt-mergė* 'bridesmaid' from *mařtė*, gen. *mařczyōs*, 'bride'. An example with *-a-* is *kregėd-a-žolė* 'swallow-wort' from *kregėdė* 'swallow'. In Prussian, the feminines which correspond to the Lith. feminines in *-ė* show *-e-* and *-i-*, the equivalents of Lith. *-ė-*, e. g. *ape-witwo* 'river-willow, osier' from *ape*, Lith. *ūpė* 'stream', *wosi-grabis* 'spindle-tree' from *wosee* 'goat' (Lith. *\*ožė*, cp. masc. *ožys*).

Stems in *-i-*. *tri-rāžis* 'three-pronged'. In words of more than one syllable *-i-* is rare, e. g. *nakťi-kovis* 'roving at night'. The forms are usually without *-i-*, as *ak-mirkis* 'twinkling of an eye, moment' from *akťi-s* 'eye', *ānt-kiauszis* 'duck's egg' from *ānti-s* 'duck'; cp. Pruss. *perst-lansta* 'dust-window, window-shutter' beside O.C.Sl. *prŭstŭ* f. 'dust'. Here and there we have *-a-*, as *ugn-ā-vėtė* 'fireplace' from *ugnĩ-s* 'fire' (cp. *darbā-vėtė*).

Remark 3. These stems may have first followed the analogy of stems in *-o-* (*ugn-a-*) and then dropped the *-a-* (*ak- ant-*), or else the *-i-*, where it does not occur, may have fallen out by regular phonetic change, leaving the forms to be remodelled by the analogy of compounds like *darbā-vėlė*. In any case this group of compounds also (see Rem. 2) must be compared with diminutival formations like *ak-ūžė* 'little eye' *ugn-ūžis* 'little fire' etc.

Remark 4. *aky-mojis* = *akiu mojis* 'moment, twinkling of an eye' *aky-moju* 'instantaneously' (which we can scarcely suppose to have been influenced by forms like *aký-ti aký-la-s* etc.) may perhaps contain the nom. acc. du. used as the dual stem, *aki* for *\*akí*, see I § 664 p. 523. Cp. the retention of the original *i* in *try-lika* 'thirteen'. Whether *ie* in Bretken's *akie-mirksnis* 'moment' (Bezenberger's Beitr. zur Gesch. d. lit. Spr. 270) stands for *ia* is doubtful. — It may be asked in passing how we should now regard the *y* in *aby-pusė* 'on both sides', which contains the dual *abì pusi*, where *abì* comes from *\*abē*. Should we compare (in spite of the different accentuation) the relation of *apy-* to *api- apē*, of *pry-* to *pri- prē*?

Stems in *-u-*. *-u-* was on the whole rather better preserved than *-a-* and *-i-*. *alū-daris* 'brewer' from *alū-s* 'beer'. *virszū-galvis* 'upper part of the head, crown' from *virszū-s* 'upper (part)'. The loss of *-u-* (*-ju-*) and the intrusion of *-a-* in its stead appear to be connected with the partial transition of *u-* stems into the *o-* decl.: *pēt-valgis* 'midday meal' from *pētūs* pl. 'midday', *žmog-žudys* 'murderer of men' *žmog-ėdys* 'devourer of men' from *žmogū-s* 'man', *gyr-pelnys* 'ambitious person, braggart' from *gyriu-s* 'fame', *pig-ā-kalbis* beside *pig-kalbìs* 'proficient in speaking' from *pigū-s* 'easy, cheap'. The form *placz-kojis* beside *plat-kójis* 'broad-foot' (*platū-s* 'broad') is explained by reference to the cases which have *-jo-*, as dat. sing. *placziá-m*, cp. *bažnýcz-kėmis* beside *bažnýt-kėmis* p. 79.

Amongst consonantal stems there is scarcely a single example of a genuine type which has not undergone some destructive change in the course of its development. *szūn-obūlei* pl. ('dog's-apples') 'hawthorn' from *szū*, gen. *szuńs*, 'dog', like Gr. *xv-ωνις*, can scarcely be considered a direct representative of an original type; this is shewn by the forms *szun-musė* 'dog-fly' *szuń-szudis* 'stercus caninum', which by the rules of formation in Indo-Germanic should have been *\*szvin-* (= Skr. *śva-* Idg. *\*kyn-*). *móter-žolės* pl. 'mother-wort'

(from *mótė*, gen. *moteĩs*, 'woman') shows the strong form of the stem, in contrast to the original type.

Class II. Of this class there is no trace in Baltic.

Class III. *pra-miñtas* 'named': Skr. *prá-mata-s* 'contrived, uttered'. *pér-pintas* 'plaited crosswise': O.C.Sl. *prě-pětŭ* 'drawn outwards, outspread'; *pér-jūstas* 'girt over, girt about': Gr. περί-ζωστος 'girt about'.

*pér-galvė* 'that which is laid over or around the head, hood': cp. Gr. περι-κέφαλον περι-κεφαλαῖα 'head-covering'. *apý-vakarís* 'the time towards evening' (*apė vākara*). *pa-stalė* 'drawer under the table' (*pō stalū*).

*āt-laikas* *āt-lėkas* 'remnant': O.C.Sl. *otŭ-lěkŭ*. *sán-dora* 'concord', *sá-szlavos* pl. 'sweepings': cp. O.C.Sl. *sa-* Skr. *sam-*.

*ne-kàs* 'scarcely any one, hardly any one'. *ne-vėna-s* 'not only one, not alone', but Pruss. *ne-ains ni-ains* 'no one', cp. Lat. *noenu-m nōn*.

Class IV. *dù-szĩmtu* 'two hundred' *trỹ-szĩmtai* 'three hundred' (for *\*trys-szĩmtai* according to I § 664, 6 p. 524) beside *dù szĩmtũ* = *trỹ(s) szĩmtaĩ*. *trỹ-lika* 'thirteen' *keturió-lika* 'fourteen' no doubt contain the nom. acc. pl. neut. Accusative forms: *szĩ-mėt* 'this year', *szė-nakt* 'this night', *anā-syk* 'that time' for *szĩ mėta*, *szė naktĩ*, *anā sykĩ*. We have no doubt instrumentals in *szė-pus* 'on this side' *anā-pus* 'on that side' from *pūsė* 'half'. *aby-pusė* 'on both sides' is formed from *abĩ pusĩ* 'both sides' (cp. Rem. 4). Du. nom. masc. *jũ-du* fem. *jė-dvi*, dat. instr. masc. *jėm-dvėm* fem. *jóm-dvėm*, from *jĩs* 'he' and *dũ* 'two', similarly du. *pacziũ-du* from *pàts* 'self', with other forms of the same sort.

In some dialects we find *kas-vākaras* adj. 'every evening' *kas-mėts* adj. 'every year', originally subordinate relative clauses, i. e. 'which ever evening (year) it may be' (the Author, Lit. Volksl. u. Mārch. 320, and for a similar usage in Slavonic see Miklosich, Vergl. Gr. II 376, IV 87). In other dialects the analogy of accusatives of time like *tā (szĩ) vākara* 'in the evening (this evening)' gave rise to *kasvākara*, *kasmėta*, similarly *kasdėna* 'daily' and other forms; and, with loss of the

ending, *kasmēi kasdēn* etc.; and further, derivatives like *kasdēnis kasdēninis* 'daily'. Cp. Lat. *quotannīs* § 36 p. 63.

Compounds having a dependent genitive for their first member are rare; e. g. *szuns-ūdēgius* ('dog-tailed person') 'flatterer, fawner' from *szū*, gen. *szuñs*, 'dog'. There are more examples in Lettic, as *femes-mâte* 'earth-goddess' from *feme* = Lith. *žėmė* 'earth'.

Remark 5. How are we to regard *būts-angē* 'house-door' (*būta-s* 'house'), and Lett. *gads-kārta* 'time of year' (*gads* 'year', stem *gada-*) which seems to be a form of the same kind? Was there a stem *\*butes-*? (No great importance perhaps should be attached to the Prussian form *buttas-tawas* beside *buttan-tāws* and *butta-tawas* 'house-father').

Further, what is the origin of the *y* in *karsztymetis* 'hot time' (*kárszta-s* 'hot', *kařszti-s* m. 'heat'), *brangymetis* 'dear time, dearth' (*brangū-s* 'dear'), *darbymetis* 'work-time' (*dārba-s* 'work'), *vasarymetis* 'summer time' (*vasarā* 'summer')? Should we start from the nom. pl. *karsztī mētai* (cp. *aby-pusei* from *abi pusi*, Rem. 4) or a form *\*karsztyn-mētai*? For the general use of the ending *-ymetis* cp. Gr. *-ηφόρος* *-ηγενης* § 29 Rem. p. 47.

*kits kitā* 'one another' is now regarded so much as a single word that the first part retains its masculine form even when the subject is feminine. In Bretken (16<sup>th</sup> century) we still find *moteriszkēs gēdōja prēs kitā kitā* 'the women sang against each other'.

§ 47. Slavonic. Class I. Many of the following examples are not popular combinations, but a scholar's translations of Greek compounds.

Stems in *-o-*. The stem has *-o-*, whether the second member begins with a consonant or a sonant. O.C.Sl. *bogo-rodica* 'mother of God' from *bogū* 'God', *črīno-vlasū* 'black-haired' from *črīnū* 'black', *črīno-okū* 'black-eyed', *bogo-izbranū* 'chosen of God'. *bogo-učenū* 'taught of God'.

Forms with *-je-* from *-jo-* (I § 84 p. 80): *voje-voda* 'leader of a host' from *voji* pl. 'warriors, soldiers', *lūže-prorokū* 'false prophet', from *lūžē* 'lying, false', *gnoje-imenitū* 'κονρωνυμος' (nickname of a Byzantine emperor) from *gnojī* 'dung', *maže-ubižica* 'homicida' from *mažē* 'man'. Through the preponderance of the forms with *-o-*, this sound often took the place of *pr.*

Slav. *-e-* in later Slavonic, e. g. Serv. *konjo-zobica* ('equum nutriens') 'bag of fodder'.

Stems in *-a-* always show the ending of the *o*-stems. *vodo-nosü* 'water-vessel' from *voda* 'water', *raĥo-přsanije* (χειρό-γραφον) 'bill of debt, bond' from *raĥa* 'hand'; *raĥo-obyčĭnŭ* 'accustomed to the hand, tame'. *zemlje-měrije* 'land-measurement, geometry' from *zemlja* 'land', *zmiĭje-nožĭnŭ* 'snake-footed, with feet of or like snakes' from *zmiĭja* 'snake', *duše-gubĭnŭ* 'destroying the soul, annihilating' from *duša* 'soul', *zmiĭje-obrazĭnŭ* 'having the form of a snake', *duše-ubijĭca* 'murderer of souls'. Serv. *zmĭjo-glav* 'snake-headed' for the older and true form *zmiĭje*.

Stems in *-i-*. *trĭ-zabŭ* 'trident' from *tri* 'three'. Many examples have *-o-*, following the analogy of *o*-stems: as *gosto-ljubivŭ* 'hospitable' from *gostĭ* 'stranger, guest', *zvĕro-vidĭnŭ* 'having the appearance of a wild beast' from *zvĕrĭ* 'wild beast', *sŭmrĭto-nosivŭ* 'death-bringing' from *sŭmrĭtĭ* 'death', *zvĕro-obrazĭnŭ* 'having the form of a wild beast'. We often find *-e-* (but this is late), e. g. *zvĕre-vidĭnŭ* beside *zvĕro-vidĭnŭ*, *zvĕre-imenitĭnŭ* beside *zvĕro-imenitĭnŭ* 'named after an animal', *pate-voždĭ* 'guide'.

Remark. It is a question whether in the latter examples *-e-* is the *e* of the stems in *-jo-* (*voje-* etc.), as Osthoff assumes (Verb. in d. Nominale. 213), or the *e* of forms like *pateĭ* for *patĭmĭ* (I § 36 p. 36, Leskien, Handb.<sup>2</sup> p. 21 ff.). Osthoff's view seems to be the true one.

Stems in *-u-* have *-o-*. *syno-tvorjenĭje* 'νιοθεσία, reception into the position of a son' from *synŭ* 'son'. *medo-točĭnŭ* 'sweetstreaming' from *medŭ* 'honey'. Compare the transference of *u*-stems to the *o*-declension, which is found in the very earliest authorities; such forms as *synochŭ* instead of *synŭchŭ* (I § 52 p. 44, and Leskien, Handb.<sup>2</sup> p. 21 ff.), need hardly be taken into account; see the last Remark. As regards *medvĕdĭ* see § 12 p. 26.

*krŭv-o-politĭje* 'bloodshed' from the stem *krŭv-* 'blood', gen. sing. *krŭv-e*, Idg. stem *\*gru-* *\*grŭ-*, cp. Gr. ἰχθυο-πάγος. Yet the forms with *-o-* may not have sprung up until after some

of the cases of the word had been formed afresh in the *i*-declension, as nom. *krīv-ī*.

Stems in *-n-*. *kamen-o-vidinū* 'having the appearance of a stone' from *kamy* 'stone'. *imen-o-nosinū* 'bearing a name' from *ime* 'name'. The original types of formation seem to have completely disappeared.

Stems in *-r-*. *matere-dosaditelī* and *matere-ubiŭica* 'matricide' like *zvĕre-vidinū* (see p. 84 above). Beside these we have, without *-o-*, *čtvrĕ-gubū* 'quadruplus' for \**čtver-gubū*.

Stems in *-s-*. Generally *-o-* appears instead of *-es-*; *čudo-točĭnū* 'sending forth wonders, spreading them abroad' from *čudo* 'wonder', *oko-izmetinū* 'casting out the eye' (on the other hand Russ. and Serv. have *oče-*, Russ. *oče-vidnyj* 'appearing to the eye') from *oko* 'eye'; compare the transference of forms from the *es*-declension to that of *o*-stems, as instr. sing. *neboni* beside *nebesmī*. More rarely we find *-es-o-*, as *čudes-o-točĭnū* beside *čudo-točĭnū*, *nebes-o-podražatelĭnū* 'imitating heaven', cp. loc. pl. *nebesĕchū* instead of *nebesichū*.

Of Class II no examples remain in Slavonic.

Class III. *pro-strĭtū* 'outstretched': cp. Skr. *prá-stīrṇa-s* 'stretched forth, outspread'. *u-veštū* 'crowned' *u-vesti* 'to crown': cp. Pruss. *au-klipt-s* 'hidden' Skr. *áva-hata-s* 'struck back, driven off; slain'. *iz-ĕtū* 'taken out' *iz-ĕti* 'to take out': Lith. *isz-iṁta-s* *isz-iṁti*.

*pri-morije* 'the region by the sea' (*pri mori*). *na-glavije* 'turban' (that which is on the head [*na glavĕ*]). Cp. Miklosich, Denkschr. d. Wiener Ak. XIII 19 f.

*sq-logū* 'consors tori': cp. Gr. *ἄ-λοχος*, Idg. \**som-* \**sq-* 'together, with'. *pa-dūsti* 'step-daughter': Lith. *pó-dukra*.

Class IV. *bratū-sestra* 'brother and sister'; this was inflected like the nom. du. of an *o*-stem, hence *bratūsestroma*; compare the dimin. *bratūsestrĭca*. *Jisusū-Christosū* has gen. *Jisusū-Christosa*. *dūva-deseŭinū* 'twentieth' (beside *dvo-desĕŭinū*), derived from *dūva deseŭi* ('two decades') 'twenty'. Many similar examples occur in modern Slavonic dialects; e. g. in Polish *wielka-noc* ('great night') 'Easter' has gen. dat. *wielkanocy*.

*polu-nošti* 'in the middle (loc.) of the night (gen.), at midnight', and similarly *polu-dine* 'at midday'; compare *polu-noštije* 'midnight' *polu-dinije* 'midday', *polu-noštinū* adj. 'of midnight' *polu-dinīnū* adj. 'of midday'. *obonūpolinū* 'situated on the further bank', derived from *obū onū polū* 'on that side, on the further bank'. *peřī-na-desetīnū* 'fifteenth', derived from *peřī na desęte* ('five on ten') 'fifteen'. With -o-, the 'vowel of composition', inserted: *osmo-na-desetū* 'eighteenth', cp. Gr. *καλο-ᾠαρία* § 30 p. 51. Compare on this subject Baudouin de Courtenay in Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. IV 204 ff.

*krūvi-prolitije* (beside *kruv-o-prolitije*, see above) 'bloodshed', gen. of *krūvŭ* 'blood'. *domu-zakonīnikū* 'house-manager', gen. or loc. of *domū* 'house'. *bratu-čęda* (beside *brato-čęda*) 'brother's daughter', dat. (possessive dat.) of *bratū* 'brother', *bogu-mřizūkū* (beside *bogo-mřizūkū*) 'hated of God' *bogu-milū* (beside *bogo-milū*) 'dear to God' (proper name), dat. of *bogū* 'God'. *doma-čędŭcŭ* 'domi natus, vernaculus' *doma-živŭcŭ* 'living at a place, inhabitant', *doma* adv. 'at home' from *domū*. As the special meaning given by the case of the first member became obscured, there sprang up formations like Czech. *Bohu-sud* on the analogy of *Bohu-mil*, cp. O.C.Sl. *bogo-sąđŭnę* adv. 'dei iudicio'.

The -i- appearing in the cases of the i-stems (*krūvi-prolitije*) was connected in popular usage with verbs in -iti and treated as having an imperatival force. Such a form, for instance, as *Mŭsti-drugū* (Czech. *Msti-druh*) was properly 'ultionis socius', *mŭsti* being gen. of *mŭstŭ* 'vengeance'; but since *mŭsti* was also 2. sing. impv. of *mŭstiti* 'to avenge', the word came to be regarded as meaning 'ulciscere socium'. This change of meaning produced a large number of compounds which were either formed on the new type, or altered to suit it, e. g. Serv. *Ljubi-voj* ('love the warrior', *ljubiti* 'to love') instead of \**Ljubo-voj*, cp. *Ljubo-brat* 'φιλάδελφος'. See Osthoff, Verbum i. d. Nom. p. 209 ff. Cp. § 30. 41.

## NOUN COMPOUNDS CONSIDERED IN RESPECT OF THEIR MEANING.

§ 48. In Stem-Compounds of the proethnic Indo-Germanic type (e. g. Skr. *aśva-hayā-s* Gr. *ἵππό-βοτο-ς*) the nature of the relation which the first member of the compound bore to the second was quite undefined to start with. It was implied solely in the particular meaning which happened to be assigned to any one such combination. The logical relation between the two parts must naturally have assumed a different character in different cases. If the parts of a compound meant 'sun' and 'moon' respectively, the logical connexion between them would not be the same as if they meant 'sun' and 'beam': 'sun *and* moon' in the first case, 'beam *of* the sun' in the second. If words meaning 'man' and 'slaying' were compounded, they would be related in one way ('slaying a man'); words meaning 'spear' and 'slaying', in another ('slaying with the spear'). A number of compounds whose parts had the same logical connexion would form a group, and many such groups arose in the proethnic Indo-Germanic period. Hence even the proethnic compounds of noun-stems may be arranged in a series of Classes according to their meaning. These Classes, we shall find, need no serious extension to include all the compounds of this kind formed at later times in the separate languages.

The compounds whose initial member was a definite inflexional form have a different history. From the first this inflected form gave to the relation between the parts a perfectly defined meaning, e. g. Skr. *divi-jā-* 'born in heaven', *divō-rūc-* 'shining from heaven'. It must be observed, however, that in later times the special meaning attached to the inflexional ending of the initial member was often forgotten. Cp. § 17 p. 32 f.

The native grammarians of India and modern students of language in Europe have devoted much labour to the task of classifying compounds according to their meaning.

**Remark.** It must be confessed that in these attempts at classification scholars have almost from first to last allowed too much influence to a



desire for logical symmetry, and too little to the true historical method, which abstains from all criticism that is merely *a priori* and that is not directly suggested by and limited to the nature of the facts to be studied. In particular it is often forgotten that in most compounds the mutual relation of the two parts in the mind of the speaker which the scholar has to reproduce is a conception far too indefinite and variable to be confidently assigned, as too often it is, to this one or that of the numerous classes of meaning. Hence there has often been a needless amount of contention as to whether a compound belongs to one class or the other, whether for example Skr. *sakhi-gaṇa-* (*sakhi-* 'friend', *gaṇa-* 'band') is one of the Dependent [Whitney, Skr. Gr. § 1263] or of the Descriptive [ib. § 1279] compounds (whether it is equivalent to 'amicorum caterva' or 'amica caterva'); or whether *πατρo-* in *πατρo-φορεύς* 'patrioide' is to be regarded as genitive or accusative. But as a rule these precise relations of meaning were simply imported into the words by the grammarian — a mistake natural enough where a paraphrase was needed to render the compounds into other languages — whilst the speakers themselves were content with a general impression of the meaning. If the established canons are to be strictly maintained, we must at least allow a large number of intermediate stages, in which the different classes meet.

§ 49. There are two leading principles by which we can distinguish the different kinds of compounds, which go back to the proethnic period and which are of primary importance in any attempt to classify the compounds according to their meanings. First 'coordinating compounds, (called in Sanskrit *dvandva*) are opposed to 'subordinating compounds'; and secondly 'non-epithetised' (nicht mutierte) are opposed to 'epithetised' (mutierte) compounds'. But in neither pair were the contrasted classes ever absolutely distinct; there were always various intermediate stages between one class and the other.

In the first of the two contrasted classes, the coordinating compounds, the two members stand side by side on the same level, nothing more being implied than the addition of two items; these may be regarded as joined together by 'and', whence such compounds have been called 'copulative'. In subordinating compounds, on the other hand, one member is defined more closely by the other; the one contains the principal idea, the other is merely an adjunct subordinated to it.

The subordinating compounds certainly formed by far the larger group in the Indo-Germanic period, and so it has remained in nearly all the subsequent developments of the separate languages (Sanskrit is an exception, see p. 90 f.). The way in which one of the two members was defined by the other was shewn in each case by their meaning or grammatical character, and in all periods it has varied between very wide limits. We may instance the following groups of compounds with parallel meanings in the different languages.

1. Skr. *raja-r̥ṣi-ś* 'a sage who is a king, royal sage', Gr. *ἰατρό-μαρτίς* 'a seer who is a physician', Lat. *angui-pēs* 'having a foot which is a serpent, serpent-footed', O.Ir. *rīg-fáith* 'a prophet who is a king, royal prophet' *ban-chu* 'a dog which is a female, bitch', Goth. *þiu-magus* 'a boy who is a servant' (translation of *παῖς*) O.H.G. *gold-ring* 'a ring which is gold, gold ring', Lith. *obel-medis* 'a tree which is a pyrus malus (*obelis*), apple-tree', O.C.Sl. *konje-člověkū* 'a man who is a horse, centaur'.

2. Skr. *mātṛ-śvasar-* 'mother's sister', Armen. *skesr-air* 'mother-in-law's husband', Gr. *πατρ-ἀδελφός* 'father's brother', Lat. *mūs-cerda* 'mouse's dung', O.Ir. *rīg-thech* 'king's house', Goth. *þiudan-gardi* f. 'king's house', Lith. *broł-ā-vaikis* 'brother's child' O.C.Sl. *brato-čęda* 'brother's daughter'. Cp. compounds containing genitive forms like Skr. *mātuh-śvasar-* 'mother's sister', Armen. *haur-elbair* 'father's brother'.

3. Skr. *adhara-hanú-ś* 'lower jawbone', Armen. *kaġ-air* 'valiant man', Gr. *ἄκρο-πολις* 'upper city, upper part of the city', Lat. *plēni-lūnium* 'full moon' *longi-pēs* 'having a long foot', O.Ir. *find-folt* 'having white hair', Goth. *hráinja-hairts* 'having a pure heart', O.H.G. *junc-frouwa* 'young lady', Lith. *jū'd-varnis* 'black raven' *rud-kāklis* 'having a red neck' O.C.Sl. *krivo-nosū* 'crook-nosed'.

4. Skr. *saptá-r̥ṣy-as* pl. 'the seven wise men' (name given to the Great Bear) *tri-rātrá-m* 'space of time including three nights', Armen. *hing-am* 'five years, quinquennium', Gr. *τρι-πόυς* 'three-legged frame' *τέτταρ-ἵππων* 'team of four horses', Lat. *bi-pēs* *tri-noctium*, O.Ir. *tre-choste* 'tripod' Gall. *tri-garanus* 'provided

with three cranes', O.H.G. *zwei-houbit* 'having two heads', Lith. *tri-rāžis* 'having three prongs' O.C.Sl. *tri-zabŭ* 'having three teeth'.

5. Skr. *tāmra-dhūmrā-s* 'dark tan-coloured', Gr. *ὀχρό-ξανθος* 'pale yellow', O.Ir. *dub-glass* 'dark blue', Mid.H.G. *bleich-grüne* 'pale green', Lith. *jū'd-bėris* 'black-brown' Russ. *světlo-zelenyj* 'light green'.

6. Skr. *vēda-vīd-* 'knowing the Veda, Veda-knower', Gr. *βου-πλήξ* 'goading oxen, ox-goad', Lat. *jū-dex* 'declaring right, judge'.

In this way a large number of categories may be distinguished; but the boundary line between any two is never clearly marked.

The coordinating compounds have nowhere been largely developed except in Sanskrit, and there only in the post-Vedic period. Probably there was a time in proethnic Indo-Germanic when no compounds of this class existed except those which had a case-form for their initial member, e. g. *\*dyō-dekm̥* 'twelve' (2 + 10): Skr. *dvā-daśa* etc., see § 16 p. 32; and *dvandva* compounds with a stem for the initial member only arose when compounds containing a case were re-modelled on the analogy of the older subordinating class, which had the simple stem. This process of conversion may often be traced with certainty in historical times, e. g. Skr. *parjanya-vāta* instead of the older form *parjanya-vātā* 'raincloud and wind' (§ 24 p. 41), cp. also Gr. *καλο-κἀγαθία*, *νηλο-καιβλεπίλαμος*, O.C.Sl. *osmo-nadesetŭ* (§ 30 p. 51), and Skr. *pūrva-pūrvas* for *pūrvas-pūrvas* and the like, § 53. The use of the stem instead of a case cemented the combination more firmly; and such a process would be all the more natural because many compounds of the subordinating class approach very closely to the coordinating compounds in regard to the particular relation subsisting between their parts, and there was never any sharp distinction between the two groups (cp. p. 91).

Whether *dvandva* compounds were formed with the simple stem in proethnic Aryan is doubtful. Even in the Rig-Veda, coordinating compounds containing the simple stem

occur only rarely by the side of those containing a case; e. g. *ajāśāyas* (*aja-anāyas*) pl. 'goats and sheep'. The extension of the class is a special development in Sanskrit, spreading only by slow degrees, until in the classical language we find any number of nouns thus strung together into what was grammatically a single word, as *mukhabāhūrūpādātas* (*mukha-bāhū-uru-pādātas*) 'from countenance, arms, thighs, and feet'. In non-Aryan languages, coordinating compounds containing a stem are, on the whole, comparatively rare. In Greek no clear examples occur until rather late, e. g. *λυρ-ασπίδ-* 'lyres and shields' seen in *τορνευτο-λυρασπίδο-πηγός* 'joining together turned lyres and shields'¹), *νυχθ-ήμερον* 'diem noctemque', *λουτρά ἀνδρό-γυναι* 'baths for men and women alike', *λευκο-μέλας* 'white and black'; in Modern Greek there are many formations of this kind, as *γυναικό-παιδα* 'women and children', *μαχαιρο-πίρωνα* 'knives and forks'. Lat. *reci-procu-s*, originally 'going backwards and forwards' (§ 86 a), *su-ove-taurilia* (the form *su-ovi-taurilia* is perhaps more correct) 'a sacrifice in which a pig, a sheep, and an ox are slain'. In Keltic and Germanic I know of no examples except those whose initial member may conceivably be a case, as Mid.Ir. *brat-gaisced* 'mantle and weapons' *gorm-gel* 'blue and white' O.H.G. *sunu-fatar-ungo* Hild. 4 'people of the son and the father' (-*unga-* is a suffix which denotes 'belonging to' something, cp. § 88) and O.Sax. *gi-sūn-fader* 'son and father', whose initial member may be nom. sing. (cp. O.C.Sl. *bratū-sestra*, where it is certainly so). Lith. *vyr-moterinis* 'concerning man and wife, concerning married people', Lett. *mi/ch-āušas* 'barley and oats'; O.C.Sl. *maže-ženū* 'having the nature of man and of woman', *ἀνδρόγυνος* (Gregor. Naz.), Russ. *bělo-rumjanyj* 'white and red' (of the face).

We have already remarked that there is no fixed boundary between coordinating and subordinating compounds. The Greek *ἰατρό-μαντις*, which was placed in the latter class on p. 89, may

1) This would be a *dvandva* compound even if the scholiast's explanation were correct: οἱ τορνεύουσι λύρα; καὶ ἀσπίδας πηγνύουσι.

be also taken to mean 'one who is physician and seer', and similarly there are two possible explanations of such compounds as *τραγ-έλαφος* 'goat-stag' *γλυκύ-πικρός* 'bitter-sweet', Lat. *dulc-acidus*, and many more in all the Indo-Germanic languages.

§ 50. The distinction between the two classes of compounds which we term 'non-epithetised' and 'epithetised' (other terms widely used are 'primary' and 'secondary', compounds of 'lower' or of 'higher order'; the second class is called by the Sanskrit grammarians *bahuvrīhi*) depends upon a certain change of meaning in the compounds, developed in proethnic Indo-Germanic, and since that time constantly repeated in new-examples. For instance, \**dus-menes-* 'evil mind' (*immutatum*) acquired the meaning 'an evil-minded person' (*mutatum*) (nom. sing. Skr. *durmanās* Gr. *δυσμενής*), and in Modern German *dick-kopf* 'thick-head' means 'a thick-headed person' [cp. Eng. *redbreast* etc.] The essential point in this process is the conversion of a substantive into an adjective; the concrete meaning was disregarded, so that the idea remaining in the word was solely that of the quality or qualities which belonged to the concrete person or thing. This developement of meaning is one which may often be traced even in uncompounded substantives, and it will often meet us again in the course of our investigation. The substantival origin of these forms is still sometimes shewn in the deficient expression of their adjectival function; e. g. in Greek *ρόδοδάκτυλο-* 'rosy-fingered' was used in spite of its -ο- for the fem. as well as the masc., and *χρῦσο-κόμη-* 'golden-haired' in spite of its -η- for the masc. as well as the feminine. But extended formations were very soon developed to give fuller expression to the adjectival character of the compounds; for instance the adjectival -ιο- had come to be used as a convenient affix in the proethnic period: cp. Skr. *dāśa-mās-īya-* 'happening every ten months' etc., § 63, 2. It is probable, as we saw in § 19 p. 35, that there was even then a difference in accentuation between the *mutata* and the *immutata*.

The student must be on his guard against the idea that every epithetised compound in the Indo-Germanic languages

has passed through this course of developement for itself. By far the greatest number were formed with the derived sense, on the model of older forms.

Both subordinating and coordinating compounds containing substantives are found with the epithetised meaning; e. g. Gr. *πολύ-ωνος* 'having much wine' and *ἀνδρό-γυνος* 'intended for men and women' (*λουτρόν*). Examples have been given in the preceding section, and to these a few may be added from the group of subordinating compounds. Skr. *hiraṇya-kēśa-s* 'golden-haired', Armen. *hast-a-bazuk* 'strong-armed', Gr. *λευκ-ώλενος* 'white-armed', Lat. *māgn-animus*, O.Ir. *nocht-chenn* 'bare-headed', Goth. *hráinja-hairts* 'who has a pure heart', Lith. *minkszt-galvis* 'who has a weak head' = 'soft-headed' O.C.Sl. *črino-vasū* 'black-haired': cp. the non-epithetised compounds Skr. *adhara-hanú-ś* 'lower jawbone', Gr. *ἀκρό-πολις* 'upper city' etc. p. 89. Skr. *a-putrá-s* 'who has not a son, sonless' Armen. *an-kin* 'who has no wife, widower', Gr. *ἄ-παις* 'childless', Lat. *im-berbis*, Mod.Cymr. *an-niwedd* 'endless, unending' (from Mid.Cymr. *diwed* 'end' = O.Ir. *dēad*); in Germanic and in Balto-Slavonic there is no group of epithetised compounds with \**u-* 'un-', but cp. Mod.H.G. *eine verfolgte unschuld* = 'innocent person', lit. 'persecuted innocence', Lith. *ne-kalbà* 'no-speech' = 'who says nothing'. Parallel to these are the non-epithetised compounds, Skr. *á-kumāra-s* 'no boy (any longer)', Lat. *in-imīcu-s*, O.H.G. *un-chraft* 'weakness', etc.

Finally we must observe that even between *mutata* and *immutata* no sharp line can be drawn. Take for example the Greek *ἄδωρα δῶρα* 'gifts that are no gifts' (Soph. Aj. 665). Here *ἄδωρα* may be regarded equally well as a substantive or an adjective; so also *πόλις νεόπτολις* (Aesch. Eumen. 690) and similar instances. In these the feeling of the language may be as undecided as it is e. g. in the Mod.H.G. phrases *es ist not* 'there is need of it, it is needed', *er ist schuld* 'he is the guilty cause, it is his fault' and the like. Speaking generally, no sharp distinction between substantive and adjective can be drawn in the Indo-Germanic languages (§ 138).

REDUPLICATED NOUNS.<sup>1)</sup>

§ 51. We distinguish three groups:

I. Forms in which the first element of the reduplication is a more or less complete form of the root, e. g. Skr. *gár-gar-as* 'eddy';

II. Forms in which it is a noun-stem, e. g. Skr. *sukha-sukhēna* (instr.) 'very gladly';

III. Forms in which it is a case-form, e. g. Skr. *divē-divē* 'daily, day by day' (loc.).

With the second group should be compared such compounds as Skr. *sukha-svāpa-s* 'pleasant sleep'; with the third, compounds like Skr. *divō-jd-s* 'child of heaven' (§ 10 ff.).

§ 52. Class I. A number of the words belonging to this class may have been either formed directly as nouns, or derived from older reduplicated verbal forms. No certain line of distinction can be drawn; and though we shall here take no account of verbal nouns in the strict sense, i. e. participles etc. (e. g. Gr. *κε-κράγ-ώς*), yet we must include many nouns which were certainly formed in connexion with the verbal system (e. g. Gr. *κε-κράγ-μός*).

As regards forms with 'broken reduplication' see § 6 p. 13.

1. Many reduplicated forms derived from roots beginning in a consonant stand in more or less clear connexion with intensive verbal formations, as Skr. *dár-dar-ti* 'rends asunder, shatters'.

Skr. *gár-gar-as* 'eddy', Gr. *γαρ-γαρ-εών* 'uvula' *γέρον-γερον-ος* 'throat, gullet', Lat. *gur-gul-iō gur-g-es*, O.H.G. *quer-chal-a quer-ch-a* O.Icel. *kver-k* 'throat' (for the interchange of *r* and *l* see I § 282 p. 225 f.): cp. the Skr. intensive verbal forms, part. *jár-gur-āna-s* and 2 sing. *jal-gul-a-s*. Skr. *bam-bhar-a-s* 'bee', Gr. *πεμ-φορ-ηδών* a kind of wasp: *\*bhem-bh(e)r-* for *\*bher-bher-*, see I § 282 p. 226. Gr. *τή-θη* 'grandmother' *τη-θι-ς* 'aunt', Lith. *dė-dė* 'uncle' O.C.Sl. *dě-dŭ* 'grandfather'.

1) The authorities on this subject are cited on p. 11, footnote 2.

Skr. *gad-gad-as* 'stammering', beside *gád-a-ti* 'pronounces'. *cañ-cal-cas* 'moving to and fro' beside 3. sing. *cañ-cal-ya-tē*. Avest. *ra-rem-a-* 'resting, reposing', from  $\sqrt{\text{rem-}}$ . Skr. *rē-rih-á-s* 'licking' *vē-vij-á-s* 'hastening'.

Gr. *βάβ-βαρ-ος* 'speaking unintelligibly': Lat. *bal-b-u-s*, cp. Skr. *bal-bal-a-karōmi* 'I stammer'. *γογ-γύλ-ος* 'round', beside *γανλό-ς* 'milk-pail, vessel'. *παι-πάλ-η* 'flour-dust', beside *πάλ-η* 'flour-dust, dust', Lat. *pollen*.

Lat. *quer-quer-u-s* 'cold, so as to make one shiver'; compare perhaps Goth. *faúrht-s* 'timid' (Bezenberger in his Beitr. XII 77, and above, I § 444 p. 329). *Mar-mar* (Song of the Arval Brethren): Gr. *μόρ-μαρο-ς* 'gleaming, shining'? (Pauli, Altital. Stud. IV 56 ff.). *derbiōsu-s* 'full of scabs or sores' for \**der-d-u-* (I § 170 p. 150): Skr. \**dar-dr-u-* *dar-d-ū-* 'eruption on the skin'. *can-cer* (I § 269 p. 217): Gr. *καρ-κίνο-ς* Skr. *kar-kaṭa-s* 'crab'.

O.Ir. *dor-d* 'susurrus' (cp. 3. sing. mid. *derdrethar* 'there is a sound, a cry'): Gr. *τερ-θρ-εῖα* 'empty chatter' *τον-θρ-ύ-ς* 'murmur'. *graiɡ* 'drove of horses' for \**gra-gi-?*: Gr. *γέρ-γερ-α* *πολλά* Hesych., *γάρ-γαρ-α* 'swarm, heap' (*γαρ-γαίρω* 'I swarm'), Lat. *grex* stem *gre-g-*; cp. § 160 Rem. 1.

Mid.H.G. *mur-mer mur-mel* 'murmur, growl, dull sound' (O.H.G. *mur-mur-ōn mur-mul-ōn* 'to murmur'): Skr. *mar-mar-a-s* 'roaring, roar', Lat. *mur-mur*, cp. Gr. *μορμέρω* for \**μορ-μνρ-ω* 'I murmur, roar', Lith. *mūr-m-iu* 'I growl'. O.H.G. *muo-ma* 'mother's sister': Lith. *mo-mà* O.C.Sl. *ma-ma* 'mother'.

Russ. *pele-pel-ka pere-pel* (I § 251 Rem. 2 p. 224 f.) Lith. *pė-pal-a* (or *pē-pal-a*) Lat. *pái-pal-a* Pruss. *pen-pal-o* 'quail': cp. Lat. *pul-pul-āre pul-p-āre* 'cry, shriek' (of birds)? O.C.Sl. *gla-gol-ū* 'noise, word' for \**gol-gol-* (loc. cit.): Skr. *gar-gar-a-s* a musical instrument, Gr. *γαρ-γαρ-ί-ς* *θόρυβος* Hesych. (cod. *γαργαρής*). Lith. *kañ-kał-a-s* 'bell' *kañ-kl-ys* 'guitar' O.C.Sl. *kla-kol-ū* 'bell' for \**kol-kol-* (loc. cit.): Skr. *kar-kar-i-ṣ* 'sound'. Serv. *vje-ver-ica* Mod.Slov. *vě-ver-ica* Lith. *vo-ver-ė* *vaĩ-ver-i-s* Lett. *vā-wer-i-s* Pruss. *we-war-e*: Mod.Pers. *var-var-ah* Mod.Cymr. *gwy-wer* 'squirrel'. Mod.Slov. Mod.Bulg. *pa-prat* Pol. *pa-proć*



Russ. *pa-porot* and Lith. (borrowed?) *pa-pár̃ti-s* 'fern', cp. O.H.G. *var-n* 'fern'.

2. In other nouns from roots beginning in a consonant the form of the reduplication must be compared with that seen in verbal forms with Idg. *e*, such as Gr. *δέ-δορξ-α κέ-κλ-ετο*; and there is no doubt that in some cases there is a direct connexion between the verbal and nominal forms.

Skr. *ba-bhr-ú-ṣ* adj. 'brown', (when used as a subst. it means a large kind of ichneumon) Avest. *ba-wr-i-š* 'beaver', O.H.G. *bibar* (cp. *filu* 'much' ground-form *\*pelu*) Lith. *bėbru-s* O.C.Sl. *bebrŭ* 'beaver', Idg. *\*bhe-bhr-u-*; Gall. *Bibrax* and Lat. *fiber* belong to 3 (infr.), so also perhaps Corn. *befer* 'beaver' (which however may very possibly be a word borrowed from A.S.). Skr. *ca-kr-á-m* 'circle, wheel' Avest. *ca-xr-e-m* 'wheel', A.S. *hweo-wol hweól* 'wheel', Idg. *\*qe-ql-o-*, cp. also Gr. *κύ-κλ-ο-ς* vol. I § 427 p. 314 and the unreduplicated O.C.Sl. *kolo* (stem *koles-*) n. 'wheel'.

Skr. *va-vr-i-ṣ* 'covering' *va-vr-á-s* 'hiding oneself' Avest. *-vaoiri-* 'husk' (for *\*ya-ur-i-*, I § 160 p. 144), cp. the Skr. perfect stem *va-vr-* from *var-* 'cover over'. Skr. *cá-kr-i-ṣ* 'effecting' *ca-kr-u-ṣ* 'accomplisher', cp. the perfect stem *ca-kr-*. Skr. *da-d-i-ṣ* 'giving' *dá-dh-i-ṣ* 'bestowing', cp. the present and perfect stems *da-d-*, *da-dh-*. With these compare Ved. *sā-sah-t-i-ṣ* 'victorious', with the perfect stem *sā-sah-*. Skr. *da-dhṛṣ-á-s* 'bold, courageous'. Avest. *za-zar-an-* 'raging'.

Gr. *τέ-ταν-ο-ς* 'tension of the limbs', from  $\sqrt{\text{ten-}}$ . *τέ-τραξ* probably 'guineahen', beside *τε-τράζω* 'cackle'. *κε-κρήρ-αλο-ς* and *κε-κρήρ-αλο-ς* 'net-headress, hood', beside *κέ-κρηρ-α*. *βέ-βη-λο-ς* 'accessible, profanus', beside *βέ-βη-κα*. *κε-κράγ-μός* 'cry', beside *κέ-κράγ-α*. *πε-ποιθήσι-ς* 'trust' (late), beside *πέ-ποιθ-α*. *σέ-σμφ-ο-ς* *πανούργος* Hesych. *πέ-πλ-ο-ς* 'outside garment, cloak, covering, the peritoneum', probably to be compared with *πέλλα* 'skin, leather' *πέλμα* 'sole of the foot or shoe'.

Lat. *me-mor*: cp. Gr. *μέρ-μυρ-ο-ς* 'noteworthy, horrible' and Skr. perf. *sa-smāra* (Osthoff, Paul-Br. Beitr. VIII 549 f.).

*fe-br-i-s*, compare Skr. *bhur-á-ti* 'is unquiet, throbs'. *sēd-ēs* for \**se-zd-*, √ *sed-*, cp. I § 314 Rem. p. 253.

O.H.G. *zittar-oh* A.S. *teter* 'pustular eruption', pr. Germ. \**te-tr-u-*: Skr. *da-dr-u-* Lith. *de-der-vinė* 'pustular eruption', cp. Lat. *der-b-iōsu-s* etc. formed on the type of 1, p. 95.

Lith. *tē-tervina-s* 'heathcock' O.C.Sl. *te-trěvī* 'pheasant': Gr. *τέ-τριξ τέ-τραξ τε-τράων* a kind of fowl, cp. also Skr. *ti-ttīri-ś ti-ttīrā-s* 'partridge'. O.C.Sl. *pe-pelŭ* (beside *po-pelŭ*) 'ashes', cp. Czech. *plá-pol* 'flame'. Lith. *te-tà* O.C.Sl. *te-ta* 'aunt, nurse': Gr. *τέ-τρα* 'little father, dad', cp. Skr. *tā-tā-s*, a word used by parents in addressing children and *vice versa*, Lat. *ta-ta*, Lith. *tē-ti-s* 'little father'.

3. In another group of formations from stems beginning in a consonant, the reduplication resembles that of verbal forms with Idg. *i*, such as Gr. *ἱ-στη-μι*, and there is no doubt that sometimes they stand in direct connexion with them. On the whole, however, such forms are rare.

We have no doubt a genuine Indo-Germanic example in Skr. *śi-śir-a-s* 'cold, frost; cold (adj.)' (ground-form \**ki-kīl-o-*), with which Bugge (Arkiv for nord. filol. II 355) connects O.Icel. *hēla* f. 'rime' for pr. Germ. \**χt-χl-ōn*, and possibly another in Skr. *śi-śu-ś* 'young creature, child' if it is identical with Gr. *κῆ-κν-ς* 'strength' (compared with Skr. *śvā* 'to swell out', Gr. *κνέω*)?

Skr. *ci-kīt-* 'comprehending, aware', cp. pres. *cikēt-ti*. *śi-śay-á-s* 'driving onwards'. *śi-śnátha-s* 'grasp'. *ci-kur-a-s* 'hair of the head', beside Lat. *cirru-s*?

Gr. *τι-θήνη τί-τθη* 'nurse' *τί-τθο-ς* 'mother's breast', beside *θη-λή* 'mother's breast'. *βί-βασις* a kind of dance (late), beside *βι-βάζω*. *ἱ-στό-ς* 'weaver's beam, mast', beside *ἱ-στη-μι*. *ἱ-αχή* 'cry' beside *ἱ-άχω* for \**Fi-Faxω*. *δι-δάχη* 'instruction' beside *δι-δάσκω* (for the *χ* cp. *δε-δίδαχα*). *γί-γαρ-το-ν* 'grape-stone', beside Lat. *grā-nu-m*.

Remark. In *τι-θύμαλο-ς* 'wolf's-milk' (a plant), *Τι-τύο-ς* a giant (cp. Skr. *tū-tu-má-s* 'strong') and the like, it is possible that *ι* has come from *υ*, as in *πι-νυ-τό-ς*; see I § 48 p. 41.

Brugmann, Elements. II.

Lat. *qui-squil-iae*, beside Gr. *κο-σκυλ-μάτια* 'shreds of leather'. *ci-cer*, compare no doubt Skr. *kar-kar-a-s* Gr. *κάρ-καρ-ος*; (Hesych.) 'hard'. *ci-cōnia*, Praenest. *cōnia*. *ci-cind-ēla*, beside *candēō*.

O.H.G. *fi-faltra* (*fi-faltra*? cp. Mid.H.G. *vī-valter*) A.S. *fi-foldara* O.Icel. *fi-frildi* 'butterfly'. O.H.G. *wi-wint* 'whirlwind', beside a present \**wi-μῆ-mi*? O.H.G. *wiumman* 'to swarm' for \**wi-wimman* (Kögel, Literaturbl. f. germ. und rom. Phil. 1887 n. 3).

4. Even nouns derived from roots beginning in a sonant stand side by side with parallel reduplicated forms in the verb.

Skr. *ul-ul-t-ṣ* 'ululabilis' or 'ululatus', Gr. *ὤλ-ολ-υ-ς* 'howler, womanish man' *ὤλ-ολ-ῶ-γῆ* 'shriek, cry of mourning', Lat. *ul-ul-a* 'little screechowl'; cp. also Skr. *ar-ar-ē* used as a sudden call, Gr. Dor. *ἀλ-αλ-ᾶ* 'battle-cry', Mod.Bulg. *ol-el-e*, an exclamation of sorrow. Skr. Ved. *viy-an-aś-t-ṣ* 'piercing', Gr. *ποδ-ην-εκ-ής* 'reaching down to the feet', beside Skr. perf. *an-aś-a* Gr. *ἐν-εγκ-εῖν*; Gr. *-εκ-* in words like *ποδ-εν-εκ-ής* no doubt stands in place of the regular form *-ακ-* = *-ᾠκ-* through the influence of the syllable *-εγκ-*.

Skr. *ar-ar-t-ṣ* *ar-ar-ā-s* 'leaf of a folding-door', no doubt from *√ar-* 'to arrive at anything, fit oneself in' Gr. *ἀρ-ἀρ-ισκε* 'he fitted on'. *aś-iś-iṣu-ṣ* 'hungry' beside the desiderative *āś-iś-iṣati* 'he wishes to eat'.

Gr. *ἄκ-ακ-ία* 'acacia' *ἄκ-ωκ-ή* 'point, edge', beside *ἄκ-ανο-ς* 'thorn' part. *ἄκ-αχ-μένω-ς* 'pointed'. *ἀλ-άλαγξ*: *ἡ πλάνη* Hesych., beside *ἀλ-άομαι* 'roam about'. *ἀγ-αγύρτην* *ἀγύρτην* Hesych., cp. *παν-ήγυρι-ς* 'general assembly'. *ἀγ-ωγ-ός* 'leader' *ἀγ-ωγ-ή* 'guidance', beside aor. *ἀγ-αγ-εῖν*. *ἐδ-ηδ-ών* *πραγέδαινα* Hesych., *ἐδ-ωδ-ή* 'food', beside perf. *ἐδ-ήδ-οκα* part. *ἐδ-ηδ-ώς*. *ὀπ-ωπ-ή* 'sight' *παρῶν-οπ-τή-η-ς* 'ogling the maidens', beside perf. *ὀπ-ωπ-α*. *ὀκ-ωχ-ή* 'support' like the Homer. part. *συν-οκ-ωχ-ότε* is a late formation, since the root was *seǵh-*.

Lat. *up-up-a* 'hoopoe': Gr. *ἀπ-αφ-ός* and *ἐπ-οψ*. The vocalism of these words seems to have been influenced by analogy:

ἀναφός was no doubt popularly connected with animal names in -αφός (§ 78), ἐποψ with adjectives in -οψ like αἰθ-οψ.

§ 53. Class II. This class is scantily represented; and although it is probable *a priori* that such forms should have come into use in the same period of the proethnic language in which stem-compounds like Skr. *dvi-pád-* Gr. *di-nod-* had arisen (§ 10. 11. p. 22 ff.), yet all extant examples seem to have come from compounds consisting of repeated case-forms (Class III), which were afterwards re-modelled. This latter would be the same process as we assumed for coordinating stem-compounds such as Skr. *parjanya-váta* (§ 49 p. 90), which these reduplicated forms approach very closely in usage as well as in form.

Skr. *uttarōttara-s* for *\*utara-ūtara-s* 'always increasing' *uttarōttara-m* adv. 'ever higher and higher' *sukha-sukhēna* instr. 'very gladly' (Pāṇini). *pūrva-pūrva-s* 'he who from time to time is first, precedes', superl. *pūrvapūrvatama-s*, instead of which in the Veda we have *pūrva-s-pūrva-s*. *ēkaika-s* 'one at a time' for *\*aika-aika-s*, comp. *ēkaikatara-s*, instead of which in Vedic we have *ēka-eka-s* = *\*ēkō-ēka-s*, pr. Ar. *\*aika-s-aika-s* (I § 556 p. 411 f., § 647 p. 491).

Armen. *mec-a-mec* 'very great' *çar-a-çar* 'very bad', with the same -a- as e. g. *dr-a-kiç* § 28 p. 45, which would not prevent our assuming that the first part was originally a case-form; see p. 46, under Class IV.

Gr. (late) *av̄r-av̄to-s* with the meaning of *av̄róratos* and of Lat. *ipsimus ipsissimus*, cp. O.H.G. *selb-selbo* § 54.

A Keltic form which should no doubt be mentioned here is O.Ir. *al-aile* 'alius', from which *ar-aile* arose by dis-similation; also Cymr. *ar-all* (Zeuss<sup>2</sup> 359. 402); further the form *alaaili* with *indala n-ai* in Zeuss, p. 360.

§ 54. Class III. It may be assumed that this type dates from the proethnic period of Indo-Germanic. It is however difficult to say how far the words of this class in the separate Indo-Germanic languages were merely analogical formations modelled upon older forms already existing, and how far they

arose from an actual repetition in which the repeated word was still independent (e. g. *poor poor child*). In all languages and at all periods such doubled forms might very naturally arise. Moreover it must be once more observed that the boundary line between a phrase consisting of a word used twice in succession (as Lat. *mē mē*, Vergil Aen. IX 427) and a new single word (*mēmē*, *tētē*, *sēsē*) cannot be regarded as constant.

Skr. *tvā-tvam* 'thou', a strengthening of *tvām*, Lat. *mē-mē* *tē-tē* *sē-sē*, Mid.Cymr. *mi-vi* for \**mi-mi*, a strengthening of *mi* 'I', *ti-di* for \**ti-ti*, a strengthening of *ti* 'thou', *ni-ni* a strengthening of *ni* 'we'. Skr. *yād-yad* 'whatsoever', *yāthā-yathā* 'howsoever', like Lat. *quid-quid quā-quā quantus-quantus*. Cp. also Skr. *prā-pra* and Gr. *πρό-πρό* (Hom. *πρόπρό-κλίνδομαι*) 'on and on, ever forwards'¹).

In Sanskrit we frequently meet with doubled forms like *āhar-āhar* 'day by day', *padē-padē* 'step by step, at every step', *dāmē-damē* 'in every house', *priyā-s-priya-s* 'very dear'.

Gr. *πάμ-παν* 'entirely': cp. Skr. *śāśvacchaśvat* 'on and on, ever anew' for \**śāśvat-śaśvat* (I § 352 p. 274); *śā-śvant-* = Gr. *ᾶ-παντ-* see I 166 p. 147, § 384 p. 289.

In Latin we find only the pronominal forms; such as *mē-mē*, *quis-quis* and the adv. *jam-jam*. *ips-ipsus* (for \**ips(e) ipse*) is uncertain (Wölfflin, Gemin. p. 472). In later times were developed such forms as Fr. *bon-bon* 'sweetmeat' *jou-jou* 'toy'; Ital. *tututto* 'entirely' stands for \**tuto-tuto* (*tutto tutto*) through syllabic dissimilation (I § 643 p. 481 ff.).

Mod.Ir. *mōr-mhōr* 'great, chief, principal'. Mod.Cymr. *uwyr-uwyr* 'more and more' *gwell-well* 'better and better'.

O.H.G. *selb-selbo* 'idem ipse'. Mod.H.G. dial. *āll-all* 'complete, at an end' *wē-wē* (Rhine-Fr., i. e. *weh-weh*) n. 'small wound'.

1) The comparison of Skr. *sā-sam* 'together' with Mod.Bulg. *sū-s* Russ. *so-s* 'with' is certainly not warranted. I regard the latter as a contaminated formation, occasioned by the phonetic changes of pr. Slav. *sū*, which in certain positions became *s*. Similarly we have Mod.Bulg. *vū-v* 'in'. See the Author, Morph. Unters. III 71.

Cp. also O.H.G. *sō-so*, a strengthening of *sō* 'so' (possibly instr. of \**suō-*).

Lith. *jĩ-jĩ jō-jō* from *jĩ* 'eum' *jō* 'eius', and the like.

## NOUNS CONTAINING FORMATIVE SUFFIXES.<sup>1</sup>

### GENERAL REMARKS.

§ 55. We have already remarked (I p. 16 ff., II p. 3 ff.) that no sharp line of distinction can be drawn between what is

1) Besides Bopp's *Vergleich. Gramm.* III, Schleicher's *Compendium*, and the grammars of single languages by Whitney (*Skr. Gram.*) Spiegel (*O.Bactr. Gram.* and *O.Pers. cuneiform Insor.*), Justi (*Hdb. der Zendspr.*) Leo Meyer (*Vergl. Gramm. der gr. und lat. Spr.* II), Kühner (*Ausf. Gramm. d. gr. Spr.* I und *Ausf. Gramm. d. lat. Spr.* I), Pezzi (*La lingua greca antica*), Zeuss (*Gram. Celt.*), Grimm (*D. Gram.* II. III), Schleicher (*Lit. Gram.*), Kurschat (*Gram. d. lit. Spr.*), and Miklosich (*Vergl. Gram.* II), the reader is here referred to the following works:

G. Meyer, *Zur Geschichte der indogerm. Stammbildung und Declination*, Leipz. 1875. K. Brugmann, *Zur Geschichte der Nominalsuffixe -as-, -jas- und -vas-*, Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* XXIV 1 ff. F. Wehrich, *De gradibus comparationis linguarum Sanscritae Graecae Latinae Gothicae*, Giss. 1869. H. Collitz, *Die Flexion der Nomina mit dreifacher Stammabstufung im Altind. und im Griech.*, Bezzenberger's *Beitr.* X 1 ff. G. Meyer, *Beitr. zur Stammbildungslehre des Griech. und Lat.*, Curtius' *Stud.* V. H. Ebel, *Starke und schwache Formen griechischer und lateinischer Nomina*, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* I 289 ff. E. Förstemann, *De comparativis et superlativis l. Graecae et Latinae*, Nordh. 1844. Th. J. Gonnet, *Degrés de signification en grec et en latin d'après les principes de la grammaire comparée*, Paris 1876. L. Schwabe, *De deminutivis Graecis et Latinis*, Giss. 1859. A. Leskien, *Die Declination im Slavisch-Litauischen und Germanischen*, Leipz. 1876. — B. Lindner, *Altind. Nominalbildung*, Jena 1878. Chr. Bartholomae, *Zur arischen Flexion der Stämme auf -r-, -n-, -m-, -j-, -v-*, *Arische Forschungen* I 25 ff. — G. Curtius, *De nominum Graecorum formatione linguarum cognatarum ratione habita*, Berol. 1842. Chr. A. Lobeck, *Paralipomena grammaticae Graecae*, 2. vols. Lips. 1837, *Pathologiae sermonis Graeci prolegomena*, Lips. 1843. F. Stolz, *Beiträge zur Declination der griech. Nomina*, Innsbr. 1880. Kretschmar, *Bildung der Comparationsformen der griech. Sprache*, Bromberg 1842. K. W. Götting, *De gradibus comparationis Gr. linguae*, Jena 1852. J. La Roche, *Die Comparation in der griech. Sprache*, Linz 1884. Janson, *De Graeci sermonis nominum deminutione et amplificatione*, Leipzig 1869. — H. Düntzer, *Die Lehre von der latein. Wortbildung und Composition*, Köln 1836. C. Paucker, *Materialien zur latein. Wörterbildungsgeschichte* (adjectives in *-orius*, *-bilis*, *-osus*, *-icius*, *-ivus*) in 'Vor-

called the root-portion of a word and the formative suffixes. Some of the elements which are treated here as formative suffixes may have originally been the last sound or sounds of a root, that is, of a word which does not owe its existence to composition; and this may be true of the whole group of sounds of which the suffix consists, or it may be only its initial part which belonged to the root. I must exclude all conjecture as to which of the particular Indo-Germanic suffixes had this origin.

In the following pages only those suffixes are discussed which had already become suffixes in the strict sense at the time when the separate Indo-Germanic languages began to be developed.

§ 56. Many formative suffixes whose meaning is simple can be resolved into distinct elements; e. g. *-tro-* into *-tr-* + *-o-*, cp. Skr. *ari-tra-* m. n. 'oar' beside *ari-tar-* *ari-tr-* m. 'oarsman' (§ 62), *-isto-* into *-is-* + *-to-*, cp. Skr. *náv-iṣṭha-* 'novissimus' beside *náv-yas-* 'novior' (§ 81).

Generally speaking we find that compound suffixes of this sort in the later periods of the history of language are due to either one or other of three causes.

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arbeiten zur latein. Sprachgeschichte', Berlin 1884. G. Müller, *De linguae Lat. deminutivis*, Lips. 1865. Kessler, *Die lat. Deminutiva*, Hildburgh. 1869. W. Corssen, *Über die Steigerungs- und Vergleichungsendungen im Lateinischen und in den italischen Dialekten*, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* III 241 ff. — Wh. Stokes, *Bemerkungen über die irischen Deklinationen*, Kuhn-Schleicher's *Beitr.* I 333 ff. 448 ff. Id., *Celtic Declension*, *Transactions of the Philological Society* for 1885, and in *Bezzenger's Beitr.* XI 64 ff. — Th. Jacobi, *Untersuchungen über die Bildung der Nomina in den german. Sprachen*, Breslau 1847. F. Kluge, *Nominale Stammbildungslehre der alt-german. Dialekte*, Halle 1886. G. Burghauser, *German. Nominalflexion*, Vienna 1888. K. von Bahder, *Die Verbalabstracta in den german. Sprachen*, Halle 1880. L. Sütterlin, *Geschichte der nomina agentis im German.*, Strassb. 1887. H. Falk, *Die Nomina agentis der altnordischen Sprache*, Paul-Braune's *Beitr.* XIV 1 ff. — A. Leskien, *Spuren der stamm-abstufenden Declination im Slavischen und Litauischen*, *Archiv f. slav. Philol.* III 108 ff. C. Pauli, *Preussische Formlehre*, Kuhn-Schleicher's *Beitr.* VII 155 ff.

Works which treat of a single suffix will be cited below in the sections devoted to the separate suffixes.

See also the lists of authorities on the history of case-formation.

First, a word or a group of words may have been transferred from one declension to another. The formative suffix is then amplified at the extremity nearest the ending of the word. This enlargement of the stem was usually brought about by the coincidence of two declensions in one or more forms; these similarities gave rise to new analogical formations. Thus e. g. the origin of the Avestic participial suffix *-ant-a-* (nom. sing. *barantō*, gen. *barantahe*) was that the accusative termination *-em* (*barant-em*: cp. Gr. *φέρων-α*) was placed on a level with that of *aspe-m* (stem *aspa-*) and similar forms; the origin of the Gothic suffix for names of kindred, *-tr-u-* (nom. pl. *brōþrjus*), was that the dative termination *-trum* (*brōþru-m*: cp. Skr. instr. *bhrđtṛ-bhiṣ*) was placed on a level with that of *sunu-m* (stem *sunu-*). In this way nouns which at first had no formative suffix often came to possess one; as e. g. Goth. *fōt-u-* was due to such case-forms as the acc. sing. *fōt-u* = *\*pōd-n* (see § 159).

Secondly: a suffix sometimes coalesces so completely with a part of some word to which it is added that the point of junction can no longer be perceived, and accordingly when it is used afterwards, the suffix appears in new words with part of this preceding word attached, as though it were a single element in the formation. Thus in High German the suffix *-(i)nārja-* (e. g. O.H.G. *sculd-ināri* 'debtor'), which is found parallel to *-ārja-* (e. g. O.H.G. *mād-āri* Mid.H.G. *mādære* 'mower, reaper') and has the same meaning, came from words like *gartin-āri* 'gardener' (*garto* gen. *gartin* 'garden') *weidin-āri* 'hunter' (*weidinōn* 'to hunt'), and in Greek the feminine formative suffix *-aiva* in *λύκ-αῖνα* *κάρπ-αῖνα* and so forth, came from words like *γείταῖνα* i. e. *\*γείταν-ια* (from *γείτων*), *λέαῖνα* i. e. *\*λεFαν-ια* (from *λέων*); see § 110.

Thirdly: two elements used in forming derivatives, which are nearly allied in meaning, are combined into one ('contaminated'). An accumulation of suffixes like this often arises simply from the attempt to give fuller or more distinct expression to the characteristic meaning (such as that of comparison, or a diminutival



sense and so forth). Thus we have comparatives and superlatives like Skr. *jyēṣṭha-tama-s* from *jyēṣṭha-s*, Gr. ἀμεινότερος ἐλαχιστότατος, compared with ἀμείνων ἐλάχιστος, Lat. *superior extrem-issimus* from *superu-s extrēmu-s*, O.H.G. *hinter-oro* from *hintero*, Goth. *hindum-ists* from *\*hinduma*, the H.G. diminutive-suffix *-l-īna-* in *kitz-lein kind-lein* and the like (O.H.G. *chizz-ila* and *chizz-in*), the (rare) Skr. abstract-suffix *-tvā-tā* as in *puruṣa-tvā-tā* 'mortality, the manner of men' (parallel forms are *puruṣa-tva-* and *puruṣā-tā*), the Lat. *-n-eo-* in adjectives of material, such as *aēneu-s pōpulneu-s* (beside these we have *aēnus pōpulnus* and *aereu-s pōpuleu-s*) with other examples.

It may be assumed without hesitation that the second and third processes gave rise to compound suffixes even in the Indo-Germanic period. In the second class should be placed e. g. *-nī-* beside *-ī-* in *\*pot-nī-* 'lady' (Skr. *pātnī* Gr. πότνια), which came from such forms as *\*tekṣn-ī-* (Skr. *takṣnī-* Gr. τέκταινα), the fem. of *\*tekṣon-* 'carpenter' (Skr. *tākṣan-* Gr. τέκτων); see § 110. To the third class belong the superlative-suffix *-t-ḡmo-* (§ 73), the abstract-suffix *-tā-ti-* (§ 102), and others of the same sort.

§ 57. The original meaning of a suffix used in forming nouns can only be decided in instances where it became a suffix in the course of the developement of the separate languages e. g. in the case of Mod.H.G. *-lich*, Fr. *-ment*. In the case of the proethnic suffixes, their etymological origin, and therefore their original meaning is altogether obscure. In order to keep within safe limits, we shall confine ourselves to determining where and how these suffixes were employed at the period when the parent language split up into its different branches; beyond this we cannot go with any hope of certainty.

If a suffix becomes fertile (see § 5), the direction in which its meaning developes is often decided not by the idea which it properly and originally contained, but by the meaning of the complete word or group of words on the analogy of which the new words are formed. Special stress must be laid

on this point because it is seldom sufficiently recognised in attempts to establish the original meaning of the proethnic suffixes, and because it helps to show the great difficulty of such an undertaking.

In Latin, for example, *juven-ta* 'time of youth' (Goth. *junda*, common ground-form *\*juuŋ-tā*) suggested *senec-ta* 'time of old age', and *septentrion-alis* 'northern' gave rise to *meridionalis* 'southern'; in A.S. *ǣf-en* 'evening' was formed in imitation of *morȝ-en*, while on the other hand in Mod.H.G. we find a dialectic form *morg-end* like *abend*; in O.H.G. *hief-altra* 'hip-tree, wild dog-rose' (from *hiufo*), *mazz-altra* 'maple tree' were formed in imitation of *afful-tra* *aphol-tra* 'apple-tree'; and in Greek *κάπηρ-αινα* (fem. of *κάπηρος* 'boar'), *λύκ-αινα* (fem. of *λύκος* 'wolf') in imitation of *λέαινα* 'lioness' (for *\*λεφαν-λα*). Here then we have examples of suffixes denoting time of life (Lat. *-tā-*), the points of the compass (Lat. *-ionalis-*), time of day (A.S. *-en*) and so forth in course of development. The specialising process has gone further in the case of e. g. *-uo-* (§ 64) in Latin and Germanic as a suffix for forming names of colours, Lat. *helvo-s*, *gilvo-s*, *fulvo-s*, *furvo-s*, *flavo-s* (?), O.H.G. *gelo* 'yellow', *salo* 'black, dirty', *falo* 'fallow, pale', A.S. *baso* 'purple', O.Icel. *hqss* 'gray', O.H.G. *grāo* 'gray' and others (Kluge, Nom. Stammb. 81), which perhaps arose simply from the two forms *\*ghel-uo-* (Lat. *helvo-s* O.H.G. *gelo*) and *\*pol-uo-* O.H.G. *falo* O.C.Sl. *plavŭ*). Cp. further the Greek *-ago-* used as a suffix for names of animals, § 78. In all these instances the special meaning of the suffix is imported into it, and not a natural outgrowth of its original meaning; in the same way it is certainly due to a secondary analogical development that *-en-* so often recurs in words denoting parts of the body which can be traced back to the parent language, as in the words for head (Skr. *śīrṣ-án-*, Gr. *ἀμφι-κεφαλος* 'two headed', O.Icel. *hjarse*), for eye (Skr. *akṣ-án-* Goth. *áug-an-*, cp. I § 444 Rem. 3 p. 331), for ear (Goth. *áus-an-*, Gr. *οὐατ-* for *\*οὐσ-ατ-* *\*ous-η-t-* and so forth; see § 114.

In the same way many functions of the proethnic suffixes

are no doubt derived (even where it cannot be distinctly proved) from analogical extensions of their use, with which the meaning originally inherent in the suffix had nothing whatever to do.

**Remark.** Thus I think it probable that the use of the suffix *-ā-* to denote female sex (e. g. Idg. \**ekṃā-* 'mare': Skr. *āśvā-* Lat. *equa* Lith. *aszvā*) did not spring from the original meaning of the suffix, but that some one or some few words in *ā*, perhaps \**gnā-* \**gṇā-* \**genā* 'woman' (Skr. *gnā-* etc., see I § 428 p. 315 f. § 437 p. 325) and \**māmā* 'mother' (Lat. *mamma* O.H.G. *muoma* Lith. *nomā* etc.) — in which the feminine gender was sufficiently implied by the root-part of the word, just as much as in \**māter-* 'mother' (Skr. *mātā* etc.) — gave the suffix its special function, the expression of female sex; and that these forms were then followed by new formations like \**ekṃā-* beside \**ekmo-*. Many things whose names contain an *ā*-suffix assumed in the popular consciousness the shape of female beings though they have nothing to do with animal sex, e. g. Gr. *σελήνη* 'moon'. In these words we shall generally find that the gender to begin with was purely 'grammatical', and that the *ā*-suffix by which the word was associated with words like \**ekṃā*, was the real cause of the fancy which represented the imaginary personality as a woman and not as a man: conversely, for example, the Greeks imagined *ἄνθρωπος* as a male being, solely because of connexion of the word in form with male names in *-ος*, such as *θεός*. The notion that primitive man was endowed with so marvellous a wealth of fancy as to regard the great majority of things devoid of life and things immaterial as persons, nay more as persons belonging to one of two distinct sexes, and that the whole system of gender in nouns sprang from this source, is a one which by this time should surely have been abandoned. Cp. the Author, 'Das Nominalgeschlecht in den indogerman. Sprachen', Techmer's Internation. Ztschr. f. allg. Sprachwiss. IV. p. 100 ff.

§ 58. Following the example of the Sanskrit grammarians, scholars divide the suffixes used in noun-formation into Primary and Secondary. The former are employed in deriving words from roots or verbal stems, the latter in derivatives formed from noun-stems. Thus e. g. *-tor-* is a primary suffix in nom. pl. Skr. *dā-tār-as* Gr. *δώ-τορ-ες* Lat. *dā-tōr-ēs* 'givers', Skr. *jani-tār-as* Gr. *γενέ-τορ-ες* Lat. *geni-tōr-ēs* 'begetters', Skr. *bōdhayi-tār-as* 'awakers' Gr. *ηγῆ-τορ-ες* 'leaders' Lat. *arā-tōr-ēs* 'ploughers', but *-ī-* is a secondary suffix in Skr. *vṛk-ī* Mid.H.G. *wülpe* 'she-wolf' (beside Skr. *vṛka-s* Mid.H.G. *wolf* 'wolf') and in Skr. *vidūṣ-ī* Gr. *ἰδύσα* f. 'knowing' (beside the masc. Skr. *vidvān* Gr. *εἰδώς* perf.

part. from  $\sqrt{\text{ueid-}}$  'see, know'). Occasionally secondary suffixes are added even to inflected case-forms, e. g. -tero- in Skr. *uccāis-tara-* and so forth; see § 13 p. 29 above.

In an historical account of the developement of the Indo-Germanic languages, this difference furnishes us with no useful basis of classification. In the first place, it is to say the least very questionable whether every suffix was originally restricted to one of these two functions. In any case the distinction hardly applies at all, even in the earliest times, to many of the most widely used suffixes, e. g. -io- -ijo-; cp. Skr. *yaj-ya-s* 'venerandus' Gr. *ἅγιο-ς* 'holy', and Skr. *pitr-īya-s* Gr. *πάτερ-ιο-ς* Lat. *patr-īu-s* 'fatherly, father's'. Again, we often find that suffixes which were at first restricted to the primary or the secondary use change their function in the course of their history (for other instances besides those which will be discussed below see Whitney, Skr. Gramm. § 1139 and Osthoff, Verb. in der Nominalcomposition p. 116 ff.); and this change sometimes seems to have taken place even before the separation of the languages. One example of this is -ies- -īies- -is-, the suffix of the comparative (§ 135), which, originally primary, seems to have become secondary even in proethnic Indo-Germanic, the comparatives formed by its means being regarded as derived from the corresponding 'positive' forms (cp. Skr. *svād-īyan* Gr. *ῥῑδ-ίων* beside *svād-ū-ṣ* *ῥῑδ-ύ-ς*). In later formations however found only in the separate languages, such as *brāhm-īyan* from *brah-mān-*, Lat. *amīc-ior* from *amīcus*, -ies- is undoubtedly a secondary suffix.

### 1. Suffixes in -o and -ā.

§ 59. The o-suffixes uniformly show the ablaut o: e (e-series, I § 311—314)<sup>1</sup>). o e. g. in the nom. acc. sing., -o-s,

1) As we are accustomed to cite the suffixes whose vocalism assumes the various forms of the e-series in their e-form (-es- -ter- etc.), we ought consistently to speak of the suffixes -e- -je- -ye- instead of -o- -io- -uo- and so forth; but as this point is in itself of little importance, I am unwilling to depart from the usual nomenclature. It will be enough to have drawn attention to the inconsistency.

*-o-m.* *e* in the voc. sing. *-e*, gen. *-e-sīo*, instr. *-ē*, loc. *-e-ī*; the last three cases also have *o*: *-o-sīo*, *-ō*, *-o-ī*. Parallel to these must further be assumed an 'unaccented weak-grade form', where the suffix disappears altogether, if we suppose that a case-suffix *-ad* is contained in the pr. Balt-Slav. gen. (abl.) *\*uīlqad* 'of a wolf' (Lith. *vilko* O.C.Sl. *vlūka*), and a case-suffix *-ā* in the nom. acc. pl. neut. *\*jugā* (Ved. *yugā*) (see I § 113 Rem. p. 107, p. 108 footnote), if secondary formations like *\*eky-iō* 'equinus' from *\*ekyo-* 'equus' lost the final of the stem by some regular phonetic change (see § 63 Rem. 3), and the *-i-* of the Lat. *Cornēl-i-s* Lith. *mēd-i-s* etc. was the weak-grade form of *-iō-* (see the beginning of § 63). It is hardly possible from the data at our command to trace the connexion between these phases of vowel gradation and the variation of the accent. But there is nothing to prevent our assuming that *e* stood originally in the syllable which bore the principal accent, and *o* in the syllable which followed it, whilst the case-suffixes *-ad* and *-ā* themselves took the principal accent (cp. I § 311 p. 248 f.). These phonetic relations were afterwards obscured by many different kinds of analogical developement.

The *ā*-suffixes show the ablaut *a:a* (*a*-series, I § 318): *a* e. g. in the nom. acc. sing., *-ā*, *-ā-m*; *a* in the voc. sing. *-ā*, nom. acc. du. *-ā-ī*, cp. also instr. sing. Skr. *-aya* O.C.Sl. *-oja*. By the side of these the 'unaccented weak-grade form' perhaps occurs in such words as Gr. *τῆμ-ιο-ς* from *τῆμῃ* pr. Gr. and Dor. *τῆ-μᾶ* (see § 63 Rem. 3). Here also the recorded accentuation shows no variation from which we can reconstruct the original connexion between Ablaut and Accent.

In protoethnic Indo-Germanic the *o*-stems were all masculine or neuter, the *ā*-stems all feminine. And the process of differentiation (technically called *Motion*) of Masculine stems to express the variation of gender in substantives and adjectives had come into regular use for *o*-stems in the same period; e. g. *\*ekyo-s* 'horse' fem. *\*ekyā* 'mare' (Skr. *āśva-s* *āśvā* Lat. *equo-s* *equa*), masc. *\*rudhro-s* fem. *\*rudhrā* neut. *\*rudhro-m* 'red' (Skr.

*rudhirá-s -irā -irā-m* Gr. ῥυθρό-ς -ρά -ρό-ν, Lat. *ruber rubra rubru-m* O.C.Sl. *rŭdrŭ rŭdra rŭdro*<sup>1)</sup>.

But the original differences in gender did not always remain unchanged in the separate languages. A number of *o*-stems became feminine in Greek and Italic, that is, they were constructed with feminine forms in attributive or predicative combinations, as Gr. ἡ φηγός, ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἠώς, Lat. *haec fagus*, a change of usage which was introduced in different ways (see A. R. Lange, *De Substantivis femininis Graecis secundae declinationis*, Lips. 1885). On the other hand, in the classical languages and in Slavonic<sup>2</sup> *a*-stems became masculine, words of abstract meaning formed with *a* being used to denote male persons; as Gr. νεανία- 'young man' orig. 'youth', ἑτη- 'kinsman' orig. 'kinship', Lat. *agri-cola* 'husbandman' orig. 'husbandry', O.C.Sl. *junota* 'young man' orig. 'youth'. In Lithuanian, neuter substantival stems in -o assumed in the nom. and acc. the masc. form, e. g. nom. sing. *úr-kla-s* 'plough' beside Gr. ἄρο-τρο-ν, and so forth.

The *o*- and *a*-stems form by far the largest of the Indo-Germanic declensions. Nowhere have these classes suffered any serious loss except in Armenian and in Germanic. In Armenian it would seem that the *a*-declension wholly died out, and in Germanic many *o*- and *a*-stems passed into the *n*-declension (§ 112 ff.).

### § 60. The Suffix -o- -ā-<sup>3)</sup>.

From the earliest period, the suffixes -o- and -ā- were used for many different purposes. Besides their use to denote physical sex we may notice in particular the following functions:

1. -o- is found in certain abstract root-nouns (*nomina actionis*)

1) See § 57 Rem. p. 106, and the Author's Essay on Gender cited there.

2) Ed. Wolter, *Razyskanija po voprosu o grammatičeskom rodje*, Petersburg 1882 (see the notice of it by H. Haupt, Berlin. philolog. Wochenschr. 1885 p. 312 ff.)

3) H. Zimmer, *Die Nominalsuffixe a und ā in den german. Sprachen*, Strassburg 1876. F. Miklosich, *Das Suffix ā im Altslovenischen*, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. I 222 ff. 273 ff.

(the root-syllable usually bears the accent), e. g. \**gón-ò-* 'a begetting, coming into being' Skr. *jāna-m* 'birth, origin' Gr. *γόνος* 'birth', also concrete 'offspring', Gr. *χρόμ-ος* 'noise, murmur, neighing' O.C.Sl. *grom-ŭ* 'thunder', Goth. *ga-fah-s* m. 'capture' (ground-form \**pāñko-s*) *dragk* n. 'drink'. 2. -o- is found in certain *nomina agentis* (the accent falls usually on the suffix), e. g. \**tor-ó-* 'he who penetrates' Skr. *tārā-s* Gr. *τορός*, Lat. *procu-s* 'suitor' (beside *precārī*), Goth. *þiuſs*, gen. *þiubis*, 'thief' (ground-form \**teupó-s*). 3. -ā- is found in certain abstract root-nouns (*nomina actionis*), e. g. Gr. *φύγ-ή* Lat. *fug-a* 'flight', Gr. *βληχ-ή* 'bleating, cry' O.H.G. *chlag-a* 'lament', Skr. *bhid-ā* 'separation', Goth. *bid-a* 'request, prayer'.

Differentiation of Adjectives (*Motion*): e. g. masc. \**néu-o-s* neut. \**néu-o-m* fem. \**néu-ā*: Skr. *nāva-s* *nāva-m* *nāvā*, Gr. *νέο-ς* *νέο-ν* *νέα*, Lat. *novo-s* *novo-m* *nova*, O.C.Sl. *novŭ* *novo* *nova*.

In most of the Indo-Germanic languages we find more or less frequently the transference of stems that do not end in *o* or *ā*, e. g. stems ending in explosives, into the *o-* or *ā-* declension, without any modification of meaning. The change in any particular case may be due to any one of a large number of causes; indeed, to any association either of sound or of sense. Analogy of form, for example, produced in Sanskrit a nom. *dānta-s* (cp. p. 111) beside acc. *dānt-am* (stem *dānt-* 'tooth'), and in Greek *τὴν κάρην* (Callim.) beside nom. acc. neut. *κάρα* 'head' (for \**καράσ-α*, a neuter subst. like *ἄλειφ-α*). On the other hand, the change was due to an association of meaning when in Latin *aurōr-a* ('dawn') and *Flōr-a* were substituted for \**aurōs -ōris* (§ 133) and *flōs -ōris* (§ 134); so in O.H.G. pl. *tohter-ā* 'daughters' for the older form *tohter*, in Lith. *dukr-ā* 'daughter' for *duktė -eřs*, and in Pruss. *swestr-o* O.C.Sl. *sestr-a* 'sister' beside Lith. *sesū -eřs* (§ 122). Often both principles may have been at work together, e. g. when in Prākṛit *māda* 'mother' and *duhida* 'daughter' (Idg. *-tē(r)*) passed over to the *ā-* declension (cp. § 122 Rem. 1). The attraction to the *o-* or to the *ā-* declension often affects only single cases, e. g. Gr. dial. dat. pl.

πόδ-οις (like λύκ-οις) for ποσί, acc. pl. πάντ-ανς (like πάνσα-νς) for πάντ-ας, and there is perhaps an example of such a transference into the *o*-declension even in the proethnic language, where the genitive ending -ōm, which comes from -o-om, was used with other stems than those in -o-. With regard to all these processes we must remember that the speaker had no clear consciousness of the point of junction between stem and case-ending, least of all where vowel-contraction had taken place (vol. I p. 106 ff.).

Idg. Masc. \**u̯l̥q-o-s* 'wolf' (✓*u̯elq-* 'tear'): Skr. *v̥lka-s* Armen. gen. sing. *gailo-y* (cp. I § 455 p. 336) Gr. λύκο-ς (Lat. *lupu-s*) Goth. dat. pl. *vulfa-m* Lith. *vilka-s* O.C.Sl. instr. sing. *vl̥ko-mī*. Neut. \**jug-ó-m* 'yoke' (✓*jeug-* 'yoke, put to'): Skr. *jugá-m* Gr. ζυγό-ν Lat. *jugu-m* Goth. dat. pl. *juka-m* O.C.Sl. instr. sing. *igo-mī*. Fem. \**gen-ā* \**gyn-ā* \**gn-ā* 'woman' (✓*gen-*): Skr. *gnā-* Gr. Att. γυνή Boeot. βανά O.Ir. nom. *ben* gen. *mnā* Goth. *qinō* O.Icel. *kona* (in Germ. it has passed over to the *n*-declension) O.C.Sl. *žena*.

Aryan. Skr. *ghōṣ-a-* m. 'sound, noise' Avest. *gaoṣ-a-* m. 'ear' O.Pers. *gauš-a-* m. 'ear', nom. sing. pr. Ar. \**ghayš-a-s*. Skr. *bhāg-a-s* m. 'distributor, bestower of blessings' Avest. *bay-a-* m. 'God': O.C.Sl. *bog-ŭ* 'God'. Skr. *nīd-ā-s* 'resting-place, couch, nest': Armen. *nist* 'position, seat, possession', Lat. *nīdu-s*, O.Ir. *net* O.H.G. *nest* 'nest', Idg. \**ni-zd-ó-s* 'settling-place'. Skr. *mēh-a-* n. 'urine' Avest. *gao-maēz-a-* n. 'cow's urine'. Skr. *pad-ā-m* 'standing-place, place, position': Gr. πέδ-ο-ν 'ground, field', Lat. *Ped-u-m*, *oppid-u-m*. Skr. *jy-ā-* Avest. *jy-ā-* 'bowstring': Lith. *giy-ā* 'string, cord'. Skr. *jaṇgh-ā-* 'upper part of the foot': cp. Lith. *pra-žang-a* 'transgression' (✓*ghenagh-*). Skr. *mud-ā-* 'joy'. Avest. *der'z-a-* 'bundle, basket'.

Adjectives. Skr. *dīrgh-ā-s -ā-m -ā* Avest. *dar'γ-ō -e-m -a* O.Pers. *darg-a -a-m -ā* 'long': Gr. δολιχ-ό-ς -ό-ν -ή.

In Aryan, transference into the *o*-declension is common. In many cases no doubt this must have taken place in proethnic Aryan; cp. e. g. Skr. *mās-a-* Avest. *mān̥h-a-* with Skr. *mās-* 'month' (cp. § 134), Skr. *nār-a-* Avest. *nar-a-* with Skr. *nār-*



'man' (Gr. *ἄνθρωπος*), Skr. *pād-a-* Avest. *pād-a-* beside Skr. *pad-* 'foot'. In other cases however, it belongs to the development of the separate dialects: e. g. Skr. Ved. *pūṣāṇ-a-s* from *pūṣāṇ-*, name of a god, Prākr. part. nom. *carant-ō* gen. *carant-assa* etc. instead of Skr. *cārant-* 'going, moving' (and so often in the popular dialects); Avest. loc. sing. *vīs-ē* O.Pers. instr. pl. *vīp-aibiš* from *vīs- vīp-* 'village', Avest. gen. sing. *stār-ahe* from *stār-* 'star', dat. sing. *airyaman-di* from *airyaman-*, the personified spirit of prayer, part. nom. sing. *jaiḍyant-ō* etc. 'beseeching'. The point of contact from which this metaplastic process sprang was the phonetic similarity of the accusative endings *-am* = Gr. *-a* and *-a-m* = Gr. *-o-v-* (p. 110).

In Sanskrit there is a large group of denominative adjectives formed with *-o -ā-*, with the meaning 'related to, or connected with' that which is denoted by the noun from which they are derived, especially with the meaning, 'sprung from'. The first syllable of the word usually has what is called the *vr̥ddhi* grade, that is the second or 'highest' form of the strong or 'high' grade. E. g. *manas-ā-s* 'related to the mind (*mānas-*)', *sāvitṛ-ā-s* 'sprung from the sun (*savitār-*)', *sāindhav-ā-s* 'sprung from the Indus (*sīndhu-ṣ-*)'. If the contained stem is itself an *o*-stem, the adjective is formed without modifying the suffix; e. g. *āmitrā-s* 'hostile' from *amitra-s* 'foe'. Similar derivatives are found, though more rarely, in Iranian; as O.Pers. *mārgav-a-* 'inhabitant of Margiana' from *margū-ṣ* 'Margiana', Avest. *ār'zva* (or *ārza*) 'good works' from *er'zu-* 'just, right', *kāvay-a-* 'kingly' from *kavi-ṣ* 'king', *temarəh-a-* 'dark' (*-əh-* for *-s-*, see I § 558 p. 414) from *temah-* 'darkness' (cp. Skr. *tāmas-a-* from *tāma-s*), *airyav-a-* 'offspring of Airyu'. Although the particular forms that furnished the type for this category of nouns in Aryan, and the origin of the *vr̥ddhi*-strengthening, which occurs also in other derivative nouns (cp. § 93), are still undiscovered, yet it is at least probable that the class took its rise in such *o*-stems as had undergone a modification of meaning similar to that which we find in the epithetised compounds (see § 50), and that *o-* was then added to other stems in imitation of these. The use of

the suffix was extended by the desire to render easier the Differentiation (or modification to express gender) of adjectives; and we find an unmistakable parallel in the treatment of the final members of compound words; compare *-tamas-a-* from *tāmas-* 'darkness', *-ašman-a-* from *ášman-* 'stone', *-bhruv-a-* from *bhrú-* 'eyebrow', and especially instances like *daśāṅgulá-m* 'length of ten fingers' from *aṅgūli-ṣ* 'finger' (Whitney Skr. Gr. § 1315<sup>b</sup>), which are on a level with formations like *nāiryá-* 'belonging to *nīryti-*'.

Remark 1. Cp. von Bradke, Über die *Vṛddhi* in der secundären Nominalbildung, Ztschr. der deutsch. morgenländ. Gesellsch. XL, 361 ff. — The suggestion that Lat. *ovo-m* 'egg' is related in the same way to *avi-s*, and means 'that which proceeds from a bird', is unsatisfactory. Rather we may compare such instances as Gr. ἡνεμόει; beside ἀνεμο-ς, ἀμφ' ἡριστο-ς beside ἡρζω. Doublets that had arisen with different grades of ablaut in the root-syllable were in Aryan adapted to convey two distinct meanings, while in Greek they subserved a particular principle of rhythm. In either case, our endeavour must be to discover the oldest forms which gave the type for the whole series.

Armenian. *orb*, gen. *orbo-y*, 'orphan': Lat. *orbu-s*, Gr. ὀρφο-βότης 'one who brings up orphans'. *gorc*, gen. *gorco-y*, 'work': Avest. *var'z-a-* m. 'working, action', Gr. ἔργο-ν O.H.G. *werc* n. 'work'. Adj. *hin*, gen. *hn-o-y*, 'old': Skr. *sán-a-s* Gr. ἔν-ος O.Ir. *sen* Lith. *sēn-a-s* 'old'.

The *a*-declension, as we have already remarked in § 59 p. 109, was entirely lost.

Greek. *φηγ-ός* 'oak': Lat. *fag-u-s* 'beech'. *οἶκ-ος* 'house': Lat. *vīc-u-s*. *πόρ-ος* 'a penetrating, passing through, passage' *πορ-ός* 'penetrating' (ὁδοιπόρος for \*ὁδοι-πορό-ς, I § 676 p. 542 f.): Skr. *pār-a-* 'navigation, passage by sea' *pār-á-s* 'transporting'; *τόμ-ος* 'cut, slice' *τομ-ός* 'cutting, sharp'; *ἄγ-ός* 'guide, leader': Skr. *aj-á-s* 'driver'. *ζυγ-όν* 'yoke': Skr. *yug-á-m*. *πληγ-ή* 'blow': Lat. *plag-a*. *ροή* Coreyr. *rhoFá* 'stream, flowing' from *ρέω*: Lith. *srav-à* 'a flowing, bleeding'. *σπουδ-ή* 'zeal, earnestness' from *σπεύδω*. *φορβ-ή* 'nourishment' from *φέρβω*.

Adject. *ώμ-ός* *ώμ-όν* *ώμ-ή* 'raw': Skr. *am-á-s* *-ám* *-á* 'raw'.

Observe that *λεώς* 'people' stands for *λα(F)-ός* (*ΛαFo-κόφων* is preserved by Priscian); see I § 611 p. 462.

The endings of *o*-cases are often transferred to other classes of stems; as *οιν* in *ποδ-οῖν* -οῖν, -οις in *πόδ-οις* for *ποσί*, -ον in *πολίτ-ον*.

Italic. Lat. *popul-u-s* *popl-u-s*, Umbr. *popl-o-m* acc. 'populum'. Lat. *dol-u-s* Osc. *dolud* abl. 'dolo': Gr. *δόλ-ο-ς* 'wile'. Lat. *dom-u-s*: Gr. *δóμ-ο-ς* 'house'. Lat. *unc-u-s*: Skr. *an̥k-á-s* 'hook', Gr. *ὄγκ-ο-ς*, 'something bent or bowed out, hook, extended circumference'. Lat. *for-u-m*, Umbr. *furo* 'forum': Skr. *dvār-a-m* 'door, entrance, exit' (*d-* instead of *dh-*, see I § 480 p. 354), O.C.Sl. *dvor-ŭ* m. 'enclosure'. Osc. *ter-o-m* 'terra, territorium'. Lat. *porc-a*, fem. of *porc-us*, Umbr. *purk-a* *porc-a* 'porcas'. Lat. *lump-a* (*lymph-a*, cp. I p. 42 footnote), Osc. *Diump-aís* 'Nymphis'. Lat. *deiv-a* *dīv-a* (fem. of *deiv-o-s*), Osc. *deiv-aí* dat. 'divae'. Lat. *līr-a* 'furrow, ridge between two furrows': O.H.G. *wagan-leis-a* 'cart-track, road' O.C.Sl. *lěch-a* 'ridge of earth'.

Here should also be mentioned the Umbr.-Samn. infinitives in -*o-m*, as Umbr. *erom* Osc. *ezum* 'esse', Umbr. *a-ferum* *a-fero* 'circumferre', Osc. *deicum* 'dicere' *moltaum* 'multare' (cp. § 156).

Adject. Lat. *rōb-u-s -u-m -a*, Umbr. acc. pl. masc. *rof-u* 'rufos' fem. *rof-a* 'rufas': Goth. *ráuþ-s* *ráuþ* *ráud-a* 'red'.

Old Irish. Masc. *dia*, gen. *dē*, 'God' pr. Kelt. *\*deiyu-o-s*: Skr. *dēv-á-s* Lat. *deiv-o-s* *deu-s* (I § 172 p. 152) Lith. *dēv-a-s* 'God', cp. Skr. *div-* Gr. *Δι-* 'heaven, god of heaven'. *orc* 'pig': Gr. *πόρκ-ο-ς* Lat. *porc-u-s* O.H.G. *farh* *farah* Lith. *pařsz-a-s* 'pig, sucking-pig'. O.Ir. *at-trab n-* Mid.Ir. *ait-treb n-* 'possession, dwelling' no doubt to be compared with Goth. *þaúrþ* 'field, land' O.H.G. *dorf* 'village'. Fem. *ben*, gen. *mn-ā*, 'wife': O.C.Sl. *žen-a* etc., see p. 111 above. *coss*, pl. *coss-a*, 'foot': Lat. *cox-a*, O.H.G. *hahs-a* 'hollow of the knee'. *ferg ferc*, gen. *ferge*, 'wrath': Gr. *ὄργ-ή* 'impulse, passion'.

Adject. *caech* m., *caech n-* n., *caech f.* 'blind': Lat. *caecu-s -u-m -a*, Goth. *háih-s* *háih* *háih-a* 'one-eyed' *ōg* 'integer', from *✓aug-*.

Germanic. Goth. *snáiv-s* O.H.G. *snēo* m. 'snow': Lith. *snėg-a-s* O.C.Sl. *sněg-ŭ* 'snow', *✓sneigh-*. Goth. *dag-s* O.H.G.

*tag* m. 'day': Skr. *ni-dāgh-ā-s* 'hot season', Lith. *dāg-a-s* 'harvest'. O.H.G. *teig* m. O.Icel. *deig* n. 'dough': Skr. *dēh-a-s* 'body', Gr. *τοιχ-ο-ς* 'wall', √ *dheigh-* 'besmear, cement'. O.Icel. *draug-r* m. 'ghost': Skr. *drōgh-a-s* 'injury inflicted deceitfully'. Goth. *juk* O.H.G. *joh* n. 'yoke': Skr. *yug-ā-m* etc. Goth. *dal* O.H.G. *tal* n. 'valley': Gr. *θόλ-ο-ς* 'cupola, dome', O.C.Sl. *dol-ŭ* 'valley'. Goth. *ahv-a* O.H.G. *ah-a* 'water': Lat. *aqu-a*. Goth. *gib-a* O.H.G. *geb-a* 'gift', beside Goth. *giban* 'to give'. Goth. *stāig-a* 'path, way', beside *steigan* 'to climb'.

Adject. Goth. *lagg-s* *lagg* *lagg-a* O.H.G. *lang* 'long': Lat. *long-u-s -u-m -a*. Goth. *liuf-s* *liuf* *liub-a* O.H.G. *liob* 'dear, beloved': O.C.Sl. *ljub-ŭ -o -a*.

Transference into the *o*-declension is frequent, into the *a*-declension more rare; e. g. nom. sing. Goth. *frijōnds* O.H.G. *friunt* 'friend' gen. sing. *frijōndis* *friuntes* and other forms with terminations of the *o*-declension, contrasted with the nom. pl. Goth. *frijōnds* O.H.G. *friunt* etc. which have not modified the original *-nt-* stem (§ 126), O.H.G. nom. pl. *tohterā* 'daughters' dat. pl. *tohterōn* beside the older pl. *tohter* = Gr. *θυγατέρ-ες* (§ 122).

Balto-Slavonic. Masc. Lith. *mūs-a-s* 'film (on liquids)' O.C.Sl. *mūch-ŭ* 'moss': O.H.G. *mos* n. 'moss'. Lith. *āt-lėk-a-s* O.C.Sl. *otŭ-lėk-ŭ* 'remnant, remainder': Skr. *ati-rėk-a-s* 'remnant, excess' Gr. *λοιπ-ό-ς* 'remaining'. Lith. *ūž-valk-a-s* 'outside covering, bed-covering' O.C.Sl. *oblak-ŭ* 'cloud' (for *\*ob-vlak-ŭ*, cp. I § 184 p. 160): Gr. *όλκ-ό-ς* 'a drawing, thing drawn'. O.C.Sl. *glagol-ŭ* 'sound, word' (for *\*gol-gol-ŭ*, cp. I § 281 p. 224): Skr. *gar-gar-a-s*, a musical instrument. Neut. O.C.Sl. *igo* 'yoke': Skr. *yug-ā-m*; O.C.Sl. *tŭl-o* 'ground': Skr. *tal-a-s* 'surface, ground' (√ *tel-*); in Lith. the masc. termination is found in the nom. acc.; e. g. *jūng-a-s* 'yoke', a modification of the Idg. *\*jug-ó-m*. Fem. Lith. *vaps-à* 'gadfly' O.C.Sl. *vos-a* 'wasp' (I § 545 p. 399): O.H.G. *wafs-a* 'wasp'. Lith. *rank-à* O.C.Sl. *rak-a* 'hand', beside Lith. *renkù* 'I gather, collect'.

Adject. Lith. *saus-a-s* *saus-a* *saus-à* O.C.Sl. *such-ŭ -o -a* 'dry': Skr. *śōṣ-a-s -a-m -ā* 'drying, parching' (ś- for s-, I § 557, 4 p. 413), Gr. Ion. *αῦ-ο-ς* *αῦ-ο-ν* *αῦ-η* 'dry'.

Remark 2. It may not be premature to notice here that the Lith. neuter form in *-a* arose from *-o-d* and not from *-o-m*, and is therefore a pronominal termination. See R. Garbe, *Litau. und lett. Drucke des 16. u. 17. Jahrh.*, IV p. XLI.

§ 61. The Suffix *-tu-o-* *-tu-ā-* (*-tuy-o-* *-tuy-ā-*).<sup>1)</sup> This is an extension of *-tu-* *-teu-* (§ 108).

Originally it was no doubt primary, and used to form adjectives (cp. e. g. Skr. *kār-tuva-s* *kār-tva-s* 'faciendus', beside the inf. *kār-tu-m*) whose neuter and feminine forms were used as abstract substantives, on the analogy of which derivative abstract substantives were also formed from nouns (§ 158).

The accentuation of Sanskrit formations like *dēva-tvā-m* 'divinity', and the *d* of the Goth. *þiva-dv* 'servitude' (see I § 530 p. 386 f.), shew that *\*-tuo-m* was the form assumed by the suffix in these secondary abstract substantives in Indo-Germanic.

Compare Ar. *-tvana-* Gr. *-ovvo-* § 70.

In Aryan, the suffix is frequent. In Skr. it appears in gerundives like *kār-tuva-s* *kār-tva-s* 'faciendus' *jān-tuva-s* *jān-tva-s* 'procreandus'. The neuters of these gerundives are often used substantivally, as *kār-tva-m* 'task, work to be done'. Compare also Avest. *varš-tve-m* 'work, action' (beside *ver'-z-yē-mi* 'I do'), *stao-þwe-m* 'prayer' (beside *stao-mi* 'I praise, pray'). Secondary formations in *\*-tuo-m*: Skr. *dēva-tvā-m* 'divinity' (*dēvā-s* 'god'), *śatru-tvā-m* 'enmity' (*śātru-ś* 'enemy'), *rakṣas-tvā-m* 'demoniacal nature' (*rakṣās-* 'monster, demon'), Avest. *aṇhu-þwe-m* 'lordship, might' (*aṇhu-ś* 'lord'), *fratema-þwem* 'a being first, nobility' (*fratema-* 'first').

As to the interchange of *-tva-* and *-tuva-* in Sanskrit see Edgren, *Journal of the American Orient. Soc.*, XI 82 sq.

In Latin it is rare. We can scarcely count *mor-tuo-s* (for *\*mṛ-tuo-s*): O.C.Sl. *mŕi-tvŕi* 'mortuus' as an example, cp. I § 170 p. 150; see § 64 Rem. 3 below. But *Fā-tuo-s* (soothsayer) and *mā-tuo-s* no doubt belong here (with the suffix in the form *-tuyo-*); see I § 170 p. 151.

1) Benfey, *Indog. Part. Perf. auf tua oder tva*, *Nachr. der Götting. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.*, 1873, n. 7.

In Germanic it is not common. Goth. *vaurstv* n. 'work' for pr. Germ. *\*wurx-s-tya-n*, whose *-s-* must be compared with that of *-s-tro-* (§ 62), *-s-lo-* (§ 76), *-s-ti-* (§ 100), *-s-tu-* (§ 108), *-s-men-* (§ 117)<sup>1</sup>. *ahvō* f. 'morning twilight' for *\*urx-tuō-* (transferred to the *n*-inflexion), ground-form *\*r̥q-tuā-*, compare directly Skr. *aktū-ṣ* 'brightness' for *\*r̥q-tu-s*, and less immediately Skr. *añj-i-ṣ* 'ointment, adornment'. *vah-tvō* or *vah-tva* (only the dat. pl. *vahvōm* is actually found) 'watch, guard', from *vakan* 'to watch'. A.S. *læs*, gen. *læswe*, f. 'letting blood' for *\*lēsuō-* i. e. *\*lēt + tuō-*, beside Goth. *lētan* 'to let', *ræs*, gen. *ræswe*, f. 'counsel' for *\*rēsyo-* i. e. *\*rēd + tuō-*, beside Goth. *rēdan* 'to counsel' (cp. I § 527 p. 382). As in all the instances given, so in Goth. *frija-þva* 'love' and *fija-þva* 'enmity' from *frijōn* 'to love' and *fijōn* 'to hate' the suffix is to be regarded as primary; yet *frija-þva* (in imitation of which *fija-þva* was afterwards formed) was originally a secondary formation, from the adj. *frija-* '(fre)'e, which in the prehistoric period had meant 'dear', cp. Skr. *priya-tvā-m* 'a being beloved' from *priyā-* 'dear, beloved'. Goth. *þiva-dv* n. 'servitude' from *þiu-s* 'servant'.

In Slavonic it is frequent. Primary: Masc.: O.C.Sl. *mrī-tvū* 'mortuus'? (see above), O.C.Sl. *rybi-tvū* 'fisher'; Neut. Russ. *jas-tvo* 'food', Russ. *ši-tvo* 'sewing', O.C.Sl. *čuvi-tvo* 'organ of sense'; Fem. O.C.Sl. *jas-tva* 'food' *žę-tva* 'harvest' *molī-tva* 'prayer' *goni-tva* 'pursuit'. Secondary *-(t)s-tvo* (cp. the suffix *-iskū* § 90): *zělīstvo* 'violence' (*zělū* 'violent'), *dělitstvo* 'childhood' (*děte* 'child'); probably this form of the suffix started from stems in *-i-*, cp. *tatīstvo* 'theft', from *tatī* m. 'thief', *blędīstvo* 'boasting, bluster' from *blędī* f. 'deceit, farce' (cp. *-ība* § 78). In Lithuanian Leskien is probably right in tracing this suffix in the group of names of tools formed with *-tuva-*, such as *kosz-tūva-s* 'strainer, filter' (*kósziu* 'I filter'), *rės-tūva-s* 'roller for winding yarn' (*rēcziū* 'I roll, wind'), *karsz-tūvai* pl. 'woolcarder's comb' (*karsziūvilnas*

1) Goth. *gáidv* n. 'lack' no doubt belongs rather to  $\sqrt{gheidh-}$  'desire' (O.H.G. *gū* 'eagerness, greed') than to *gei-gan*, i. e. it should be analysed *gáid-v*, not *gái-dv*.

'I card wool'), *min-tuvaĩ* pl. 'a machine for breaking flax, brake' (*minù linùs* 'I tear flax'). Cp. also Pruss. *pre-artue* 'ploughshare' and *ar-twes* 'ship's voyage'.

§ 62. The Suffix *-tr-o-* *-tr-ā-*, *-tl-o-* *-tl-ā*<sup>1)</sup>. This is an extension of *-ter-* *-tor-* (§ 119 ff.), cp. e. g. Skr. *ari-tra-* 'oar' from *ari-tar-* 'rower'. Perhaps *l* arose from *r* by some process or processes of assimilation or dissimilation (partly in proethnic Indo-Germanic, partly in the separate languages), cp. I § 282 p. 225 f.<sup>2)</sup>.

The meaning is generally that of the instrument or the place of the action.

Indo-Germanic. Skr. *bhart-tra-m* 'arm' (that with which one bears), Gr. *φέρε-τρο-ν* *φέρε-τρο-ν* 'litter, bier', Lat. *prae-feri-culu-m* 'wide sacrificial dish' (regarded as the instrument for carrying something offered) *fer-culu-m* 'litter, bier'. Skr. m. n. *ari-tra-* O.H.G. n. *ruo-dar* Lith. *ir-kla-s* 'oar', cp. also Gr. *Ἐρε-τρο-ια* 'Oarstown'. Skr. *mā-trā* Gr. *μέ-τρο-ν* 'measure' (or should we follow de Saussure, *Mém. de la Soc. de lingu.* VI 248, in assuming this to stand for Idg. *\*metro-* i. e. *\*med + tro-*?).

Aryan. Skr. *kṣa-trā-m* Avest. *xša-pre-m* O.Pers. *xša-ša-m* 'lordship'. Skr. *vás-tra-m* Avest. *vas-tre-m* 'garment, vesture'. Skr. *dhár-tra-m* 'support' Avest. *dar<sup>o</sup>-pre-m* 'an upholding, holding fast'. Skr. *vahí-tra-m* 'ship': Lat. *vehi-culu-m*. Skr. *hó-tra* Avest. *zao-ḫra* 'libation, offering': Gr. *χύ-τροᾶ* 'pot' *χύ-τρο-ν* 'libation'.

Armenian. *arōr araur*, gen. *arauro-y*, 'plough' for *\*ara-tro-* (I § 360 p. 276, § 483 p. 357): Gr. *ἄρο-τρο-ν* 'plough', Lat. *arā-tru-m*, O.Icel. *ar-ḫr* m. 'ploughing', Lith. *ár-kla-s* 'plough'.

1) S. Bugge, Bemerkungen über den Ursprung der lateinischen Suffixe *clo*, *culo*, *cro*; *cla*, *cula*, *cra*, Kuhn's Ztschr. XX 134 ff. G. J. Ascoli, Die lateinischen Formen des ursprünglichen Instrumentalsuffixes *-tra* (1867), Krit. Stud. 123 ff. H. Osthoff, Die mit dem Suffixe *-clo-* *-culo-* *-cro-* gebildeten nomina instrumenti des Lateinischen, Forsch. im Geb. der; nomin. Stammbildung I 1 ff.

2) In I p. 226 l. 5 instead of 'the nominal suffixes *-tro-* and *-tlo-* beside *-dhro-* and *-dhlo-*', read 'the nominal suffixes *-tlo-* and *-dhlo-* beside *-tro-* and *-dhro-*'.

*alaur-i* 'mill' (from *alam* 'I grind') was a secondary extension of a *tro*-stem: cp. Gr. ἀλέ-τρο-ιος 'belonging to grinding' ἀλε-τρο-εῖω 'I grind to powder' ἀλετριβανος for \*ἀλετρο-τριβανο-ς 'pulverising by grinding, pestle'.

Greek. ῥόπ-τρο-ν 'tambourine, lever of a trap' A.S. *ræf-ter* m. 'beam'. ἔλυ-τρο-ν 'covering, that which contains': Skr. *varū-tra-m* 'upper garment'. λέκ-τρο-ν 'couch, bed': O.C.Sl. *lātr* 'lair of wild animals' pr. Germ. \**lax-tra-*. δέλε-τρο-ν 'bait, lure', compare no doubt O.H.G. *quer-dar* 'bait, lure' (J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 153). ῥύπ-τρο-ν 'water for washing'. ῥή-τροα 'agreement, treaty'.

ἄν-τλο-ν ἄν-τλο-ς ἄν-τλη 'bilge-water, dead-water, baling scoop': cp. Skr. *āma-tra-m* 'vessel, jug, drinking-cup' (Lat. *ex-antlāre ex-anclāre* is the Greek ἔξ-αντλεῖν borrowed, cp. I § 367 p. 278). ἐχέ-τλη 'plough-tail'.

Italic. Lat. *cas-tru-m* and fem. *cas-tra*; in Umbr.-Samn. the word has passed into other declensions, Osc. *castrovs* gen. 'fundi' *castrid* abl. 'fundo' Umbr. *kastruvuf* 'fundos'. Lat. *rōs-tru-m* (*rōdō* 'I gnaw'), *arā-tru-m*, *fulgē-tru-m* *fulgē-tra*. Umbr. *kle-tram* 'lecticam': Goth. *hlei-þra* 'hut, tent', √ *klei-*.

*-tlo-* became *-klo-* in proethnic Italic, except where *s* preceded (I § 366 p. 278). Lat. *piā-clu-m -culu-m*, Umbr. *piha-klu* 'piaculorum'. Lat. *sae-clu-m -culu-m*: Lith. *sė-kla* 'seed'. Lat. *ind-ā-cula sub-ū-cula*: Avest. *ao-þre-m* 'sandal', Lett. *āu-kla* a kind of string (in Lith. the declension has changed, *au-klė* 'bandage for the feet'). Umbr. *eh-vel-klu* 'edictum, decretum', *mantrah-klu* 'mantele'. Osc. *sakara-klūm* 'sacrum'. *-tlo-* is kept after *s* in Osc. *pes-tlū-m* 'sacellum, templum': Umbr. *pers-clu pes-clu* 'supplicatione'. *-clo-* became *-cro-* in Latin by dissimilation where an *l* preceded (I § 269 p. 217): *lavā-cru-m*: Gr. λωε-τρό-ν λουτρό-ν 'bath, water for washing', Gall. *lau-tro* 'balneo', O.Icel. *lau-ðr* 'soap'; *lu-cru-m*; *in-volū-cru-m*.

Rarely we find *-s-tro-*, as *mōn-s-tru-m capi-s-tru-m* (cp. the Germanic); whence also nouns in *-āster -āstra -āstru-m*, like *formāster*, *oleāster oleāstru-m* (see Seck, Archiv f. lat. Lexicogr. I 390 ff. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, ibid. 404 ff.).



Old Irish. *lō-thor lō-thur* n. 'alveus, canalis' Gall. *lau-tro* 'balneo': Lat. *lavā-cru-m* etc., see above. *tara-thar* n. 'boring tool, gimlet': Gr. *τέρε-τρο-ν* 'gimlet'. *criathar* n. 'sieve': O.H.G. *hrī-ttara* 'sieve'? (see the end of the section, p. 122). *ara-thar* n. 'aratrum': Armen. *arōr* etc., see p. 118. *bria-thar* f. 'word'. *cētal* n. 'song' (*cētlo-* for *\*can-tlo-*). With regard to the developement of *-thar* from *\*-tro-m* and from *\*-trā*, and of *-tal* from *\*-tlo-m*, see I § 623 Rem. 1 p. 469 and § 634 p. 475.

*cenēl* n. 'family, race' O.Cymr. *cene-tl*. *scēl* n. 'narration, tale' Mod.Cymr. *chwedl* for pr. kelt. *\*skū-e-tlo-n*, √ *seq* 'say'. *anal* f. 'breath' Mod.Cymr. *ana-dl*. Cp. I § 110 p. 104, § 518 p. 371 f., § 620 p. 467.

Germanic. The *þ* of the pr. Germ. *-þra-* *-þla-* indicates that the sonant next preceding it bore the principal accent (I § 529 p. 384 f.). O.H.G. *lio-dar* A.S. *hleó-ðor* 'sound, noise', pr. Germ. *hlēy-þra-*: Skr. *śrō-tra-m* 'hearing, ear'. Goth. *smair-þr* n. 'grease, fat', √ *smer-* 'besmear'. Goth. *hleī-þra* 'tent': Umbr. *kle-tram* 'lecticam', √ *klej-*. O.H.G. *sta-dal* m. 'shed, barn': Skr. *sthā-trā-m* 'standing-place, position'. O.H.G. *wa-dal we-dil* m. n. 'fan, tuft', √ *uē-* 'blow'. Goth. *nē-þla* and *nā-dla* 'needle' (cp. Bremer, Paul-Br. Beitr. XI 5. 277 f.).

O.H.G. *bīhal* n. 'hatchet' pr. Germ. *\*bīþla-*, Idg. *\*bhejtlo-* for *\*bhejd + tlo-*, √ *bhejd-* 'findere' (is O.Ir. *biail*, gen. *bēla*, 'hatchet' connected with this?); O.H.G. *sedal* n. m. 'seat' pr. Germ. *\*seþla-*, Idg. *\*sejlo-* for *\*sed + tlo-*, √ *sed-* 'sit'. I follow de Saussure, Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. VI 247. 255<sup>1)</sup>.

After spirants, *t* is kept (thus the original accent cannot be determined): Mid.H.G. *wes-ter* f. 'baptismal robe' Skr. *vás-tra-m* 'garment'; Goth. *gilstr* n. 'tribute' from *gild* 'tribute' √ *gheldh-*; O.H.G. *bluostar* n. 'offering' (Goth. derivative *blōstreis* 'offerer') beside Goth. *blōtan* 'offer'; O.H.G. *riostar* n. and *riostra* f. 'ploughshare' beside Mid.H.G. *riuten* 'root out'; O.H.G. *hlahtar* n. O.Icel. *hlattr* m. 'laughter'.

1) Germ. *\*bīþla-*, like Gr. *πτερό-ς* 'log, piece of wood', which de Saussure similarly derives from *bhejd-*, might certainly be connected with O.C.Sl. *bi-ti* 'strike' *u-boj-ŭ* 'deathblow'.

Pr. Germ. *-āra-* *-āla-* indicate that this suffix bore the accent (cp. Skr. *as-trā-m* *dā-trā-m* etc.), see I § 530 p. 386 f.; yet these pr. Germ. suffixal forms may also represent Idg. *-dhro-* *-dhlo-*, see p. 122. Idg. *-tro-* is probably seen e. g. in Goth. *fō-dr* 'scabbard' O.H.G. *fuo-tar* A.S. *fō-ddor* n. 'case, sheath': Skr. *pā-tra-m* 'that which contains, vessel'.

*-s-tra-* is fairly frequent; as O.H.G. *gal-s-tar* n. 'song' from *galan* 'sing', compare A.S. *zeal-dor* n. O.Icel. *gal-dr* m.; Goth. *huli-s-tr* 'covering' from *huljan* 'cover'. Cp. Osthoff, Über das eingedrungene *s* in der nominalen Suffixform *-stra-*, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIII 313 ff., and *-s-tyo-* (§ 61), *-s-lo-* (§ 76), *-s-ti-* (§ 100), *-s-tu-* (§ 108), *-s-men-* (§ 117).

Balto-Slavonic. *-tro-* is found only in a few uncertain examples, as Lith. *vė-tra* 'storm' O.C.Sl. *vě-trŭ* 'air, wind'. The uncertainty is caused by the possibility of a later transference into the *o-* or *ā-*declension, which has undoubtedly taken place in O.C.Sl. *bratr-ŭ* 'brother' *sestr-a* 'sister'.

*-tlo-* occurs only in Baltic, where it appears in Lith. and Lett. as *-kla-* (I § 377 p. 285 f.). Pruss. *\*sen-tla-* 'token, sign' in the partic. *eb-sentliuns* 'having betokened, marked' Lith. *žėn-kla-s* 'token, sign': cp. Skr. *jñā-tra-m* 'ability to recognise' O.H.G. *be-cnuodelen* 'give a sign of recognition' *ir-chnuodilen* 'become perceptible'; from which we may deduce a pr. Germ. form *\*knō-þla-*. Pruss. *sper-tla-n* 'cushion of the toes', beside Lith. *spir-iū* 'strike with the foot'. Lith. *sė-klà* Lett. *sē-kla* 'seed': Lat. *sae-culu-m*. Lith. *bū-klà* 'home' *bu-kla-s* (*ūp*) 'lair of an animal': Skr. *bhavi-tra-m* 'world' (this meaning is not certain) A.S. *bold* (for *\*bodl*) O.Icel. *ból* 'house' pr. Germ. *\*bu-þla-*. In Slav. *-tlo-* was replaced by *-dhlo-*, see below.

In the European branches, *-dhro-* *-dhlo-* are found side by side with *-tro-* *-tlo-*, and with the same meaning; and the former often displace the latter. Cp. e. g. Gr. *γένε-θλο-ν γενί-θλη* 'origin, race, scion, birthplace': Skr. *janí-tra-m* 'birthplace'. *ἔδε-θλο-ν* 'seat': Lat. *sedí-culu-m*, Lett. *sēde-kli-s* 'seat' (with the addition of the suffix *-jo-*). Lat. *tere-bra*: Gr. *τέρε-τρο-ν* O.Ir. *tara-thar* n. 'borer'. Lat. *sta-bulu-m*: O.H.G. *sta-dal* 'barn'.

Pr.Germ. *-āra- -āla-* is ambiguous (see p. 121): is for example O.H.G. *hrī-ttara* 'sieve' connected with O.Ir. *cria-thar* or with Lat. *crī-bru-m*? In Slav. only *-dhlo-* occurs, as Czech *rá-dlo* O.C.Sl. *ra-lo ora-lo* 'plough': Lat. *arā-tru-m* etc. (see p. 119), Czech *by-dlo* 'dwelling' Pol. *by-dło* 'cattle, means': Lith. *bū-klà* 'home'. Cp. § 77.

§ 63. The Suffix *-iō- -iā-, -iio- -iia-*<sup>1)</sup>.

With regard to the fluctuation between *-iio-* and *-iō-* see I § 117 p. 110. § 120 p. 111 ff. A parallel form *-iio-* is also found (e. g. Skr. *tyt-tya-s* Gr. *πποθυμ-ίη*), whose relation to the two other forms is obscure; it resembles the Skr. *-tyas-* Gr. *-των* (§ 135), forms of the comparative suffix.

In the nom. sing. we find in different languages *-ii-* or *-i-* instead of and parallel to *-iō-*. Thus Goth. *har-ji-s*, *brūks* for *\*brūk-i-s*, *haird-ei-s*; Umbr. Trutit-*i-s* 'Truttidius' (also in the acc., *Fisim* 'Fisium' and neut. terti 'tertium'), Osc. Vīfni*kīs* 'Vinicius' (*i*), Púnti*s* 'Pontius' (*i* or *-ii-*), Helren*nīs* 'Herennius' (also neut. *medic-i-m* 'magisterium'), O.Lat. *Cornēl-i-s* (and acc. *Cornēl-i-m*, cp. also voc. *fīlī*); Lith. *mēd-i-s* and *gaid-ỹ-s*<sup>2)</sup>.

From the earliest period this suffix was both primary and

1) H. Kern, Le Suffixe *ya* du Sanscrit classique, *ia* de l'Arien, Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. II 321 ff. F. G. Benseler, De nominibus propriis et Latinis in *is* pro *ius* et Graecis *ις ιν* pro *ιος ιον* terminatis, Curtius' Stud. III 147 ff. G. F. Aly, De nominibus *io* suffixi ope formati, Berol. 1873. J. Akens, Über die Adjectiva auf *αιος, ειος, ηιος, οαιος, οειος*, Emmerich 1873. G. Meyer, Das Nominalsuffix *io* im Griech., Kuhn's Ztschr. XXII 481 ff. A. Fick, Zum sogenannten *ja*-suffix im Griech., Bezenb. Beitr. I 120 ff. K. Zacher, De nominibus Graecis in *-αιος -αια -αιον*, Halle 1877. A. Fritsch, Zum Vokalismus des Herodotischen Dialektes [on *-ηιο-* and *-ειο-* in syllables containing derivative suffixes], Hamburg 1888. Th. Aufrecht, Über die lateinischen Suffixe *tia, tio*, Kuhn's Ztschr. VI 177 ff. W. Schlüter, Die mit dem Suffixe *ja* gebildeten deutschen Nomina, Göttingen 1875.

2) In I § 84 Remark 1 p. 80, I assumed the existence of *-ii-* as a form of the Idg. suffix beside *-iō-*. As my pupil Prof. W. Streitherg has recognised, it is preferable to assume *-i-* *-i-* as the original forms (*-i-*:

secondary, and its neuter and feminine forms are frequently used as substantives (§ 158).

Three chief functions of this suffix may be distinguished.

1. It forms verbal adjectives with the meaning of the so-called fut. pass. participles or participles of necessity, or with a simple participial meaning, active or passive. In Sanskrit, but nowhere else, these adjectives appear as a class of forms in active and extensive use. The neuter and the feminine are often used as abstract substantives (see above).

Idg. Skr. *yāj-ya-s* Gr. *ᾱγ-ιο-ς* 'venerandus', fem. *yāj-yā ᾱγ-ιά*, *✓iag-* 'revere'. Skr. *sāc-īya-s* 'whom one must help, must value', Gr. *ἀσασσηήρ* 'helper' from *\*ōsso-* which stands for *\*sok<sup>u</sup>-iō-*, Lat. *soc-īu-s*, *✓seq-* 'be together with, follow'.

Aryan. In Skr. *-iō-* appears as a living participial suffix; e. g. *dfś-ya-s* *dārś-īya-s* 'visible, worth seeing' *cēt-īya-s* 'perceptible'. Examples of substantival usage are: neut. *vāc-īya-m* *vāc-ya-m* 'speech, word', fem. *vid-yā* 'knowledge'. For the fluctuation between *-ya-* and *-īya-* see Edgren, Journal of the Amer. Orient. Soc. XI 74 ff.

Following a root ending in a short vowel the suffix assumes the form *-tīō-* instead of *-iō-*, as *kṛ-tīya-s* 'faciendus' *kṛ-ty-am*

*-ī- = -iō-: -iō-*), so that this form represents the weak-grade phase of the suffix which we are discussing, in the same way as *-ī-* represents that of *-iē-* (§ 109). Streitberg is certainly right in laying especial stress on Gothic forms like *brūks un-nu/s*. The form *-iī-* arose through the *-i-* being added from cases which had *-iō- -iē-*. Just so we have in Lith. *jī-s jī* for *\*ī-s \*ī* on the model of *jō* etc. Such forms as Lith. *mō-jī-s* are of the same kind as O.C.Sl. *ladi-jī* § 110 and Skr. *svadhā-yīn-* § 115. Beside the Idg. stems formed with *-iō- -iē-: -i-* (*-iō- -iē-: -ī-*) there probably existed from the pr. Idg. period onwards invariable *-iō-* stems which never had *-i-*. To these however we must not refer nominative forms like Skr. *yāj-y-as* Gr. *ᾱγ-ιο-ς* Lat. *exim-īu-s*, which were new formations (cp. Goth. *brūks*), and similarly Skr. *yā-s* Gr. *ῶ-ς* (cp. Lith. *ī-s*). I do not believe that the late Greek nouns ending *-ις -ιν* instead of *-ιος -ιον* should be classed here as containing an original form of their suffix. They were created on the model of personal names belonging to the classical period, such as *Ἀλεξίς Ζεῦξίς* (cp. R. Wagner, Quaestiones de epigrammatis Graecis, Lips. 1883, p. 96).

'business' *kṛ-tyā* 'infliction, bewitchment', a new formation based upon such stems as *-kṛ-t-* 'faciens' (§ 123).

In Avest. *-ya-* is rarer, e. g. *dar's-ya-* 'visible', *vairya-* 'worth choosing or desiring', *išya-* 'desired, dear'.

Armenian. Here no doubt should be classed *li*, gen. *lioy*, 'full' from *\*plē-iō-*.

Greek. *σπύγ-ιo-ς* 'abominable, odious'. *πάγ-ιo-ς* 'established, firm, durable'. *σπάγ-ιo-ς* 'slaying, killing'. Substantival usage: *ῥεῖπ-ια* pl. 'ruins, debris', *σπάγ-ιo-ν* 'offering, victim for offering'.

Italic. Lat. *exim-iu-s* 'eximendus, exceptional, distinguished'. *in-fer-iu-s* 'presented, offered': cp. Avest. *bairya-* 'presenting'. Substantives: *frag-iu-m* 'breach, fracture', *stud-iu-m* 'zeal, eagerness, desire', *exuv-iae* pl. 'clothing, cast-off skin'.

Old Irish. Subst. fem. *in-sc-e* 'speech' ✓ *seq-*, neut. *suide* 'seat', ✓ *sed-*, *frecre* for *\*frith-gaire* (I § 514 Rem. 2 p. 376) 'answering, answer' ✓ *gar-*.

Germanic. Adjectives with the meaning of the fut. partic. pass. are commoner than in other European languages. Goth. *brūkja-* (nom. *brūks*) O.H.G. *prūchi* 'useful, serviceable'. Goth. *un-nutja-* (nom. *un-nuts*) 'useless' O.H.G. *nuzzi* A.S. *nyt* 'useful'. Goth. *un-qēþja-* (nom. *un-qēþs*) 'unutterable'. O.H.G. *gi-fuori* 'suitable, useful'. Here perhaps should be classed Goth. *havi*, 'gen. *háuþis*, O.H.G. *hewi* n. 'hay' pr. Germ. *\*χαυ-ια-* n. i. e. 'that which is to be cut'. Abstract nouns: neut. O.H.G. *gi-fuori* 'suitability, usefulness' compared with the adj. *gi-fuori*; Fem. A.S. *nyt* O.Icel. *nytr* 'use' compared with adj. A.S. *nyt*, Goth. *brak-ja* 'fight' (originally 'breach') with *brikan* 'to break'.

Balto-Slavonic.

In Lithuanian there are only a few adjectives; e. g. *sriau-ja-s* 'flowing swiftly', *žala-s žale-s* (Pruss. acc. *saligan* with *g = j*) 'green', properly 'being verdant', from *žēl-ti* 'to be verdant'. The following may be adjectives used substantivally: *vė-ja-s* 'wind' ('he who blows'), *gaid-ỹ-s* 'cock' ('he who crows'), from *gėd-óti* 'crow'), etc., all masculine. Forms formerly neuter used as substantives: *žōd-i-s* 'word' (cp. Skr. *vāc-ya-m*), *kañd-i-s* 'bite', *kiřt-i-s* 'cut or blow' with a cutting instrument (Skr. *kart-ya-*

'to be hewn or cut off') and other such forms; feminine forms used as substantives are *pradšīā* 'beginning' for *\*pra-d-iā* beside *pra-dē-ti* 'begin' (✓ *dhē-*), *šin-iā* 'knowledge' and others.

Slavonic. Adjectives which should no doubt be classed here are *lūšī* 'deceitful' for *\*lūg-iš*: O.H.G. *luggi lukki* O.Sax. *luggi* 'deceitful' pr. Germ. *\*luz-iā-*; also *věždī* 'knowing, aware' for *\*ved-iš* and other examples. Substantival usage: *lūša* 'lie' for *\*lūg-iā*: O.H.G. *lugi* 'lie' which implies a form *\*luz-iō*; *jašda* 'food, victuals' for *\*ēd-iā*: Lat. *in-ed-ia* Skr. *ad-ya-s* 'eatable' O.Icel. *ætr* 'eatable' for *\*at-iā-z*; *sta-ja* 'position, standing-place, stall'; *dašda* 'gift' for *\*dad-iā* from the reduplicated form *da-d-give*.

Remark 1. There is often room for doubt whether an *-io-* form should be classed here, or whether it be a secondary formation (2). Thus, for example, Gr. *σπáy-ιο-ς* may also have been formed from *σπρυ-ή* 'a slaying, offering', O.H.G. *luggi lukki* from *lug* m. 'lie'. It should further be observed that the popular conception of the meaning of a word was very liable to change; a form which was originally primary might be regarded as a derivative, and *vice versa*. Thus e. g. Lat. *rēg-iu-s*, which the Romans certainly looked upon as derived from *rēx*, may very well have been primary to start with: cp. Skr. *rāj-iyā-s*, subst. *rāj-iyā-m*, beside *rāj-* 'king' and *rāṣ-ṭi rāj-a-ti* 'shines forth, is conspicuous, rules, governs'; the verbal stem from which *rēgiu-s* was originally derived died out in Latin, and thus the form was firmly established in the popular conception as a derivative of the noun *rēx*. Cp. Rem. 3 p. 132.

2. *-io-* as a secondary suffix, forming adjectives which denote possession, origin, and other ways in which one thing may be connected with another. In these adjectives as well as in the former group the neuter and the feminine were often used as substantives with abstract meaning, and then *-io-m* and *-iā-* were taken to form substantives of this kind even where there was no corresponding adjective in *-io-*.

It is specially important to notice that in compounds with epithetised meaning, the so-called *bahuvrīhi* (§ 50), and also in adjectival compounds containing a governing preposition (§ 15 p. 30 f.), *-io-* is often the sign of the adjectival character of the word; e. g. Gr. *ὁμο-πάτρ-ιο-ς* beside *ὁμο-πάτωρ* 'from the same father', Skr. *ánv-āntṛ-ya-s* 'situated in the intestines'.

Idg. *\*patr-iō-s* 'belonging to a father' from *\*pater-* 'father':

Skr. *pītriya-s* Gr. *πάτριος* Lat. *patriu-s*. When the suffix was added to *o-* and *ā-*stems, the final vowel of the stem was dropped (cp. Rem. 3 p. 132); examples are \**ekū-iō-s* 'equinus' from \**ekūo-* 'equus': Skr. *āśviya-s* Gr. *ἵππιος*; \**agr-iō-s* 'situated in the fields' from \**agr-ro-* 'field': Skr. *ajriya-s* Gr. *ἄγριος* ('wild').

Substantives: Skr. *svāpn̄ya-m* Lat. *somniu-m* O.C.Sl. *sūnīje* *sūnije* 'dream' beside Skr. *svāpn̄a-s* Lat. *somnu-s* O.C.Sl. *sūnū* 'sleep'. \**ghṇt-iā* 'a slaying' seems to be an Idg. fem. of this kind; Skr. *hatyā* 'killing' O.Sax. *gūdea* 'fight' Lith. *gincziā* 'strife', beside the part. pass. \**ghṇ-tó-* (Skr. *hatā-*) 'struck, slain'.

In adjectival compounds: Skr. *dāśa-mās-īya-* Avest. *dasa-māh-ya-* 'lasting for ten months' (beside Gr. *δεκά-μηνος*), Skr. *ūpa-mās-ya-* 'monthly', Gr. *ἐμ-μῆν-ιος* (beside *ἔμ-μηνος*) 'running its course in a month' *ἐπι-μῆν-ιος* 'calculated for a month, lasting for a month'; Gr. *ὁμο-πάτερ-ιος* O.Icel. *sam-feðr* 'from the same father' (compare O.Pers. *hama-pitar-* Gr. *ὁμο-πάτωρ*).

Aryan. Skr. *gāv-ya-* Avest. *gao-ya-* 'bovinus' from *gav-* 'bos': Armen. *kog-i* 'butter' (see below). Skr. *śravas-īya-* 'glorious' from *śrávas-* 'glory' Avest. *manah-ya-* 'spiritual, invisible' from *manah-* 'spirit': cp. Gr. *τέλειος τέλειος* 'complete, having reached its end' for \**τελειος-ιος* beside *τέλος* n. 'end, goal'. Skr. *mārt-īya-* Avest. *maš-īya-* O.Pers. *mart-īya-* 'mortal, a man' beside Skr. *mārta-s* 'a mortal, man': cp. Gr. *ἄμβροτος-ιος* 'immortal' (I § 120 p. 112). Skr. *bhṛ̥ṣaj-yā-*<sup>1)</sup> Avest. *baēšaz-ya-* 'containing healing power, medicinal' from *bhṛ̥ṣaj-ā-m* *baēšaz-e-m* 'healing power, medicine'. Skr. *grām-iyā-* 'belonging to a village' from *grāma-s* 'village, small community', *kṣatr-īya-* 'holding lordship, lord' from *kṣatrá-m* 'lordship', *sén-īya-* 'provided with missiles' from *sēnā* 'missile'.

The group of participles in *-tav-ya-* was a new formation in Sanskrit, which did not become at all common until the post-

1) For typographical reasons the *svarita* accent is represented in this volume by the sign of the grave accent, and not as it was in vol. I p. 539.

Vedic period: e. g. *kar-tav-yā-* 'faciendus' from the *nomen actionis* *kār-tu-*.

Substantives. Neut. Skr. *kṣātr-īya-m* 'lordship, sovereign might', *dūt-īya-m* 'message, duty of a messenger' (*dūtā-s* 'messenger'), Avest. *sāsn-ya-* 'announcement, dictate, command' (*sāсна-* 'word, announcement'). Fem. Skr. *pād-ya* 'footstep' (*pād-ya-* 'relating to the foot')<sup>1)</sup>, *śarav-īyā* 'bowshot' (beside *śarav-yā-m* 'goal of the arrow', from *śāru-ṣ* 'arrow').

In adjectival compounds the suffix is rare. Skr. *su-hāst-īya-* (beside *su-hāsta-*) 'with beautiful hands' *mādhū-hast-īya-* 'holding sweetness in the hand' *ādhi-gart-īya-* 'situated on the driver's seat', Avest. *dēuśmanah-ya-* 'cherishing evil sentiments, evil-doer' (cp. Skr. *dur-manas-* Gr. *δυσ-μενής*).

Armenian. This suffix appears to be contained in the nouns in -i. *kog-i* 'butter' ('coming from the cow') with *g* for *u* (I § 162, 2 p. 145) from *kov* 'cow': Skr. *gāv-ya-*. To this group no doubt belong the further examples *gin-i* 'wine', i. e. 'that which comes from the grape' (cp. Gr. *οἶνο-ς* Lat. *vīnum*; for the suffix cp. Lith. *ap-vy-n-ỹ-s* 'hops'), *orj-i* 'not castrated' *mi-orj-i* 'μόνορχις' from *orj* 'male', etc.

Greek. *ναῖ-ιο-ς* *νή-ιο-ς* 'belonging to a ship', from *ναῦ-ς* 'ship': Skr. *nāv-īya-* 'navigable'. *δο-ς* 'heavenly, glorious' for *\*διF-ιο-ς* from *ΔιF-*: Skr. *div-yā-s* 'heavenly'. *πεζό-ς* 'going on foot' for *\*πεδ-ιο-ς* beside *πούς* *ποδ-ός* 'foot': Skr. *pād-ya-s* 'relating to the foot'. *ἡοῖο-ς* 'early, eastern' for *\*οο-ιο-ς*, from *ῥώς* 'rosy dawn': Skr. *uśas-ya-s* 'dedicated to the dawn'. *γομφ-ιο-ς* 'molar tooth' (orig. an adj. joined with *ὀδον-ς*) from *γόμφο-ς* 'plug, peg': cp. Skr. *jāmbhya-s* 'molar tooth' or 'incisor tooth' from *jāmbha-s* 'bite'. Lesb. *χέλλιοι* Ion. Att. *χέλλιοι* (*χίλιοι*) 'thousand' for *\*χεσλ-ιοι* from *\*χεσλο-* (cp. *δεκά-χιλιοι*): Skr. *sa-hasr-īya-s* 'thousandfold' from *sa-hāsra-m* 'thousand'; parallel to this is Dor. *-κατ-ιοι* Arcad. *-κασ-ιοι* in *διᾱ-κάτιοι* 'two hundred' from *ἐ-κατό-ν* 'hundred'.

2) With this Gr. *πέζα* 'bottom, extremity, edge, border' is usually compared. Perhaps we should assume the existence of an original subst. *\*ped-iā*.



σωτήρ-ιος 'saving, delivering' from σωτήρ 'saviour'. λιμών-ιος 'belonging to the meadows' from λιμών 'meadow'. Ion. (and other dial.) βασιλή(φ)-ιος 'kingly' from βασιλέν-ς 'king' and the like (Att. -ειο-), whence the ending -ηιος spread to other stems, e. g. ἀνδρ-ήιος, πολεμ-ήιος. τιμ-ιος 'held in honour' from τιμή 'honour'.

Remark 2. There remain certain groups of nouns, ending in -αιος- -αιος- -ειος-, and retaining the ι (e. g. δίκαιος-, ἄλλοιος-, οἰκίος-), which occur in several extensive classes of formations; but their origin and developement is still in many respects obscure, in spite of many attempts to investigate the subject thoroughly (see p. 122 footnote 1). They cannot be directly connected with Sanskrit forms like *hiranyā-ga-s* 'golden' from *hiranya-m* 'gold', *gavyā-ga-s* 'bovinus' from *gavyā-m* 'bovinum', nor with Lith. *vasarò-jis* 'field sown with spring-corn' from *vasarà* 'summer'. ἄλλοιος-; etc. may well have been formed on the analogy of ποίος-; τοίος-, which probably arose from -οι-ίος-. Thus -αιος- -ειος- (the latter only in some words) perhaps, go back to -αι-ίος- -ει-ίος-. Have they any connexion with Skr. -ēya-?

Substantives. Θελκτήρ-ιος-ν 'delight, magic charm' from Θελκτήρ-ιος- 'enchanting' Θελκτήρ 'charmer' αἰδοῖο-ν 'pudendum' from αἰδοῖο-ς 'he before whom one feels shame', αἰδώς 'shame, modesty'. After the time of Homer neuter forms like these often assumed a diminutival meaning, as ὀρνίθ-ιος-ν 'little bird', ἑταιρίδ-ιος-ν 'little mistress', ἀσπίδ-ιος-ν 'little shield' (hence -ιδιος-ν broke off as an independent suffix: ἀδελφ-ιδιος-ν 'little brother' ξιφ-ιδιος-ν 'little sword'); the intermediate stage between these two meanings was that of belonging to a kind; cp. the suffix -ινο- in Germanic (§ 68). σωτήρ-ιά 'deliverance' from σωτήρ-ιος-ς ξεν-ιά 'hospitality' from ξέν-ιος-ς 'hospitable'. ήσυχ-ιά 'quietude' from ήσύχ-ιος-ς 'quiet'. The endings mentioned in Remark 2 were also used in the same way in substantives; e. g. Ion. ἀναγκαίη 'necessity' from ἀναγκαῖο-ς 'necessary' (compare ἀνάγκη 'necessity').

Adjectival compounds: ἐννεά-βο-ιος-ς 'worth nine oxen', παν-ημέρ-ιος-ς (beside παν-ήμερο-ς) 'lasting the whole day', ψευδ-όρκ-ιος-ς (and ψεύδ-ορκο-ς) 'forsworn'. Where the compound contains a preposition which, in sense, governs the latter part, -ίος- is fairly regular; e. g. ὑπ-ασπίδ-ιος-ς 'situated under a shield', παρα-θαλάσσι-ος-ς 'situated near the sea' (§ 31 p. 53).

Italic. Lat. *Jov-iu-s* 'belonging to Juppiter' Umbr. *Iov-iu* abl. 'Jovio' Osc. *Iúv-ia* 'Joviam'. Lat. *cēnsōr-iu-s* from *cēnsor*. *praecōn-iu-s* from *praecō*. *lucr-iu-s* from *lucru-m*. *nox-iu-s* from *noxa*.

Substantives. Lat. *augur-iu-m* beside *augur-iu-s* from *augur*, *dēversōr-iu-m* beside *dēversōr-iu-s* from *dēversor*, *hērēd-iu-m* from *hērēs* (stem. *hērēd-*), *collēg-iu-m* from *collēga*. *nox-iu* beside *nox-iu-s* from *noxa*, *custōd-ia* from *custōs* (stem *custōd-*), *famil-ia* Umbr. *famer-ias* nom. 'familiae' beside Lat. *famulu-s*; Osc. *medikk-iaí* loc. of *medikk-iā-* 'function of a *medix*' (cp. Lat. *vindic-ia* from *vindex*).

Adjectival compounds. Lat. *acu-ped-iu-s* 'swiftfooted', *falci-ped-iu-s*: cp. A.S. *ān-fēte* 'one-footed' (cp. below under Germanic); *falsi-jūr-iu-s*; *centi-nōd-iu-s*; *in-vīn-iu-s*. Where there was a governing preposition, other adjectival suffixes were generally employed, cp. *ante-lūc-anus-*, *extra-ordin-ariu-s* and similar compounds.

Old Irish. Besides the adjectives in *-de -te*, which shew an extension of the suffix (as *dal-te* 'forensis' from *dal* 'forum', *daur-de* 'quernus' from *daur* 'quercus'), it can hardly be said that any derived adjectives remain which are formed simply with *-iō-*. But many of the substantives connected with these adjectives have been preserved; e. g. *auē ōa* 'grandson' = O.C.Sl. *u-jŕ* Pruss. *awi-s* 'uncle', beside Lat. *avo-s* 'grandfather'. Neut. *orbe orpe* 'inheritance, heritage' = Goth. *arbi* 'heritage', common ground-form *\*orbh-iō-m* (I § 139 p. 124 f., § 335 p. 267, § 524 p. 380), beside Armen. *orb* 'orphan' Lat. *orbu-s* 'set free, bereft, orphaned' (the original meaning therefore of the Irish and German word was probably 'something, i. e. property, bereft, left behind'), *cenēle* 'genus' from *cenēl* 'genus' (cp. Gr. *εὐναῖο-ν εὐναῖα* beside *εὐνή* 'couch', *ἀναγαιή* beside *ἀνάγκη* 'necessity', *οἰκίο-ν οἰκία* beside *οἶκος* 'house', O.C.Sl. *ognište* n. 'fireplace, hearth' for *\*-isk-ŕe* beside Pol. *ognisko* n., and the like). Fem. *lāne* 'plenitudo' from *lān* 'plenus', *ōge* 'integritas' from *ōg* 'integer', *galarche* 'aegritudo' from *galrach* 'aeger'.

Cp. also Gallic proper names like *Cintugnāt-iu-s* beside *Cintugnātu-s*, *Tout-iu-s* beside *Toutu-s* (cp. Gr. Ἀντιγένης-ιο-ς, Τελαμών-ιο-ς).

Germanic. In the adjectival use it is no longer a living suffix, its place having been taken by *-īna-* *-za-* etc.; but it is frequently retained in substantives. Goth. *niþ-jī-s* 'cousin, kinsman' O.Icel. *nið-jar* pl. 'descendants, offspring' A.S. *niddas* pl. 'men' for *\*ne(p)t-iō-* (I § 527 p. 382) beside O.H.G. *nefo* 'nephew, kinsman', Idg. stem (in the weak form) *\*nept-*: Avest. *napt-īya-* 'kinsman', Gr. ἀνεψιῶ-ς O.C.Sl. *net-ijŕ* 'first cousin'. Goth. *hairdeis* O.H.G. *hirti* 'herdsman' ('he who belongs to the herd') pr. Germ. *\*xirð-iā-*, beside Goth. *hairda* O.H.G. *herta* 'herd'. Goth. *guþblōstr-ei-s* 'offerer' beside O.H.G. *bluostar* 'offering'. O.H.G. *ouwa* O.Icel. *ey* (pl. *eyjar*) 'marshy land, island' ('watery' f. scil. 'earth', cp. Gr. πολεμῖα 'enemy's land') for *\*a(ǵ)u-iō* (I § 444 c p. 330), beside Goth. *ahva* O.H.G. *aha* 'water'.

Neuter and feminine forms used as substantives. Goth. *reik-i* O.H.G. *rīhh-i* n. 'realm, lordship' beside Goth. *reik-s* 'lord, ruler': Skr. *raj-iyā-m*, yet cp. Rem. 1 p. 125. Goth. *andbaht-i* n. 'service' from *andbahts* 'servant', *þiub-i* n. 'theft' from *þiufs* 'thief'. Goth. *háuhisti* n. 'the highest height' from *háuhists* 'highest': cp. Skr. *jyāiṣṭh-ya-m* 'highest power' from *jyēṣṭha-s* 'most powerful'; Goth. *unháili* n. 'illness' from *unháils* 'ill'. O.H.G. *diub-(i)a* f. 'theft' beside Goth. *þiubi* n. Goth. *ga-riud-jō* f. 'shame' (transferred to the *n*-decl.), beside *ga-riud-i* n., from *ga-riuþs* 'modest, chaste'.

It is probable that some of the adjectival compounds of West-Germanic (and Norse) like O.H.G. *heiz-muot-i* 'hot-tempered, passionate' *lang-līb-i* 'longaevus' are old *iō*-stems (cp. Kluge, Nom. Stamb. p. 77. 104). We must certainly class here Goth. *uf-áiþ-ei-s* 'under an oath, bound by oath', and the Goth. substantival neuter forms *fáura-daúri* 'that which is before the door, street' *anda-naht-i* 'the time close on night'.

Balto-Slavonic. In Lithuanian the suffix is no longer in use to form adjectives; but it often occurs in groups of compounded suffixes, as *-in-i-s* (*med-in-i-s* 'wooden').

Masculine forms used as substantives. *arkl-ŷ-s* 'horse' from *árkla-s* 'plough'. To this class also belong *musū-ji-s* 'he who is ours' from gen. *mísū* 'our' (cp. O.C.Sl. *naši* 'our' for \**nās-ŷi* beside the gen. *nasū*), *Prūsaicziū-ji-s* 'he who belongs to the family *Prūsaicziai*', and the like.

Some masc. forms are derived from substantival neuters: *ilg-i-s* 'length' from *ilga-s* 'long', *szalt-i-s* 'coldness' from *szalta-s* 'cold' etc. (cp. the Slavonic below).

This -iō- appears in adjectival and indeed in most other compounds; e. g. *tri-rāž-i-s* 'three-pronged' from *rāža-s* 'prong', *minkszt-gaļv-i-s* 'soft-headed' i. e. 'weak-headed' from *gaļvā* 'head', *apŷ-vakar-i-s* 'the time towards evening' (an adj. used as a subst.). The general practice of forming compounds with -iō- may have sprung from this group of words.

In Slavonic it is still living as an adjectival formative suffix (-je- = orig. -iō- and -iye- -ije- = orig. -iio-, I § 36 p. 37), forming adjectives from the names of living beings, e. g. *materi* 'motherly' from *mati*, *člověči* 'human' from *člověku*, *ověči* and *ověčiji* 'ovium' from *ověca*, *synovi* 'filii' (for the *l* see I § 147 p. 132) from *synū* (*synov-*, cp. Skr. *iṣav-yā-* 'relating to an arrow' from *iṣu-*, Gr. *ἀστεῖο-ς* for \**ἄστροφ-ιο-ς* 'town-like' from *ἄστυ*), *bož-iji* 'divine' from *bogū*, *děviži* 'maidenly' from *děva*.

Neuter forms used as substantives: *ostriže* 'sharpness' from *ostrū* 'sharp', *lakomije* 'greediness' from *lakomū* 'covetous, greedy' (cp. Lith. *ilgi-s* and the like), *polizije* 'usefulness, use' from *poliza* 'useful', *znamenije* 'designation, mark, token' from *znamę* 'mark, token' and (with collective meaning) *kamenije* 'stone-work, stones' from *kamy* 'stone', *dražije* 'timber-work, beams' from *dragū* 'beam', and so forth. Feminine forms: *suša* 'dryness' from *suchū* 'dry', *qrožda* 'folly' from *qrodū* 'foolish', *bratřija* 'brotherhood, brothers' (cp. Gr. *φρατρία*). In all these instances the adjectives from which the substantives came have fallen out of use.

Only isolated examples of adjectival compounds have this suffix; e. g. *bez-otiči* 'without a father, fatherless' (*otiči* 'father')

*bez-umli* 'without sense, unintelligent' (*umü* 'sense') like Lith. *be-tėvis be-prōti-s*.

Remark 3. The fact that in many cases we cannot tell whether *-io-* is primary or secondary (see Rem. 1) naturally suggests the question, whether its use as a secondary suffix may not be wholly due to a relation accidentally established between *io-*formations which originally were primary, and nouns containing the same root, as for instance between *\*rēg-io-* and *\*rēg-* 'ruler, king'. In this case it would be questionable whether the disappearance of the *-o-* and *-ā-* of the stem was a real phonetic process, or whether, which is far more probable, some originally primary formation, e. g. *\*jug-io-* ( $\sqrt{jeg-}$  'yoke to, unite') was brought into connexion with a noun like *\*jugó-m* 'yoke', and that this alone caused the apparent loss of the stem-final wherever it takes place. Such instances as Skr. *bhuraṇ-yá-ti* 'he is active' derived from *bhuraṇa-* 'active', Gr. *μελίσσω* for *\*μελῖχ-ιω* from *μελῖχο-* must also, no doubt, be taken into account. I must content myself here with directing attention to these questions, which are still unsettled. — On these points the student may now be referred also to Windisch, *Über die Verbalformen mit dem Character R*, p. 55 f.

3. There are some adjectives in which *-io-* appears to have had a comparative meaning (cp. superl. *\*medh-ṛmmo-s* § 72 beside *\*medh-io-s* 'medius'), so that *-ies-* *-is-* (e. g. in Skr. compar. *náv-yas-* superl. *náv-iṣ-ṭha-*, § 81. 135) may be regarded as an extension of *-io-* by an *s*-suffix.

*\*al-io-s* 'alius': Armen. *aīl*, Gr. *ἄλλο-ς* Lat. *aliu-s* O.Ir. *aile* Goth. *alji-s*; cp. Ar. *\*an-ia-* 'alius' (Skr. *anyá-* Avest. *anya-* O.Pers. *aniya-*), which is derived from another root but is similarly formed. *\*medh-io-s* 'medius': Skr. *mádhyas* 'medius', Armen. *mēj*, gen. *mijoy*, 'midst', Gr. *μέσσο-ς μέσο-ς*, Lat. *mediu-s*, Gall. *Medio-matrici*, O.C.Sl. fem. used substantivally *mežda* 'boundary' for *\*medīā* (cp. O.Sax. *middea* O.Icel. *miðja* — a weak fem. — 'midst'). *\*ney-io-* beside *\*ney-o-s* 'new, young' (cp. Skr. *nú*, Gr. *νι* etc.): Skr. *návya-s*, O.Ir. *nūe* (Gall. *Novio-dānu-m*), Goth. *niuji-s*, Lith. *naũja-s*. Skr. *sav-yá-s* O.C.Sl. *šu-jĩ* 'left' (cp. I § 185 p. 161). Gr. *δεξιό-ς* 'right'.

Certain possessive pronouns with *-io-* should be placed in this group; e. g. Lat. *meu-s* for *\*me-io-s* (I § 134 p. 121) Pruss. *mais* (stem *ma-ia-*) O.C.Sl. *mo-jĩ* 'my', Osc. *tium* 'tu' Umbr. *tiu tiom* 'te', properly 'tuum', Pruss. *twais*

(stem *twa-ia-*) O.C.Sl. *tvo-jŭ* 'thy', and further Skr. *mad-īya-s* 'my' *tad-īya-s* 'his, eius'. Then e. g. *\*me-jo-* would be related to *\*mo-* (Avest. *ma-* Gr. *ἐμός-*) as Gr. *ὅμει-τερος* to *ὅμός-*.

We should also include certain ordinal numerals with -jo-. Skr. *pūrv-iyā- pūrv-īya-* 'previous, first', Avest. *pavīrya-* 'first', Gr. *πρώην* 'lately' for *\*πρω-ιά-ν* (I § 306 p. 242). Skr. *dvit-īya-* Avest. *bit-ya-* 'second'. Skr. *tyt-īya-* Avest. *pr̥it-ya-* Lat. *tert-iu-s* Goth. *pr̥id-ja-n-* Lith. *trėczia-s* for *\*tret-ja-s* O.C.Sl. *tret-jŭ* 'third' beside Gr. *τρίτο-ς*. Skr. *tūr-ya-* *tur-īya-* Avest. *tūīrya-* 'fourth' for *\*ktur-* (I § 471 p. 343).

This third function of the suffix -jo- appears also in active use in some of the separate Indo-Germanic languages. E. g. Goth. *fairneis* O.H.G. *firni* 'old' and Goth. *alpeis* 'old' may have been formed on the model of *niuji-s*.

§ 64. The Suffix -yo- -yā-, -uyo- -uyā-. This is both primary and secondary; it is found in substantives and adjectives, but no special meaning can be assigned to it. In Latin and German we must notice its frequent use in forming adjectives to denote colour, a function it acquired simply by analogical extension. In these and in some other languages -yo- appears still as a living suffix.

Idg. *\*ek-yo-s* 'horse', fem. *\*ek-yā* (often referred to Skr. *āś-ú-ś* Gr. *ὠκ-ύ-ς* 'swift' Lat. *acu-pediū-s*, but it is difficult to reconcile the vocalism): Skr. *āśva-s āśvā*, Gr. *ἵππος* (the fem. perhaps survives in *Ἰππη-μολγοί* 'milkers of mares'), Lat. *equo-s equa*, O.Ir. *ech*, Goth. *aihvā* seen in *aihvā-tundi* 'βάτος', Lith. *asvā*. *\*gŭ-yo-* 'living' (✓ *gei-* 'to be astir, to live'): Skr. *jīvā-* Lat. *vīvo-s* Mod.Cymr. *byw* Goth. *giu-s* (stem *qiva-*) Lith. *gyva-s* O.C.Sl. *živŭ*. *\*vidheyo- -eyā-* beside Skr. *vidh-* 'become empty, lack': Skr. *vidhāva-s* 'unmarried' *vidhāva* 'widow', Gr. *ἡίθεο-ς* 'unmarried' (the explanation of the *ἡ-* is doubtful; see Wheeler, *Der griech. Nominalacc.* 110), Lat. *viduo-s vidua*, O.Ir. *fedb* Mod.Cymr. *gweddw* (I § 174 p. 154) Goth. *viduō* (*n*-stem) O.C.Sl. *vidova* 'widow'; the word should no doubt be analysed *\*vidhe-yo-* and compared with words like Skr. *yaj-a-tā-s darś-*

-a-tá-s Gr. ἑρπ-ε-τόν λάχ-ε-σι-ς, containing the -e- of thematic verbal stems (§ 79. 100), cp. Lat. *vac-uo-s* etc. below.

-uo- occurs as a secondary suffix in \**pōtṛ-uo-* \**pōtṛ-uo-* and \**pōtṛ-u-īo-* (a derivative form with -īo-) 'father's brother, uncle': Skr. *pītrvya-* Gr. (Ion. Cret.) πάτως for \*πατρω-fo-ς (ρω- = -f-, I § 306 p. 241 f.) Lat. *patruo-s* O.H.G. *fetiro* and *futureo* (\**fadurūia-n-*); for the Avest. *tūirya-* see Bartholomae, Bezzenberger's Beitr. X 271 f.

In the form -uuo-. Skr. *dhr-uvā-* 'firm' beside O.C.Sl. *sū-dravŭ zdravŭ* 'sound, healthy' for \*-*dor-vŭ*.

Aryan. Skr. *viś-va-* Avest. O.Pers. *viśpa-* (I § 159 |p. 142) 'all' (in Skr. it also means 'containing or pervading all'), beside Skr. *viś-* 'enter, penetrate, take possession of' (orig. 'completely filled' or 'filling', cp. Skr. *śa-śvant-* Gr. *πᾶς* § 126). Skr. *ṛk-vā-* 'praising'. Skr. *pak-vā-* 'ripe' (from *pac-* 'to cook'). We have already noticed that Skr. *dhruvā-* 'firm' should be classed here, i. e. *dhr-uvā-* with the dissyllabic form of the suffix, cp. O.C.Sl. *sū-dravŭ* 'sound, healthy' for \*-*dor-vŭ*<sup>1)</sup>.

The suffix is also denominative in some instances; e. g. Skr. *kēśa-vā-s* 'long-haired' from *kēśa-s* 'hair', *rāsna-vā-s* 'provided with a girdle' from *rāsna-* 'girdle', *añji-vā-s* 'slippery, smooth' from *añji-ś* 'unguent', *rājī-vā-s* 'striped' from *rājī-* 'stripe'.

In some cases it is doubtful whether the suffix is primary or denominative: Skr. *pūr-va-s* 'former, earlier' Avest. *pourva-* O.Pers. *parūva-* (read *parva-*) 'earlier': Gr. \**πρω-fo-* seen in Dor. *πρᾶν* 'formerly' for \**πρω-fā-v* and in *πρωτο-ς* Dor. *πρᾶτο-ς* 'first' for \**πρω-f-ato-ς* (I § 306 p. 242), O.C.Sl. *prŭ-vy-jŭ* 'first'. Similarly Avest. *aē-va-* O.Pers. *ai-va-* 'unus': Gr. *ol-fo-ς* *olo-ς* 'alone', cp. \**oi-no-* in Lat. *oino-s* *anu-s* etc.

Armenian. *kea-*, seen in *kea-nē* (gen. *ken-aç*) 'life' and other words, seems to have been developed from \**kiva-* and accordingly to belong to the stem \**gŭ-uo-* (see above). Compare Hübschmann, Armen. St. I 35.

1) Elsewhere -*uca-* for -*va-* in the Rig-Veda is 'a sporadic and doubtful exception'. See Edgren, Journ. of the Amer. Orient. Soc. XI 82.

Greek. ὀρθός 'upright' for \*ὀρθ-φο-: Skr. *ūrdhvá-s* 'upright', Lat. *arduo-s*, O.Ir. *ard* (*ardd art*) 'high, great, noble'; with which we may compare *Arduenna silva*, Idg. \**ǵdh-μó-s*. *κόρη-ῥα* (in Thessal. ? inscr.), Ion. *κούρη* Dor. *κώρη* Att. *κόρη* 'girl' (I § 166 p. 146 f.). *λαί-(φ)ός* 'left': Lat. *laevo-s* O.C.Sl. *lěvŭ* 'left'; compare no doubt Germ. \**slai-μα-z* 'weary, weak, dull, slow' (O.H.G. *slēo* A.S. *slaw* O.Icel. *sljör*), so that this word for 'left' would represent the opposite of the universal Indo-Germanic word for 'right', Skr. *dákṣiṇa-* Gr. *δεξιός* etc., in as much as the original meaning of the latter involved the notion of strength, ability, or cleverness, as is shewn by the Skr. *dákṣa-* 'strong, able, skilful'. \**κεν-φό-s* 'empty' Lesb. *κένρος* Ion. *κεινό-s* Att. *κενό-s*<sup>1</sup>); the by-form *κενε-φό-s*, represented by Cypr. *κενευφόν* Ion. *κενός-s*, is parallel to *ιε-ρός* beside *ἱ-ρός*, and similar pairs of forms.

-φο- as a secondary suffix is no doubt to be traced in verbal adjectives ending in -τέο-s, which stands for \*-τε-φο-s, as *διωπτέο-s* 'to be pursued', and in adjectives in -αλέο-s, standing for -αλε-φο-s, as *ῥωγαλέο-s* 'fragmentary, torn': these are based on stems in -το- and -αλο-.

Remark 1. Hesiod's *φατειός* either represents an extended stem formed with -ίος, \*-τε-φ-ίος, or (which seems to me less likely) is a later corruption of a true Hesiodic form *φατευός*.

The Skr. accent in *kéṣa-vá-* etc. (see above) suggests the conjecture that -τέο-s in dactylic words came from \*-τεός (cp. I § 676 p. 542 f.), and that -αλέο-s afterwards conformed to the same type.

-φο- as a secondary suffix is perhaps also to be recognised in *ἴσο-s* Cret. *ῥισφο-s* 'equal', since the word may be referred to \**uit-s-*, a weak form of the stem of \**ueḡd-es-* *εἶδος* (cp. § 132); the pr. Gr. form will then have been \**ῥισο-φο-s*, cp. Umbr. *mersuva* from \**med-(e)s-* cited below. *ἴσος* has already been connected with *εἶδομαι* by Bechtel, Philolog. Anzeiger 1886 p. 15, who also gives the pr. Gr. form as \**ῥιδσφος*, but suggests no satisfactory explanation of the σ.

1) In the Att. *κενότερος* *κενότατος* the use of ο instead of ω (contrast *σοφώτερος*) is a reminiscence of the older form \**κενφο-s*. Cp. § 75.



Here too we should no doubt class ξένfo-ς 'strange, foreign' Ion. ξένvo-ς Att. ξένvo-ς (I § 166 p. 146); yet it is not clear whether -fo- is primary or secondary.

Italic. Lat. *ar-vo-m*, Umbr. *arvam-en* 'in arvum': Mod.Cymr. *er-w* 'cultivated land' Bret. *er-v* 'furrow'. Lat. *sal-vo-s*, Umbr. *salvom saluom* 'salvum' *salvam* 'salvam': compare Skr. *sár-va-s* Gr. οὐlo-ς ὅlo-ς (\*ὀl-fo-ς) 'all, whole'. Lat. *vt-vo-s* Osc. *bivus* nom. 'vivi': Skr. *jī-vā-s* etc., see p. 133 above. Lat. *cal-vo-s*: Skr. *kul-va-s* 'bald'. Lat. *scae-vo-s*: Gr. σκαu-(*f*)ό-ς 'left', and add O.Icel. *skeika* 'go awry, go wrong' (\**skaikō*- for \**skaikūā*-, see S. Bugge, Paul-Br. Beitr. XIII 515). In words denoting colours: *hel-vo-s*: O.H.G. *gelo* 'yellow', common ground-form \**ghel-uo-s*; *gil-vo-s*, *ful-vo-s*, *fla-vo-s* (for \**bhl-uo-s*, compare O.H.G. *blāo* 'blue'?), *rā-vo-s*, *fur-vo-s* (I § 569 p. 426). Such forms as *vacuo-s*, *nocuo-s*, *perspicuo-s*, *assiduo-s* may be of the same kind as *viduo-s*; *vacuo-s*, for instance, will then have come from \**vace-uo-s*, the intermediate stage being \**vacouo-s* (I § 65 p. 52).

The suffix is secondary in *Minerva* for \**menes-uā* beside Skr. *mānas-* Gr. μένεo- n. 'mind, sense' (cp. Skr. *manas-vin-* 'having sense, intelligent'); Umbr. *mersuva* abl. 'solita' for \**meřs-uā*(d), i. e. \**med(e)s-uo-* from *meř-s* 'ius'. Also in Lat. *annuo-s* from *annu-s*, *strēnuo-s* beside Gr. στρῆνο-ς 'strength', *cernuo-s* from \**cerno-* (or \**cernā-*) for \**cers-no* 'head', cp. Gr. κράννā κρήνη (ἀμφι-κρᾶνο-ς) for \**κρᾶo-uā*; here too we should probably place the examples of -*uo-s* from \**e-uo-s*, cp. Skr. *kēśa-vā-s* Gr. δωκτέ-(*f*)ο-ς.

Remark 2. Do the adjectives in -*ivo-s*, as *captivo-s* *furtivo-s* *sēmen-ivo-s* *nocivo-s* *cadivo-s*, come from feminine forms in -*i-* (cp. Skr. *rāji-vā-s*), or from derivative verbs in -*ire* (\**nocire*), like Lith. *daly-va-s* from *daly-ti*, Slav. *chodi-vū* from *choditi* (see below)? In either case there must have been a change of usage, from the primary to the denominative or *vice versa*.

Old Irish. *tar-b* Gall. *tar-vo-s* Mod.Cymr. *tar-w* 'ox', usually compared with Gr. ταυρο-ς, which is said to stand for \**ταo-fo-s* (I § 639 p. 479). *mar-b* Mod.Cymr. *mar-w* 'dead', compared with √*mer-* 'die' (cp. Rem. 3).

Remark 3. Osthoff regards *marb* as modelled on the form of its opposite \**gi-yo-s*, O.Ir. *biu beo* Mod.Cymr. *byw*, whilst Bréal (Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. VI 127) holds that even the Lat.-Slav. \**mrt-yo-* 'dead' (Lat. *mortuo-s* O.C.Sl. *mrŭvŭ*) was originally \**mrt-o-* and that it was altered on the same analogy. This seems to me not unlikely; and I would also suggest that possibly the Kelt.-Germ. \**deks-yo-* 'dexter' (O.Ir. *dess* O.Cymr. *dehou*, Goth. *tathsa*) may owe its suffix to one of the two words for the opposite idea, \**lai-yo-* \**skai-yo-* (see pp. 135, 136) (cp. Gr. *δεξιτερός*-ς on the analogy of *ἀριστερός*-ς, late Lat. *senexter* instead of *sinister* on the analogy of *dexter*, and many similar examples, Ber. der sächs. Gesellsch. der Wiss., 1883, p. 191 f.)

Germanic. Goth. *hlái-v* n. O.H.G. *hlēo*, gen. *hlēwes*, 'grave-mound' ground-form \**kloi-yo-*: Lat. *clī-vo-s*, √ *klei-* 'lean, incline'. A.S. *earo* O.Icel. *orr* 'swift' from which Finn. *arvas* is borrowed: cp. Skr. *ár-van-* 'hasting, swift'. O.H.G. *rāwa ruowa* 'quietude, rest' pr. Germ. \**rē-yō-* \**rō-yō-*: Gr. *ἔρω-(f)ή* 'letting loose, cessation, rest'. Words denoting colour; O.H.G. *gelo*: Lat. *helvo-s*, O.H.G. *salō* 'black, dirty', O.H.G. *blāo* 'blue' (compare Lat. *flāvō-s*?), A.S. *baso* 'purple' etc. (Kluge, Nom. Stamm. 81).

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *pỹ-va-s* 'beer' O.C.Sl. *pi-vo* 'draught, intoxicating drink', compared with *pī-* 'to drink' (O.C.Sl. *pi-ti* 'to drink' Skr. *pī-tī-ṣ* 'draught' Gr. *πĩ-vo* 'I drink' etc.); and since this is no doubt identical with *pī-* 'swell, be fat' (Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 41. 167), the word must be closely related to Skr. *pī-va-s* Gr. *πĩ-(f)o-ς* 'fat'. Lith. *paļ-va-s* O.C.Sl. *pla-vũ* 'yellowish white, tawny' (it is possible that the Lith. word was borrowed from the Slav.): O.H.G. *falo* 'fallow, tawny'. Pruss. *sy-va-* O.C.Sl. *si-vũ* 'gray': related to Skr. *śya-va-* 'dark brown'. Pruss. *pel-vo* O.C.Sl. *plě-va* 'chaff', beside Lith. *pelaĩ* pl. 'chaff'. Lith. *piļ-va-s* 'belly'; *kaļ-và* 'hillock' (from *kėl-ti* 'to lift'). O.C.Sl. *krava* 'cow' for \**kor-vā* (Lith. *kárvė*, containing a further suffix), compare Lat. *cer-vo-s*; *gri-va* 'mane': Skr. *grī-vā* 'nape, neck'.

In Lithuanian it occurs in adjectives in *-y-va-s*, connected with verbs in *-y-ti*, as *daly-va-s* 'sharing in' (*dalyvu būti* 'be a sharer in') from *daly-ti* 'to divide', *aký-va-s* 'provided with eyes, inquisitive' from *akýti* 'to get eyes, become porous' (cp. *akýla-s* 'observant'). In Slavonic there are adjectives in *-i-vũ* *-a-vũ*,

connected with verbs in *-i-ti -a-ti*, as *chodi-vū* 'moving' from *chodi-ti* 'to go', *ljubi-vū* 'loving' from *ljubi-ti* 'to love', *laska-vū* 'coaxing, flattering' from *laska-ti* 'to flatter', *dēla-vū* 'effective, active' from *dēla-ti* 'to effect, work'. These adjectives in *-y-va-s -i-vū* are parallel to the Latin adjectives in *-ivo-s*; see Rem. 2.

§ 65. The Suffixes *-no-* *-nā-*, *-ṇno-* *-ṇnā-* and *-eno-* *-enā-*, *-ono-* *-onā-*<sup>1)</sup>.

With regard to the relation of *-ṇno-* to *-no-*, see I § 227 p. 193 f.

It is often maintained that the first vowels of *-eno -ono-* are the same as the verbal thematic vowels *e* and *o*, so that e. g. the stem of Skr. *bhāraṇa-m* 'act of bearing' is to be divided into *bhāra-ṇa-*, and compared with the *bhāra-* of the 3. sing. *bhāra-ti*; and that of Goth. *baítran* 'to bear', into *batra-na-*, and compared with the *batra-* of the 1. pl. *batra-m*. This analysis cannot be justified by reference to forms like *\*dōno-m* 'act of giving' (Skr. *dāna-m*, Lat. *dōnu-m*) beside *\*bher-eno-m* *\*bherono-m* 'act of bearing', or to such as part. pass. *\*dhēno-s* seen in O.H.G. *gi-tan* 'done' O.C.Sl. *o-dēnū* 'done round with, set round with, clothed' beside O.H.G. *gi-zog-an* 'drawn' (*-ono-*) O.C.Sl. *nes-enū* 'borne' (*-eno-*). In these forms it is very far from certain that the suffix is *-no-* (stem *\*dōno-* =  $\sqrt{dō}$  + suffix *-no-*, and so forth), since there is good reason for believing that the initial vowel of the suffix was contracted with the vowel of the root in proethnic Indo-Germanic, in just the same way as, for instance, the 3. sing. conj. *\*dōti* (Skr. *dāti*) from *\*dō-e-ti* (see I § 115 p. 107). Now if we consider that it is just in tenses which have no thematic vowel that *-eno-* *-ono-* has firmly established itself as a participial suffix (Skr. *bibhid-anā-s* Goth. *bit-an-s* from  $\sqrt{bheid-}$  'split, bite'. Goth. *fulg-in-s* 'hidden', O.C.Sl. *nes-enū* 'borne', Skr. *dviṣ-anā-s* beside the indic. *dviṣ-ṭṣē*, *dviṣ-* 'hate', Avest. *γn-āna-* beside the indic. *γn-ē*, *jan-* 'slay') it will be seen that for our purpose it

1) Schnorr von Carolsfeld, Das lat. Suffix *ānus*, Archiv f. lat. Lexicogr. I 177 ff.

is absolutely necessary to regard -eno- -ono- as a simple indivisible suffix. From its usage it is clear that this suffix is very closely related to -no- -yno-; and there is nothing to prevent our assuming that -no- -yno- are the weak-grade forms corresponding to -eno- -ono-, just as we have side by side -mno- (-myno-?), -meno- -mono- (§ 71) and -tro- -tyro-, -tero- -toro- (§ 75). The assumption of this ablaut-relation, i. e. that -no- arose from -eno- (-ono-), would still hold good even though we regarded -eno- as ultimately divisible into two elements (-e-, -o- + -no-), cp. \*rudŋt- the weak-grade form beside \*rudo-nt- (§ 125).

This *n*-suffix formed chiefly verbal nouns, partly adjectives and partly substantives; the latter especially in the neuter and feminine, with abstract meaning (see § 158).

The suffix -(e)no- is characterised by its fertility as a participial and infinitival suffix in several languages, and some of the groups of adjectives and participles which it formed were very extensive.

As a secondary suffix it did not spread far until the Indo-Germanic languages had begun their separate development, and then only in a few branches.

**Remark.** Sometimes it is not easy to distinguish whether in any particular word we have the suffix -(e)no- or an *en*-stem extended by the suffix -o-, i. e. an example of transference into the *o*-declension. The latter is undoubtedly the case e. g. in Skr. *āśn-a-s* beside *dāśn-* m. 'stone', *pūśn-a-s* beside *pūśān-* name of a deity (§ 60 p. 112), Gr. *ἰλλός* : 'young stag' for \**iln-o-*; beside O.C.Sl. *jelen-* 'stag', *ἀκόνη* 'whetstone' beside Skr. *āśan-*, Lat. *pullu-s* for \**puln-o-s* beside Goth. *fulin-* 'foal', Lith. *jekn-os* pl. 'liver' beside Skr. *yakn-*. On the other hand it is doubtful whether Lat. *regnu-m* contains the suffix -no-, or is an *en*-stem which has passed over to the *o*-declension, and is therefore identical with Skr. *rājān-* 'government, regimen'. Cp. § 71 Rem., § 94 Rem.

§ 66. 1. The Suffix in the form -no- -yno-. The form -no- is found especially in verbal adjectives, which, like those in -to- (§ 79), were made from the verbal stem (not from a particular tense-stem). In Sanskrit these adjectives formed a fairly large class of participles by the side of the *to*- participles and of similar character. They are chiefly passive in meaning.

Besides these there are numerous substantives, many of which can be shown to have existed in the proethnic language, of different genders and generally abstract in meaning.

The form *-yno-* has on the whole the same value as *-no-*. Yet it must be observed that not *-no-*, but only *-yno-* appears to occur as the medial participial suffix of non-thematic present forms.

The nouns formed with *-no-* *-yno-*, when used as adjectives (participles), have almost always the weak grade of ablaut in the root-syllable (the suffix bearing the accent, e. g. *\*pľ-nó-* 'filled'  $\checkmark$  *pel-*, Skr. *pūr-ṇá-*), but as substantives more commonly the strong grade form (e. g. *\*qoi-nā* 'requital',  $\checkmark$  *qeĭ-*, Gr. *ποι-νῆ*). Differences like *\*sup-no-* *\*syep-no-* *\*syop-no-* 'sleep' are indications that the strength of the root-syllable varied within the case-system of the same word.

Idg. *\*pľ-nó-* *\*pľ-nó-* 'filled, full', from  $\checkmark$  *pel-* 'fill': Skr. *pūrṇá-s* Avest. *per-na-* Gr. perhaps *πολλοί* 'many' (see I § 306 p. 242), O.Ir. *lan*, Goth. *fulls* pr. Germ. *\*fulna-z*, Lith. *pilna-s* O.C.Sl. *plünü*; cp. Skr. *pūr-tá-s* Lith. *pil-ta-s* 'filled'. *\*plē-nó-* 'filled' from *plē-* 'to fill': Skr. *prāṇá-s* Lat. *plēnu-s*; cp. Skr. *prā-tá-s* Lat. *im-plē-tus* 'filled'. Skr. *ánna-m* 'food' for *\*ad-na-* (I § 477, p. 352) Gr. *ἐδ-αρό-ς* 'eatable' *ἐδ-αρό-ν* 'food' (with *-yno-*, see below),  $\checkmark$  *ed-* 'eat'. Avest. *per-nā-* f. Goth. *fullō* f. (which has passed over to the *n*-declension) 'fullness'. *\*qoi-nā-* f. 'requital' from  $\checkmark$  *qeĭ-* (Skr. *cay-* Gr. *τιμ-*): Avest. *kaēnā-* 'punishment', Gr. *ποινῆ* 'requital, punishment, reward', O.C.Sl. *cěna* 'price'. *\*sup-no-* *\*syep-no-* *\*syop-no-* m. 'sleep, dream': Skr. *svápna-s*, Arm. *kun* (*\*suop-no-*, I § 162 p. 145, § 201 p. 169) Gr. *ὑπνο-ς*, Lat. *somnu-s* (probably *\*syep-no-*, I § 172 p. 152) O.Ir. *suan* O.Cymr. *hun* (cp. I § 339 Rem. p. 269), O.Icel. *svefn*, Lith. *sāpna-s* O.C.Sl. *sünü*.

*\*leuqsno-* or *\*louqsno-* 'shining': Avest. *raoxsna-* 'shining', Lat. *lūna* O.Lat. inscr. *losna* for *\*loucsnā*, O.Ir. *luan* 'moon', Pruss. *lauxnos* pl. 'stars', compared with *leuq-s-* in Skr. *rukṣá-* 'shining', Lat. *illūstri-s* for *\*in-loucs-tri-s*, A.S. *līxan līxan* 'give light' for *\*liuhs-jan*, from  $\checkmark$  *leuq-*; on the other hand, without *-s-*, O.Sax. *log-na* (*o* probably short) 'flame'. Words

of this kind with *-s-* gave rise to a form *-sno-*, regarded as a single suffix, which occurs in a few words; see below. Cp. *-s-ni-* § 94.

Pres. medio-pass. part. with *-ḡno-* (beside this is found *-ono-*, cp. § 67). \**kei-ḡno-* 'lying' beside the indic. Skr. *śē-tē* Gr. *κεῖ-ται*: Avest. *say-ana-* 'lying' (Skr. *upari-śayanā-m* 'resting-place'), Gr. *Ὠ-κεανός* 'he who surrounds' (cp. Skr. *d-śētē*; von Fierlinger, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXVII 477). Gr. *ἐδ-αρός* 'eatable' beside the indic. Skr. *ád-mi*; *ἑαρός* 'dress, cloak' for \**Fes-avo-* beside the indic. Skr. *vás-tē*.

Remark. This view of Ar. *-ana-* and of Gr. *-avo-*, so far as they have the same meaning as *-māna-* *-mna-* and *-μενο-*, cannot be called certain. As my pupil Herr H. Hirt reminds me, they may be regarded as having arisen from \**ḡno-*, just as the participial Ar. *-āna-* can be referred to *-ḡno-*; see § 67, b. Rem. p. 152.

The meaning of *-no-* is not clear in \**oi-no-s* 'unus': Gr. *οἶνός οἶνῃ* 'ace on a die', Lat. *oino-s oenu-s unu-s* O.Ir. *oen* Goth. *ains* Lith. *vėna-s* O.C.Sl. *inŭ*.

Aryan. Skr. *ū-ná-* 'where something is lacking, defective' Avest. *ūna-* 'empty' from *√en-* (Gr. *εἶ-μι-ς* 'needing, bereft'). Skr. *kṣi-ná-* 'diminished, vanished, waning': compare perhaps Gr. *φθι-νός-καρπος* 'with fruit vanishing or vanished' (cp. Fick, *Wörterb.* I<sup>3</sup> 236, Osthoff *Morph. Unt.* IV 115). Skr. *dirná-* 'torn to pieces, scattered, beheaded' Avest. *darē-nā-* f. 'cleft, ravine': O.H.G. *zorn* A.S. *torn* n. 'indignation, anger', properly 'a torn or rent condition of the temper' (ground-form \**dṛ-no-m*). Skr. *dī-ná-* 'bound' (*dā-* 'bind'), *bhug-ná-* 'bent' (*bhuj-* 'bend'), *bhinná-* 'split' for \**bhid-na-* (*bhid-* 'split'); thus it frequently appears as a living participial suffix. Skr. *uṣ-ṇá-* 'hot', also subst. m. and n. as well as f. (*uṣ-ṇā-*) 'heat'. Skr. *bradh-ná-s* 'pale', O.C.Sl. *bronŭ* 'whitish' for \**brod-nŭ*. Skr. *tūṇa-s* 'sheath, quiver', ground-form \**tŭ-no-s*, *√tel-* (Gr. *τελαμών* etc.) Skr. *yaj-ñá-* Avest. *yas-na-* m. 'worship, sacrifice', *√iaḡ-* 'to honour' (for the *-s-* of the Avest. form see I § 403 Rem. p. 298): Gr. *ἀγ-νός* 'revered, hallowed, pure'. Skr. *praś-ná-* Avest. *fraś-na-* m. 'question', *√prek-*. Skr. *sthānā-* 'post, pillar' for \**sthūr-ṇa-*, Avest. *stūnā-* in *hazaxrō-stūna-* 'with 1000 pillars', ground-form \**stŭ-ṇā-*: Gr. *στῆλη*, see p. 143.

With -s- between root and suffix: Skr. *tik-śná-* 'sharp' (cp. *tig-má-* 'sharp'), *kṛt-sná-* 'whole, complete', and other examples.

The existence of Aryan -ana- = -ṇna- is hard to verify, because of its coincidence in form with orig. -eno-. Besides examples like Ved. *yaj-aná-* beside *yaj-ná-* (I § 227 p. 193 ff.) and the above mentioned medio-pass. pres. part. (cp. also Avest. *aoj-ana-* beside impf. indic. *aox-ta*, *hu-nv-ana-* beside pres. indic. *hu-nū-itē* and others), we should perhaps add here Sanskrit oxytone adjectives like *krōś-aná-* 'screaming', *rōc-aná-* 'shining' *jar-aná-* 'perishable', with the abstract substantives *śvēt-aná-* 'the dawning' *jaranā-* 'old age' (cp. Gr. στεφανός and στεγάνη); the palatal sound instead of the guttural in *rōcaná-sacaná-* and other words was taken from such forms as *rōcatē* (see I § 448 Rem. p. 333). Cp. -ani- = -ṇni- § 95, and -anu- = -ṇnu- § 106.

It is only occasionally used as a secondary suffix. Skr. *strāi-ṇa-* 'female' from *strī-* 'woman', *pāṇs-ná-* 'male' from *pṛs-* 'man', *purā-ná-* 'former, old' from *purā* adv. 'formerly'. Here also come *vadhasnā-m* 'deadly weapon' beside *vadhā-s* and *vádhar*, of similar meaning, and *karásna-s* 'forearm' (cp. *karás-* 'hand'), if they contain -as-stems, cp. Goth. *hláivasnōs* pl. f. 'grave' beside neut. *hláiv* with similar meaning; the Sanskrit ending is in most cases explained as -a-sna-.

Armenian. *kun* 'sleep' from \**suop-no-*, see p. 140 above. *gi-n*, gen. *g-no-y*, 'cost' from \**yes-no-* or \**vēs-no-*: Skr. *vas-ná-s* Gr. ὠρο-ς ὠρή 'sale-price, value' for \**ῥωσ-ro-* -vā-, Lat. *vēnu-m* for \**ves-no-* or \**vēs-no-*. Perhaps we should add *vasn* 'on account of' (beside O.Pers. *vaš-na-* and Avest. *vas-na-* 'will, favour', √ *uek-*; the Avest. form is for \**vašna-* through the influence of the pres. *vas'mi*), and the derivative *un-ain* 'empty' (beside Skr. *ū-na-*; Armen. *u-* for Idg. *eu-*, cp. Gr. εἶ-νι-ς).

Greek. στυγ-νός 'hated'. σπαρ-νός 'scattered, rare, thin', beside σπείρω. σεμνός 'revered' for \*σεβ-νός, √ *tjeg-* (I § 492 p. 362). στεγ-νός 'covered, covering'. σμερδ-νός 'terrible'. περσ-νός 'sprinkled, motley, dark': O.H.G. *forhana* f. 'trout', ground-form \**prk-nā*. δά-νός n. 'loan' is no doubt based upon a form

\**dā-no-* from  $\sqrt{dā}$  'give' (cp. § 132). *λάγ-νο-ς* 'lewd, wanton': cp. Lat. *lēna* for \**lēx-nā* (beside *laxu-s*). *λίχ-νο-ς* 'dainty, greedy': cp. O.H.G. *lecchōn* 'lick', for pr. Germ. \**likkōna-n* from stem \**liġ-na-* I § 538 p. 394. *φρῦ-νο-ς* *φρῦ-νη* 'toad': O.H.G. *brū-n* 'brown'. *θῦ-νο-ς* 'throng, battle': Skr. *dhū-na-s* 'violently moved'. *οἶ-νο-ς* 'wine' *οἶ-νη* 'vine' *οἶ-νο-ν* 'vine-leaf, vine-branch': Lat. *vī-nu-s* *vī-nu-m* and the derivative Armen. *gi-n-i* 'wine' (§ 63 p. 127), from  $\sqrt{uei}$  'to wind', and hence we should place in the same group Russ. *věn* 'wreath' and the derivative O.C.Sl. *věn-ŭcĭ* Lith. *vain-ika-s* 'wreath'. *πύρ-αυνο-ς* *-αυνο-ν* 'that with which fire is held, fire-tongs, coal-pan' for \**-ανσ-νο-* (see Osthoff, *Zur Gesch. d. Perf.* 488), to which add possibly *κερ-αννό-ς* 'lightning flash'. *τέκ-νο-ν* 'child' (that which is begotten', from *τεκεῖν*): O.H.G. *degan* m. 'boy, servant' pr. Germ. \**þez-nā-s*. *στέρ-νο-ν* 'breast': Skr. *stīr-ṇā-* 'outspread', cp. also O.H.G. *stirna* f. 'star' ground-form \**ster-n-ġā*,  $\sqrt{ster}$  'spread'. \**δεμ-νο-*, whence *δέμνιο-ν* 'bedstead', as being a 'place built' for a bed, from  $\sqrt{dem-}$ . *κλῖ-νη* 'couch, bed': O.H.G. *li-na* *le-na* 'support',  $\sqrt{klei}$  'accline'. *στήλη* Lesb. *στάλλā* 'sepulchral pillar' for \**στάλ-νā* ground-form \**stl̥-nā-* (by-form *στήλλη* = \**σταλν-ġ-ā*?): Skr. *sthāṇā* 'post, pillar' see above p. 141. *ζώνη* 'girdle' for \**ζωσ-νā*,  $\sqrt{jōs-}$ . *φερ-νῆ* 'dowry' *πόρ-νη* 'whore' beside *πέρνημι* 'I sell', ground-form \**por-nā-* or \**pḡ-nā-*.

*-ανο-* = *-ḡno-*. There are a considerable number of participial words besides those given above on p. 140. *στεγ-ανό-ς* beside *στεγ-νό-ς*. *πιθ-ανό-ς* 'easily persuaded, persuasive'. *στέq-ανο-ς* *-άνη* 'wreathing, wreath'. *χόδ-ανο-ς* 'buttocks' (from *χέζ-ω*). *δρέπ-ανο-ν* *-άνη* 'sickle'. *ὄχ-ανο-ν* *-άνη* 'shield handle' (from *ἔχω*). *θήγ-ανο-ν* *-άνη* 'whetstone'. *σκεπ-ανο-ν* 'covering' (beside *σκεπ-ανός*). *κόπ-ανο-ν* 'pestle, hatchet'. *ἐρκ-άνη* *ὄρκ-άνη* 'enclosure'.

As a secondary suffix it is not uncommon:

First should be mentioned the words in *-εσ-νο-* (Lesb. *-εινο-*, Ion. Att. *-εινο-*, Dor. *-ηνο-*) and *-ασ-νο-* (Lesb. *-αυνο-*, Ion. Att. *-ηνο-*, Dor. *-αῖνο-*). *ἀλγεινό-ς* 'paining, painful' from *ἄλγος* n. 'pain'. *φαινό-ς* 'shining' from *φάος* n. 'light', etc. Homeric (Lesb.) *ἐρᾶννό-ς* 'lovely' beside *ἔρω*ς (see Solmsen, *Kuhn's Ztschr.*



XXIX 70. 109). *σελήνη* 'moon' (Lesb. *σελάννᾱ*) from *σέλας* n. 'brightness'. In the oldest adjectives of this sort, which were participles of denominative verbs, -no- may have been primary; compare *ποθενός-ς* *κοτεινός-ς* with *ποθέσαι* *κοτέσαι* (\**ποθεσ-σαι* \**κοτεσ-σαι*) and *ἐρασ-τός-ς* beside *ἐραννός-ς*.

Further, under this head come adjectives of time like *ἐαρινός-ς* *ἡαρινός-ς* (misspelt *εἰαρινός-ς*) 'vernus', *ἡμερινός-ς* 'daily' *νυκτερινός-ς* 'nocturnus' *περυσινός-ς* 'from last year, a year old'. These appear to have been formed from locatives, *ἐαρι*, *πέρουσι* (cp. also *ἡμαρ*, *νύκτωρ*). Then -ino- broke off and became an independent suffix, hence *δειλ-ινός-ς* 'of the evening', and the like. For analogous adjectives in Italic, see below.

With -ano- as a secondary suffix: *κόπρ-ανο-ν* 'stool' (*κόπρο-ς*), *ἔδρ-ανο-ν* 'seat' (*ἔδρᾱ*) and others. Was the suffix -δανο- taken from *οὐτιδανός-ς* 'useless' = *οὐ-τιδ-ανός-ς* (\**τιδ* = Lat. *quid*)? Cp. -δ-απο-ς, taken from *ποδ-από-ς* and the like (§ 16 p. 32).

Italic. Lat. *plē-nu-s* Umbr. *plener* 'plenis': Skr. *prā-ṇa-s*, see p. 140 above. Lat. *cānu-s* for \**cas-no-s*, Osc. Pelign. *casnar* 'senex' (extended by an *r*-suffix). Lat. *vī-nu-s* -*nu-m*, Umbr. *vinu* 'vinum' Volsc. *vinu* abl. 'vino'. Lat. *urna* for \**urc-nā*, Umbr. *urnasier* 'urnariis, feriis'. Lat. *fānu-m* for \**fas-no-m*, Umbr. *fesnaf-e* fem. pl. 'in templum', Osc. *fīsnam* *fīsnam* fem. acc. 'templum', Pelign. *fesn*. (abbreviated) 'templum', beside Lat. *fēs-tu-s* *fēr-iae*, in the *ē*-series of Ablaut.

Lat. *tīgnu-s* as compared with *decet*, for \**dec-no-s* (I § 65 p. 53, § 500 p. 366), or with O.Icel. *tīgenn* 'distinguished' *tīgn* f. 'distinguished rank', for \**dic-no-s* (√ *deik-* 'show') *agnu-s*: Gr. *ἀμνός-ς* 'lamb' for \**āβ-no-ς*, O.Ir. *uan* Mod.Cymr. *oen* 'lamb' (I § 428 p. 315, § 437 p. 325), also O.C.Sl. \**jagnŭ*, implied by the formation *jagne* 'lamb'. *pūgnu-s*, *pūgnāre*, beside Gr. *πνγ-μή* 'fist, fight with fists'. *grā-nu-m* 'grain, kernel', ground-form \**gř-no-m*: Skr. *jīr-ṇā-* 'ground, crumbled', Goth. *kaúr-n* n. 'grain', O.C.Sl. *zrŭ-no* 'grain, kernel, berry', compare also O.H.G. *kerno* O.Icel. *kjarne* m. 'kernel', formed from the *ē* grade of the root (*ger-*). *līgnu-m* is no doubt to be compared with *legō*; *tīgnu-m*: cp. Gr. *τεχ-νῆ* 'power of production, art, skill'. *lana* for \**ula-nā*, ground-form

\**uĭ-nā*: Skr. *ūr-ṇā* 'wool' Gr. *οὔλο-ς* 'curly' for *Fol-vo-ς*, Goth. *vulla* 'wool' pr. Germ. \**uul-nō*, Lith. *vil-na* 'fibre of wool' O.C.Sl. *vlū-na* 'wool'. The same suffix appears to be contained, though less obviously, in *fundu-s*: Skr. *budh-nā-s* 'ground' (I § 221 p. 189).

With -s-: Lat. *annu-s* for \**at-sno-s*: cp. Goth. *aþn*; *penna* O.Lat. *pesna* for \**pet-snā*, √ *pet-* 'fly'¹), and other examples.

Lat. -ino- unaccented = -yno-. It is of course hard to say what forms are to be classed here, since unaccented -ino- may equally well represent Idg. -yno-, -eno- or -ono-. The words we have to deal with are such as *dom-inu-s* *pāg-ina* *sarc-ina*, probably also *verna* for \**ves-inā* (√ *ves-* 'live').

As a secondary suffix it is not uncommon:

Lat. *aĕnu-s* for \**aēs-no-*, Umbr. *aĕs-nes* 'aenis', beside Lat. *aes*, *aeris*, Skr. *āyas-* n. 'metal, iron'. Lat. *ilĭgnu-s* for *ilec-no-* from *ilēx*, *salĭgnu-s* from *salix* (the ending was referred by popular etymology to √ *gen-*, cp. *abiĕgnu-s*, *fabāginu-s* and so forth), *acer-nu-s* from *acer*, *ebur-nu-s* from *ebur*; the final vowel of the stem has been lost in *pōpulnu-s* from *pōpulu-s*, *quernu-s* for \**querc-nu-s* from *quercu-s* etc. Besides these we have *pater-nu-s*, *māter-nu-s*; *alter-nu-s*, *īfer-nu-s*, *exter-nu-s*. Stems in -ā seem to have given rise to -ānu-s: *silvānu-s* (*silva*) *insulānu-s* (*insula*) *Capuānu-s* (*Capua*); hence in other local adjectives, *urbānu-s*, *cismontānu-s* *Rhēnānu-s* etc.

*vērnu-s*, *nocturnu-s*, *hībernū-s*, *vesperna* and the like are parallel to Gr. *ἐαρινό-ς*, *νυκτερινό-ς*, *χειμερινό-ς*, *ἐσπερινό-ς* (see

1) *Penna* must be distinguished from *pinna*. The latter, with *pannus* Gr. *πῆρο-ς* (common ground-form \**pĕ-no-*, see I § 253 p. 206 f.) belongs to A.S. *finn* Mod.H.G. *finne* 'fin', a Germanic word which Müllenhoff (*Altertumskunde* II 54) connects in an interesting way with the name of the *Fenni*, although he is certainly wrong in taking a ground-form \**pet-nā* as his starting-point. The words most nearly akin to it are O.H.G. *spannan* 'to stretch', Goth. *fana* 'cloth, rag' (Mod.H.G. *fahne*), O.C.Sl. *pĭna* 'I stretch, hang' *o-pona* 'curtain'. On √ *spen-* and *pen-*, see I § 589 p. 445 f. The bird's wing and the fin therefore received their name as being something 'out-stretched'.

p. 144), and perhaps in Latin also *-no-* was added to the locative in *-i*, and this vowel afterwards lost<sup>1</sup>).

Umbr.-Osc. *\*kom-no-m* 'rò κοινόν' from *kom* 'cum', Umbr. kumne loc. 'in comitio' Osc. *comenei* loc. 'in comitio' *comono* pl. 'comitia' (for the Oscan anaptyxis cp. I § 627, p. 471). Osc. amnod 'circuitu' from *am-* 'amb-'. Lat. *prōnu-s* no doubt for *\*prōd-no-*, compare *prō(d)*.

Lastly, there are the distributive numerals derived from adverbs, like Lat. *bīnī* from *\*bis-no-*, *trīnī* from *\*tris-no-*, *ter-nī*, *quater-nī*.

Old Irish. *la-n* 'full': Skr. *pūr-ṇá-s* etc., see p. 140. *slán* 'whole, sound, complete, full' may be for *\*sl-no-*, as Lat. *sal-vo-s* for *\*sl-uo-*. *cloe-n* 'awry, unjust, bad': cp. Goth. *hlái-n-s* 'hill', √ *klei-* 'to lean', whence also Gr. *κλί-νῃ* O.H.G. *li-na* (p. 143). *suan* O.Cymr. *hun* sleep: Skr. *sváp-na-s* etc., see p. 140. *uan* Mod.Cymr. *oen* 'lamb': Gr. *ἀμνό-ς* etc., see p. 144. *domun* m. 'world', Gallic *Dubno-rīx* 'world-king'; with this should probably be compared *fu-domain* 'deep' Mod.Cymr. *dwfn* 'deep' (I § 520 p. 378): O.C.Sl. *dūno* n. 'ground' for *\*dūb-no-*, Lith. *dūgna-s* 'ground' (with *g* for *b*, I § 346 p. 271). *ēn* m. 'bird' (I § 518 p. 377 f.), O.Bret. *etn* 'bird': cp. Lat. *penna* for *\*pet-snā* p. 145, √ *pet-* 'fly'. *fēn* m. 'waggon' (I § 526 p. 381): O.Icel. *vagu* m. 'waggon', √ *uegh-* 'vehere'. *dū-n* n. 'walled stronghold', Gall. *-dūnū-m* in place-names like *Novio-dūnu-m* 'New-castle, Newtown': O.Icel. *tū-n* n. O.H.G. *zū-n* m. 'fence, hedge'. *rū-n* f. 'secret': Goth. O.H.G. *rū-na* f. 'secret', with which, in a different grade of Ablaut, cp. O.Icel. *rau-n* f. 'attempt, proof, test, experience'. This suffix, though less clearly discernible, appears to be contained in *bond bonn* 'solea': Skr. *budh-ná-s* 'ground' (I § 221 p. 189).

Pr.Kelt. *-ano-* = *-yno-*. Since this, if unaccented, became in Irish identical with orig. *-ono-*, it is hard to say which of the examples should be classed here. Perhaps *lethan* O.Cymr.

1) Does *hibernu-s* stand for *\*híbrino-s*, as *in-certu-s* for *\*in-crito-s* (I § 33 p. 33 f.)? The word is undoubtedly connected with *hiems*, but the *b* has never been explained.

*litan* 'broad': cp. Gr. *πλάτανο-ς* 'plane' (named after its broad leaves, compare *πλατύ-ς*). Infinitive nouns like *blegon* m. 'milking' may also perhaps be referred to *-yno-*.

As a secondary suffix it is found in Gall. *Arebrig-nu-s* (*pagus*) 'lying on a hill' compared with *Arebrigiū-m*, beside O.Ir. *bri*, gen. *breg*, 'hill'. Also no doubt in Keltic words in *-er-no-ar-no-* (Zeuss-Ebel G.C. 774), as Gall. *Tigerno-*, *isarno-* 'iron', O.Ir. *iarn* O.Bret. *hearn* (I § 576 p. 431), whence perhaps were borrowed Goth. *eisarn* O.H.G. *isarn* 'iron' (the suffix in O.H.G. *diorna* 'wench' Goth. *viduvairna* 'one bereaved' etc. cannot be held to prove that this is a real Germanic word.)

Germanic. Goth. *fulls* O.H.G. *vol* (gen. *volles*) 'full', pr. Germ. *\*ful-na-z*: Skr. *pūr-ṇá-s* etc. see above p. 140. Goth. *alls* O.H.G. *al* (gen. *alles*) 'whole, all' (beside *ala-*) ground-form *\*al-no-s*, beside *alan* 'to grow up, increase' (cp. Gr. *πᾶς* 'whole, all' compared with Skr. *śvā-* 'swell out', § 126, and Lat. *omni-s* for *\*op-ni-s* beside *ops*, § 95); Osc. *allo* is the same word if it is to be translated 'tota' and not 'alia' (Fick, Bezzenberger's Beitr. I 170; Danielsson, Pauli's Altital. Stud. III 177 f.). Goth. *ib-n-s* O.H.G. *eban* 'flat, even'. O.H.G. *scī-n* 'visible, shining', as subst. m. 'visibility, brightness, sheen'. Goth. *us-lūk-n-s* 'opened, open'. Goth. *faihu-gatr-n-s* 'avaricious' O.Icel. *gjarn* 'greedy'. O.H.G. *mei-n* 'false, treacherous', as subst. 'falseness, wickedness'; Lith. *mai-na-s* 'barter' O.C.Sl. *mě-na* 'change, exchange', common ground-form *\*moi-no- nā-*, cp. *\*moi-ni-* § 95. O.H.G. *loc* (pl. *loccha*) O.Icel. *lokkr* m. 'lock' pr. Germ. *\*lug-ná-s* (I § 534 p. 391): Lith. *lug-na-s* 'bent'. O.H.G. *sker-n* m. n. 'jest'. Goth. *aþ-n* n. 'year': cp. Lat. *annu-s* for *\*at-sno-* p. 145. Goth. *haúr-n* O.H.G. *horn* pr. Norse *horna* n. 'horn': Gall. *ᾰάpro-v* acc. 'trumpet' (Hesych.) beside Lat. *cornu* (also *cornu-*, § 106). Goth. *bar-n* 'child' (that which is born): Lith. *bér-na-s* 'servant', dimin. *bernėli-s* 'little boy' (cp. a similar change of meaning in Gr. *τέκνο-v*: O.H.G. *degan*). Goth. *láu-n* O.H.G. *lō-n* n. 'wages', beside Gr. *ἀπο-λαύω* 'enjoy' O.C.Sl. *lovŭ* 'prey, booty'. O.H.G. *zeihhan* O.Sax. *tēkan* n. 'token' pr. Germ. *\*taij-na-* (compare Goth. *táikns* f., stem *táik-ni-*, 'token'), from

✓ *deik-deig-* (Goth. *ga-teihan* 'point out'). O.H.G. *feihhan* O.Sax. *fēkan* n. 'deceit' pr. Germ. \**faik-na-*, from ✓ *peik-peig-* (Goth. *fāih* n. 'deceit'). O.H.G. *loug-na* O.Icel. *lau-n* f., in O.H.G. also *lougan* (subst. m.) 'giving the lie, denying': the root has a different grade of ablaut in Goth. *liug-n* n. 'lie'. O.Sax. *log-na* (o probably short) 'flame': cp. Lat. *lūna* for \**loucsnā* etc. p. 140.

Germ. -*uno-* = -*yno-* cannot be identified with certainty.

In secondary use the suffix only occurs in Goth. *jái-n-s* 'that, yonder' from loc. \**joj* (beside it stands a pr. Germ. \**ji-na-* from the locative form \**jei* in A.S. *bē-zen* m. 'both' according to Holt-hausen, Paul Braune's Beitr. XIII 372. 590), unless Goth. *hlái-vasnōs* pl. f. 'grave' from *hláiv* n. 'grave' and *arhvazna* f. 'arrow' beside A.S. *earh* n. 'arrow' are to be classed here, as derivatives from *es*-stems, cp. Skr. *vadhasná-* p. 142.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *plū-na-s* O.C.Sl. *plū-nū* 'full': Skr. *pūr-ná-s* etc., see p. 140 above. A few other adjectives of this kind occur in Baltic, as Lith. *kil-na-s* 'lofty' beside *kėl-ti* 'to raise' (*kálna-s* 'hill' should perhaps be divided *kal-n-a*, see the Author in Morph. Unt. II 173), *slp-na-s* 'weak, powerless' beside *slp-ti* 'to grow weak'; *lūd-na-s* 'sad' beside *lūsti* 'to grow sad', Lett. *wif-n-s* 'glimmering' beside *wif-ēt* 'to glimmer', Lett. *táis-n-s* 'straight, right' beside Lith. *taisýti* 'to direct'. Lith. *dē-na* f. adj. of cows 'in calf': Skr. *dhé-na* 'milk cow', from ✓ *dhēj-* 'suckle' (I § 150 p. 136).

Lith. *peļ-na-s* 'merit' O.C.Sl. *plē-nū* 'booty': Skr. *paṇa-s* 'wager, stipulated wage' for \**par-ṇa* (I § 259 p. 211 f.). Lith. *vaŗ-na-s* 'raven' *vár-na* 'crow' O.C.Sl. *vra-nū* 'black, raven' *vra-na* 'crow', possibly to be compared with Skr. *vár-ṇa-s* 'colour'. There seems to be some connexion between the roots of Lith. *szē-na-s* O.C.Sl. *sē-no* 'hay' (the Lith. word was no doubt originally neuter) and Skr. *śyā-na-s* 'grown dry' *śī-na-s* 'curdled'. Lith. *szal-nà* O.C.Sl. *sla-na* 'rime', beside Lith. *szál-ta-s* Skr. *śī-śir-a-s* adj. 'cold'. Pruss. *spoay-no* f. 'foam' or 'scum' O.C.Sl. *pē-na* 'foam': Skr. *phē-na-s* 'foam', cp. also Lat. *spūma* for \**spoi-mā* (for the initial, see I § 599 p. 445 f.)

With *-s-*; Lith. *lėp-s-nà* 'flame', *varsnà* 'length of a furrow' for *\*vart-snà* (cp. *varsma-s* 'length of a furrow' for *\*vart-sma-*).

Lith. *spař-na-s* 'wing': Skr. *par-ná-m* 'wing', ✓ *sper-* 'strike away, push off, jerk'. *skut-nà* 'shaved place'. *žar-nà* 'intestine': O.Icel. *garnar* pl. 'intestinae'. *dai-nà* 'folk-song': Avest. *daē-nā* f. 'law, teaching, faith'.

O.C.Sl. *trǐ-nũ* 'thorn': Skr. *tř-na-m* 'grass-stalk', Germ. with *-nu-* Goth. *þaur-nu-s* 'thorn'. *synũ sunũ* 'tower' no doubt stands for pr. Slav. *\*sũp-no- \*soup-no-* 'that which is piled up', cp. *sũpq* 'I pile' *sũpũ* 'heap'. *člě-nũ* 'limb' for *\*čel-no-*. *trěs-nũ* 'fimbria' for *\*trěsk-nũ*, beside *trěskũ* 'noise' *trěsnati* 'to strike'. *sřig-no* 'shank'. *ru-no* 'fleece', beside *rũw-q* 'evello'. *sukno* 'woollen garment', beside *sukati* 'to twist'. *věno* 'dowry' for *\*věd-no-*: Gr. *ĩđ-va* *ĩđ-va* 'bridal gifts', ✓ *uedh- ued-* 'lead, lead home' (I § 469, 8 p. 346 f.). *vľũ-na* 'wave': O.H.G. *wella* 'wave' ground-form *\*uel-nā*, with *-ni-* Lith. *vĩl-nĩ-s* 'wave'. *sľi-na* 'spittle', beside Mid.H.G. A.S. *sľi-m* 'slime'. *strana* 'side, region' for pr. Slav. *\*stor-nā*, i. e. Idg. *\*stř-nā* (Skr. *stř-nā-* 'outspread') or Idg. *\*stor-nā*, ✓ *ster-* 'spread out'. *stě-na* 'wall': Goth. *stái-n-s* O.H.G. *stei-n* m. 'stone'.

Lith. *-ina-* Slav. *-ino-* = *-yno-* may perhaps be traced in Lith. *kũp-ina-s* 'heaped up', *těk-ina-s* 'running', O.C.Sl. *do-kos-ĩnũ* 'that can be touched or held' *do-stiř-ĩnũ* 'that can be reached', etc.

*-no-* in secondary use. Lith. *jáu-na-s* O.C.Sl. *ju-nũ* 'young' from *jaũ ju* 'already', just like Skr. *náva-s* Gr. *véFo-s* beside Skr. *nũ nũ* etc. 'now': from the same adverb come also O.C.Sl. *ju-tro u-tro* 'morning', see § 75. It is doubtful how far, if at all, the common secondary suffix Lith. *-ina-* Slav. *-ino-* represents Idg. *-yno-*.

§ 67. 2. In the form *-eno- -ono-*. This is almost entirely primary, and it occurs chiefly in participles and abstract nouns. It is used to form classes of words with special meanings, most commonly in Aryan, Germanic and Slavonic. *-eno-* is in active use as a participial suffix in A.S., Norse (O.Icel)

and Slavonic, as an abstract nominal suffix in Aryan; *-ono-* is a participial suffix in Aryan, Gothic and High German, and an abstract nominal suffix (infin.) in Germanic.

The suffix bears the accent where the root-syllable has the weak grade of ablaut; e. g. Skr. *vavṛt-āná-s* O.H.G. *gi-wort-an* (I § 530 p. 387).

a. *-eno-* added to stems ending in a consonant:

Indo-Germanic. *\*ueǵh-eno-*, √ *ueǵh-* 'vehere': Skr. *vah-ana-s* 'carrying' *váh-ana-m* 'act of carrying', O.C.Sl. *vez-enŭ* 'carried'. *\*ed-eno-*, √ *ed-* 'eat': Skr. *ád-ana-m* 'food, fodder', O.Icel. *et-enn* 'eaten'. *\*uert-eno-*, √ *uert-* 'vertere': Skr. *vart-ana-s* 'setting in motion' *várt-ana-m* 'a turning', O.C.Sl. *vrět-eno* n. 'spindle'.

Aryan. *cēt-ana-s* 'visible', *ján-ana-s* 'begetter', *táp-ana-s* 'afflicting'; O.Pers. *drauj-ana-* 'lying'. Skr. *cēt-ana-m* 'an appearing, appearance', *ján-ana-m* 'a begetting' and other substantives of the same kind. Avest. *hap-ane-m* 'pressing, pressure': Skr. *sáv-ana-m*; O.Pers. *ham-ar-ana-m* 'encounter, fight', Ar. √ *ar-* 'go'. In Avestic we find the masc. *zav-ana-* 'call, summons'; contrast Skr. neut. *háv-ana-m*.

Armenian. *jaune-m* 'I offer, dedicate' from the noun stem *\*jauno-*, which must stand for *\*jaṇ-eno-* (Skr. *háv-ana-m* 'offering'), or for *\*jaṇ-ono-*.

Greek. Here perhaps should be classed Aeol. *φερένᾱ* 'dowry' (*φέρενα*, if it be the more correct reading, would at all events imply a form *\*φερένᾱ*) beside *φέρ-νῃ*: cp. Skr. *bhár-ana-*.

Remark. *-eno-* may perhaps be traced also in *ἐκείνο-ς* (with spurious diphthong) Dor. *ἐκείνο-ς* 'that' for *\*ἐ(κ)είνο-ς* from *ἐκεῖ* 'there'. Similarly Dor. *τῆνο-ς*, 'is iste, ille' would stand for *\*τῆε-νο-ς* from *τεῖ*; or it might be analysed *τῆ-νο-ς* and derived from the instr. *\*τῇ* (cp. Goth. *jái-n-s* § 66 p. 148). It must be admitted that *-eno-* is not elsewhere used in this way as a secondary suffix.

Italic. *beno-* (in *bene*, *benĩgnu-s*, *bellu-s* for *\*ben-lo-*), the by-form of *bono-*, *duono-*, should be classed here, if it stands for *\*du-eno-* and belongs to the root seen in Skr. *dúv-as* n. 'reverence, honour' and other words, so that the original meaning would be 'that which is held in honour, enjoys recognition'

(see Osthoff, *Morph. Unt.* IV 370 ff.). *dom-inu-s* (cp. Skr. *dám-ana-s* 'horse-tamer') and the like are ambiguous; see § 66 p. 145.

Old Irish. I know of no noun-formations which fall under this head.

Germanic. Goth. *fulg-in-s* 'hidden' (beside *filhan* 'to hide'), with the accent on the suffix in pr. Germ. (I § 530 p. 386). O.Icel. *tig-enn* 'distinguished' (✓ *deyk-* 'show'). O.H.G. *sceff-in* 'sheriff', also *sceffino*, which has passed over to the *n*-declension; its original sense was no doubt 'arranger, orderer', compare O.H.G. *scaffen* 'to shape, set in order'. Add such participles as A.S. *bund-en* O.Icel. *bund-enn* 'bound'; cp. below, under *-ono-*. Goth. *áig-in* O.H.G. *eig-in* n. 'property', the original sense being no doubt 'the having for one's own': Skr. *īś-ana-m* 'rule, control'. Goth. *rag-in* n. 'counsel, decree'; if it belongs to Skr. *rac-ana-m* 'an arranging, regulating', we must assume, as in the case of Goth. *fulg-ins*, that the suffix originally bore the accent. O.H.G. *lug-ina* f. 'lie', O.Sax. *drug-ina* f. 'treachery' *stul-ina* f. 'theft' *thec-ina* f. 'covering, roof'.

Balto-Slavonic. Here should be classed certain Lettic adjectives like *glud-en-s* 'smooth', (compare *glöd-en-s* 'blind-worm') beside *glaud-ét* 'to stroke'; *slidd-en-s* 'smooth, where one slips', beside *slidd-ét* 'to slip'; *slepp-en-s* 'secret' beside *slép-t* 'to hide'. Were the Lithuanian verbs in *-enù*, like *gab-enù* 'I bring', developed from noun-stems of this kind, in the same way as *kruv-inù* 'I make bloody' from *krùv-ina-s* 'bloody'?

In Slavonic we have the common past part. pass. in *-enù*, as *nes-enù* 'carried' (from *nes-ti* 'to carry'), *za-bùv-enù* 'forgotten' (from *za-byti*; cp. Skr. *bhùv-ana-m* 'being, thing, world'). The neut. *vrét-eno*: Skr. *várt-ana-m* has been already mentioned on p. 150.

b. *-ono-* added to stems ending in a consonant.

Idg. Pres. or aor. part.: *\*gr-ono-* from *ger-* 'make', beside indic. Skr. *á-kar*: Skr. *kr-āná-s* 'working, eager, busy' (frequent epithet of deities), Gr. *Κρ-όνο-ς*; *\*ġus-ono-* from *ġeus-* 'taste', beside the indic. Skr. *á-juṣ-ran* (3. pl. med.): Skr. *juṣāná-s* Goth.



*kusan-s*. Part. perf. *\*bhe-bhid-onó-s* from *bhejd-* 'split, bite' beside indic. Skr. *bibhéd-a* Goth. *báit*: Skr. *bibhid-áná-s* (Goth. *bit-an-s*).

Remark. This view of the Aryan forms with *-āna-* cannot be called certain. As a participial suffix of the middle we may (with Hirt) refer *-āna-* to *\*-ḡno-*, as the analogous *-ana-* to *\*-ḡno-* (see § 66 Rem. p. 141). The same *-ḡno-* may also be concealed in Gr. *πῶρό-ς* *πηρό-ς* 'fledged' (cp. Osthoff, zur Gesch. des Perf. 409) and the adjective *ῥάρο-ς* (or is this for *\*ῥάρο-ς*?). In the Ar. *-āna-* it is possible that *-ḡno-* and *-ono-* have coalesced. The considerations urged by Fröhde (Bezenberger's Beitr. VII 322 ff.) against my comparison of *Κρόρο-ς* with *krāṇá-s* are not sound. The different accent of *Κρόρο-ς* is explained by the fact of its being a proper name. See what is said below in the Greek section on *κλόρο-ς*; etc.

Aryan. Pres. aor. med. pass. part. Skr. *duh-áná-s* *dúh-āna-s*, also *dúgh-āna-s*, the *gh* being phonetically regular (I § 445 p. 331, § 452. 453 p. 335), beside *dōgdhi* 'he milks', *júhv-āna-s* beside *ju-hó-ti* 'he offers', *su-nv-áná-s* beside *su-nó-ti* 'he presses out', and so forth. Similarly Avest. *yn-āna-* beside *jáin-ti* 'he slays', and the like. Skr. *īś-áná-s* *īś-āna-s* 'having for one's own, possessing, ruler' Avest. *is-āna-* 'ruling, mighty' beside Skr. *īśe* *īś-tē* 'he possesses, rules': O.H.G. *eig-an* 'own', beside Goth. *áiḥ* 'he has', cp. Skr. *īś-āna-m* Goth. *áig-in* p. 151). Perf. med. pass. part. Skr. *riric-áná-s* beside *riréc-a* 'he let loose, removed, abandoned': O.H.G. *gi-liw-an*, *✓leiq-*; Avest. *vāver-z-āna-* beside indic. med. Gāthic *vāver-z-ōi* from *var-z-* (*uerǵ-*) 'work'.

It is an open question whether the denominative Skr. *-āna-*, as in *vásav-āna-s* 'possessing goods' from *vásu* n. 'goods', falls under this head (cp. Goth. *þiud-an-s*).

Armenian. Perhaps *jaune-m*, see above p. 150.

Greek. Besides *Κρόρο-ς* (see above) we should probably class here *κλ-όρο-ς* 'stir, turmoil', beside *κέλ-ομαι*, *θρ-όρο-ς* 'seat, throne' from *dher-* 'hold, support', *χρ-όρο-ς* 'time' orig. 'a limit of time which contains, span', beside *χρερ-*; for the meaning cp. *ἔμετο-ς* 'a vomiting' beside *ἔμετό-ς* 'vomited' and the like, § 158.<sup>1)</sup> Of

1) The accent may have been assimilated to that of *γόν-ο-ς* *λόχ-ο-ς* *τρόπ-ο-ς* and similar words. Fröhde's assumption (in the article cited in the Remark above) that *θρόρο-ς* *χρόρο-ς* stand for *\*θρορο-ς* *\*κολρο-ς*, cannot be justified on phonetic grounds, in spite of Cret. *θόρεαξ*.

feminine forms we should perhaps class here ἡδ-ονῆ 'joy', but in περὶ-ονῆ 'clasp, buckle' σφινδ-όνῆ 'sling' and others we must recognise *-on-a*, an extension of *-on-* by *-a-*, cp. ἀκόν-η 'whetstone' beside Skr. *áśan-* 'stone'.

Italic. Lat. *b-ono-* ~~must ultimately~~ be classed here; as *read "Should perhaps"* to *beno-*, see p. 150. *dom-inu-s* and the like are ambiguous, see § 66 p. 145.

Old Irish. On account of the coincidence of *-yno-* and *-ono-* in Irish there are no examples that can be assigned with certainty to this section.

Germanic. O.H.G. *eig-an*, see above, p. 152. Goth. *v-an-s* O.H.G. *w-an* 'wanting, lacking', √ *eu-* (Gr. *εὖ-v-s*, Skr. *ū-ná-s*). O.H.G. *offan* A.S. *opan* 'open'. O.H.G. *wes-an* 'decayed'. O.Sax. *fag-an* 'glad', the accent being on the suffix in pr.Germ., cp. Goth. *fah-ēps* f. 'joy'. Participles like Goth. *vaurþ-an-s* (the regular phonetic form would be *\*vaurðans*, I § 530 p. 387), O.H.G. *gi-wort-an* 'having become': Skr. *vavrt-áná-s*; Goth. *qum-an-s* O.H.G. *gi-kom-an* 'having come': Skr. *jagm-áná-s*; Goth. *fra-vitan-s* 'avenged': Skr. *vid-áná-s*; Goth. *ana-budan-s* 'commanded, enjoined' O.H.G. *gi-botan*: Skr. *budh-áná-s*. Instead of this we find in other dialects *-ina-* = Idg. *-eno-*. We may conjecture that in Germanic *-eno-* and *-ono-* were originally distinguished as in Sanskrit. When the reduplicating syllable in the perfect fell off, the two types were no longer clearly separated, and *-eno-* drove out *-ono-* in one part of the Germanic area. We have *-ana-* in secondary use in Goth. *þiud-an-s* 'king', from *þiuda* 'people' (cp. Skr. *vásav-ána-s*?).

*-ono-* occurs as an abstract suffix in the Germanic infinitives formed with pr. Germ. *\*-ana-m*, as Goth. *aiþ-an* O.H.G. *eig-an* 'possess, have', Goth. *vit-an* O.H.G. *wizz-an* 'know', Goth. *baír-an* O.H.G. *ber-an* 'bear, bring, forth'.

Balto-Slavonic.

Lith. *alk-ana-s* (fem. *alk-anà*) 'rather hungry, fasting' from *alk-ti* 'to hunger', *úk-ana-s* 'gloomy, overclouded' (*úkanos dēnos* 'gloomy days') beside *úk-stýti-s* 'to become gloomy, cloud over', Lett. *plakk-an-s* 'flat' from *plak-t* 'to grow flat' etc. Lith.

*dov-ana* Lett. *dāv-ana* 'gift' beside *dā-ti dā-t* 'to give', Lith. *ūk-ana* 'mass of cloud, cloudy sky'.

Whether Slavonic forms like Mod. Sloven. *jah-on* 'fortis equitator', beside *jahati* 'vchi' (Miklosich, Vergl. Gr. II 140) should also be classed here, is doubtful. We cannot analyse O.C.Sl. *zv-onŭ* 'sound' as *zv-onŭ* (cp. *zov-a zv-ati* 'to call') and compare it with Skr. *kr-ānā-s* etc. (cp. Fick, Wtb. I<sup>3</sup> 84, Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 373), unless we allow that the whole verbal base *zven-* in Slavonic (O.C.Sl. *svĭnĕti* 'to sound') has been developed out of a noun formed with *-eno- -ono-*.

c. *-eno- -ono-* added to stems ending in a vowel. It has been already remarked on p. 138, that the contraction was complete even in proethnic Indo-Germanic.

Skr. *sōma-dhāna-s* 'containing soma' *vasu-dāna-s* 'giving good' *vi-māna-s* 'traversing', like *cēt-ana-s*. *dāna-m* 'a giving' (Lat. *dōnu-m*), *sthāna-m* 'a standing, standing-place' (Avest. *stāna-* m. 'position', Gr. *δύστηνος* 'in a bad position, unhappy', Lith. *stōna-s* O.C.Sl. *stanŭ* 'position'), *yāna-m* 'a going, moving' like *cēt-ana-m*. Pres. med. pass. part. *yāna-s* beside indic. *yāti* 'he goes', like *dūgh-āna-s*. Perf. med. pass. part. *jajñānā-s* beside indic. *jajñāu* 'he knew' (Slav. part. *po-znanŭ* 'known'), like *riric-ānā-s*.

Gr. *δύστηνος*, see above. \**εὖ-στηνος* 'in good position' whence *εὖστηνέω* 'am in good position': add also El. *συρ-στηναι* pl. 'compact' (Collitz' Samml. d. gr. Dial.-Inscr. no. 1168).

Ital. Lat. *dōnu-m*, Umbr. *ṛunu* Osc. *dúnú-m* Mars. *duno-m* 'donum', see above.

Ir. Perhaps *bān* 'white, pale', from  $\sqrt{bha-}$ , Skr. *bhā-ti* 'he appears, shines' *bhāna-m* 'an appearing or growing visible'.

German. O.H.G. perf. part. *gi-tān* 'done' (O.C.Sl. *o-dēnŭ* part. of *o-dēti*, 'to put round, clothe'), like *gi-wort-an*. O.H.G. inf. *tōn tuon* 'do' *gān* 'go', like *ber-an*.

Balt.-Slav. Lith. *stōna-s* O.C.Sl. *stanŭ*, see above. Lith. *klōna-s* 'space behind the barn' beside *klō-ti* 'to spread out'. O.C.Sl. perf. part. *po-znanŭ* (see above), *danŭ* 'given' beside *dati*, *sēnŭ* 'sown' beside *sēti*, like *nes-enŭ*.

In some of these vowel-stems we may conjecture that forms with *-no-* and forms with *-eno-* *-ono-* once existed side by side. It is no longer possible to ascertain exactly how far this was the case.

§ 68. The Suffixes *-ino-* *-inā-*, *-īno-* *-īnā-*, and *-a<sup>z</sup>ino-* *-a<sup>z</sup>inā-*. These suffixes are found side by side with practically the same meaning. They are used especially to form secondary adjectives, with such meanings as 'made or consisting of', 'springing from', 'belonging to the same kind as' that which is denoted by the noun from which they are derived. They are used very much in the same way as the secondary suffix *-jo-* (§ 63, 2), compare e. g. Lith. *av-ýna-s* with Pruss. *aw-i-s* O.C.Sl. *u-jŕ* 'uncle' beside Lat. *avo-s* 'grandfather', the meaning of these words being 'he who is descended from the grandfather'. Whether it bears any very close relation to the termination of Gr. *ἐαγίνο-ς* Lat. *vĕrnu-s* and the like (§ 66 p. 144), and what etymological relation subsists between the initial sounds of the three forms *-ino-* *-īno-* *-a<sup>z</sup>ino-* (cp. Osthoff, *Morph. Unt.* IV 357) I cannot here decide. The connexion in sense (compare e. g. Gr. *δρυ-ίνο-ς* 'of oak' — Goth. *triv-ein-s* 'wooden' — Avest. *drv-aŕn-i-* 'wooden'), combined with their connexion in point of sound, justifies us in discussing the three suffixes together.

#### 1. *-ino-*.

Idg. *\*deks-ino-* 'dexter': Skr. *dákṣina-s* Avest. *dašina-* O.C.Sl. *desŕnŭ*, in Lith. extended by a further suffix *deszin-ė* 'the right hand': cp. Gr. *δεξιό-ς* Lat. *dex-ter* O.Ir. *dess* Goth. *taŕhs-va* 'dexter'; the word is closely allied to Skr. *dákṣ-a-s* 'able, strong'. Skr. *aj-ina-m* 'skin' O.C.Sl. *az-ino* beside Skr. *ajā-s* 'he-goat' *ajā* 'she-goat', Lith. *ožỹ-s* 'he-goat', cp. also Lith. *ož-łni-s* 'belonging to a he-goat'.

In Aryan *-ino-* was not fertile. Forms like Skr. *malinā-* 'spotted' (*mala-m* 'dirt') Avest. nom. *raocah-inō* 'shining' (*raocah-* 'light') can scarcely be classed here: it is most probable that they

only arose in later times through a transference of *-in-*stems to the *o*-declension (cp. § 60 p. 111 f.).

In Greek we have many adjectives, denoting material, origin or kind: *φῆγ-ινο-ς* 'beechen' from *φηγός* (: Lat. *fāg-inu-s*), *βύβλ-ινο-ς* 'made of papyrus' from *βύβλος*, *ἄνθ-ινο-ς* 'consisting of flowers' from *ἄνθος* n., *λά-ινο-ς* 'of stone' from *λάας*, *χύτε-ινο-ς* 'of clay, earthen like a pot' from *χύτερος*, *γῆ-ινο-ς* 'earthen, earthly' from *γῆ*, *ἀέρ-ινο-ς* 'consisting of air, airy' from *ἀήρ*, *ἰχθυό-ινο-ς* 'derived from fish' (e. g. *ἐλαίον*) from *ἰχθύς*, *ἀνθρωπί-ινο-ς* 'human' from *ἄνθρωπος*, *ἐκεῖν-ινο-ς* 'of that kind, of the same kind as that' from *ἐκεῖνο-ς*, *πεδ-ινο-ς* 'found in the level country' beside *πεδίο-ν*, *ἀληθ-ινο-ς* 'true' beside *ἀληθής*.

In Latin Idg. *-ino-* can hardly be distinguished from Idg. *-yno-* *-eno-* *-ono-* (§ 66. 67.) Here should be placed adjectives like *fag-inu-s* (see above), *laur-inu-s*, *junc-inu-s*, *lentisc-inu-s*, which are not very numerous.

Keltic. Perhaps Gall. *Mor-int* pl., name of a seaboard tribe (cp. Lat. *mar-inu-s*), and others to be found in Zeuss-Ebel G. C. 772.

In Germanic the suffix cannot be traced.

Balto-Slavonic.

In Lithuanian adjectives of material, origin, kind, are only rarely formed with *-ina-s*, usually with *-ini-s*, which shows the further suffix *-io-*: *áuks-ina-s* 'golden' from *áuksa-s* 'gold', *sidabr-ini-s* 'silvern' from *sidābra-s* 'silver', *med-ini-s* 'wooden' from *mēdi-s* 'tree, wood', *žem-inė bitis* 'humble-bee' from *žemė* 'earth', *raksztinis óbūlas* 'a sour kind of apple' from *ráksztas óbūlas* 'some apple'.

Slavonic *-inŭ*: *želěz-inŭ* 'of iron' from *želězo* 'iron' (Lith. *gelež-ini-s* 'of iron'), *medv-inŭ medov-inŭ* 'of honey, like honey' from *medŭ* 'honey', *zem-inŭ* 'earthly' from *zemlja* 'earth'. Further, some of the adjectives in *-inŭ* may belong to this section.

2. *-ino-*. The accentuation of the suffix was original, as shewn by the Sanskrit accent and by O.H.G. *magat-in* beside *magad*.

Indo-Germanic. Cp. Lat. *filr-inu-s*, O.H.G. *bibir-in* 'of

beaver' beside Avest. *bawr-aēni-š* Lith. *bebr-īni-s* 'of beaver'. Lat. *su-īnu-s*, Goth. *sv-ein* n. 'swine', O.C.Sl. *sv-inŭ* 'suinus'. Lat. *haed-īnu-s*, Goth. *gāt-ein-s* 'of goats, relating to goats'. Skr. *nav-īna-s* 'new', O.C.Sl. *nov-ina* f. 'newly ploughed land, fallow'.

Aryan. In Sanskrit it forms adjectives whose meaning implies relation to something, without specifying the nature of the relation. *savatsar-īna-s* 'yearlong, yearly' from *savatsarā-s* 'year'. *prāṭh-īna-s* 'belonging to the rainy season, rainy'. *viśvajān-īna-s* 'containing all sorts of people, ruling over all people, blessing all the world' from *viśva-janā-* 'all the world'. *sat-īnā-s* 'genuine' from *sant-* 'true' (cp. ἀληθινό-ς and O.H.G. *wār-īn*). *kan-īna-s* 'young' from *kandā* f. 'young girl, maiden' (cp. O.H.G. *jung-īn*). *nav-īna-s* 'new' from *nāva-* 'new'. *añjas-īna-s* 'leading straight on' from *añjasa-* 'direct, immediate'. Extended formations with -īna- from adjectives of direction in -añc- are especially common; e. g. *apāc-īna-s* 'leaning back' from *āpāñc-*, *pratīc-īna-s* and *pratiñc-īnā-s* 'turned towards' from *pratyāñc-*.

Greek. Here we have adjectives and substantives derived from adjectives, implying more or less clearly the meaning 'possessing the character or attributes denoted by the original noun'. ἀγχιστ-ῖνο-ς 'very near together' from ἄγχιστο-ς. ἐρυθρ-ῖνο-ς, 'red mullet' (cp. Mod.H.Germ. *rötlings* 'rudd'). κορακ-ῖνο-ς 'a sea fish black as a raven', also 'young raven', from κόραξ 'raven'. κέστρ-ῖνο-ς a kind of fish, from κέστρα a kind of hammer, 'pick'. τυφλ-ῖνο-ς a kind of snake, from τυφλό-ς 'blind'. γέλασ-ῖνο-ς 'laughter' from γέλασι-ς; ἐλεγχ-ῖνο-ς 'blamer' from ἐλεγει-ς (cp. Goth. *ga-láub-ein-s* 'believing' O.H.G. *huor-īn* 'libidinosus'). πολυποδ-ῖνη a small kind of polypus. βολβ-ῖνη a kind of bulb. δελφιν-ῖνη from δέλφας 'swine, sucking pig' (cp. O.H.G. *sw-īn* beside *sū*). χοιρ-ῖνη, a kind of sea mussel, from χοῖρο-ς 'sucking pig'.

Italic. The suffix is frequently used to indicate material, origin, kind, that to which anything belongs. Lat. *capr-īnu-s* from *caper capra*, Umbr. *cabriner* gen. 'caprini'. Lat. *equ-īnu-s* from *equo-s*, Umbr. *ekvine* loc. 'equini' (borrowed from the Lat. ? I § 431 p. 320). Lat. *bov-īnu-s*, *can-īnu-s*, *vulp-īnu-s*,

*columb-īnu-s*, *noctu-īnu-s*; *div-īnu-s*, *fūr-īnu-s*, *sūtr-īnu-s*, *sobr-īnu-s* for \**sosr-ino-* from *soror* (I § 570 p. 428); *mar-īnu-s*, *vīc-īnu-s* (cp. Lith. *kaim-ýna-s* 'neighbour'), *cisalp-īnu-s*, *peregr-īnu-s*, *Lat-īnu-s*, Umbr. Ikuvinus pl. 'Iguvini', Osc. Nuvkirinum 'Nucerinorum'. A few neuter substantives occur like *terg-īnu-m* 'whip of leather'. Feminine substantives are more numerous, as *capr-īna* 'goat's-flesh' *haed-īna* 'kid's flesh', *su-īna* 'pig's flesh' (cp. O.C.Sl. *břbrov-ina* 'flesh of beaver', Lith. *ož-ėnà* 'goat's flesh'); *sal-īna* 'salt works, salt mine', *moletr-īna* 'mill', *pisc-īna* 'fishpond', *cėp-īna* 'onion field', *rāp-īna* 'turnip field' (cp. Lith. *aviž-ėnà* 'oat-field' and Skr. *āúm-īna-m* 'flax-field' from *ūmā* flax); cp. § 154.

Keltic. Here perhaps may be classed Gall. *Tīc-īnu-s* name of a river, ground-form \**tēq-ino-*, √ *teq-* 'run, flee, flow' (O.Ir. *techim* 'flee', Lith. *tek-mė* 'small river', O.C.Sl. *tokū* 'stream').

In Germanic it forms numerous adjectives denoting material, origin, and quality. Goth. *gulþ-eins* O.H.G. *guld-īn* 'golden' from *gulþ* gold n. 'gold'. Goth. *stāin-eins* O.H.G. *stein-īn* 'of stone' from *stāins* *stein* m. 'stone'. Goth. *airþ-eins* O.H.G. *ird-īn* 'earthen, earthly' from *airþa* *erda* 'earth'. Goth. *bariz-eins* 'of barley'; *þāurn-eins* 'of thorn'; *riqiz-eins* 'dark'. O.H.G. *rindir-īn* 'of cattle'; *swīn-īn* 'suillus'. Goth. *sunj-eins* 'truthful' from *sunji-s* 'true'. O.H.G. *wār-īn* 'truthful' from *wār* 'true' (cp. Skr. *sat-īnā-s*). O.H.G. *huor-īn* 'wanton, dissolute'. Goth. *aiw-eins* O.H.G. *ew-īn* 'everlasting'.

† *-ino-* was added to adjectives formed with an *l*-suffix, e. g. *luzzil-īn* from *luzzil* 'little', whence there arose in O.H.G. an independent suffix *-ilīn -alīn*, as in *huor-ilīn* 'wanton' (beside *huor-īn*), *luog-alīn* 'spying, lurking'.

The neuters of adjectives of material, used substantivally, gave rise to diminutives in Germanic; from the meaning 'belonging to another thing in respect of kind' it is only a short step to that of 'subordination', of 'having its attributes only to a limited extent' (cp. Gr. *-io-v* § 63 p. 128). So Goth. *gait-ein* O.H.G. *geiz-īn* 'kid' from *gait-eins* *geiz-īn* 'haedinus', Goth. *gum-ein* 'mannikin' *qin-ein* 'little woman' from *guma* 'man' *qinō*

'woman', O.H.G. *magat-in* A.S. *mægd-en* 'little maid, girl' from O.H.G. *magad* 'maid, girl'. It is doubtful whether the diminutive sense ever existed in Goth. *sv-ein* O.H.G. *sw-in* 'swine', which strictly belongs to this class of neuters: it would seem that it was isolated in form by the accentuation of the suffix (which in a monosyllable could not but be regarded as part of the root), and so separated from the others in point of meaning.

#### Balto-Slavonic.

Lith. *kaim-ýna-s* 'neighbour' from *kēma-s* 'precinct, court' (I § 84 Rem. 2 p. 81), cp. Lat. *vīc-inu-s*. Old neuter forms appear to be represented by *saldum-ýnai* pl. 'sweetmeats' from *saldūma-s* 'sweetness', *kartum-ýnai* pl. 'bitter things' (*kartū-s* 'bitter'), and also by collectives like *aužūl-ýna-s* 'a number of oaks standing together, oak grove' from *áužūla-s* 'oak', *krūm-ýna-s* 'thick shrubbery' from *krūma-s* 'bush', *akmen-ýna-s* 'heap of stones' from *akmū* 'stone', *ang-ýna-s* 'nest of adders' from *angi-s* 'adder'. In these latter cases, the special meaning seems to have been developed through the contrast of the idea of the species with that of the individual thing.

In Slavonic we find adjectives of kind and connexion, like *mater-inū* 'motherly, of the mother', *neprijazn-inū* 'devilish, of the devil', *zvěr-inū* 'bestial'. Also feminine substantives like *zvěr-ina* 'flesh of wild beasts', *bībrov-ina* 'beaver-flesh' (cp. Lat. *capr-ina*, Lith. *ož-ėnà*); *vlūč-ina* 'wolfskin', *ovīč-ina* 'sheepskin'; *medov-ina* 'an intoxicating drink' from *medū*; *mėšėč-ina* 'moonlight' from *mėšėčī* (cp. Lith. *mėnes-ėnà*), and others of the same sort, cp. § 154.

3. *-a<sup>z</sup>ino-* can be traced with certainty only in Aryan and Baltic.

In Sanskrit we find only *sāmidh-ēnā-s* 'relating to firewood' from *samīdh-* 'firewood'; no doubt, however, it is contained in the suffix *-ēnya-* (an extension of it by *-īo-*): *vīr-ēnya-s* 'manly, heroic' from *vīrā-s* 'man, hero', *prāṇyṣ-ēnya-s* 'rainy' beside *prāṇyṣ-īna-s* (see above, p. 157).

*-aēna-* is common in Avestic to denote material, origin and the like, as *ayarəh-aēna-* 'of metal, iron' from *ayah-*, *zaran-*



*-aena-* 'golden' from \**zarana-* = Skr. *hiraṇa-* n. 'gold', *er'zat-aena-* 'silvern' from *er'zata-* (cp. Lat. *Argent-īnu-s*), *temarēh-aena-* 'dark, murky' from *temah-* 'darkness'; neut. *fravāxš-aene-m* 'woodwork, pieces of wood, beams' from *fravāxša-* m. 'branch, twig'. Transferred to the *i*-declension it becomes *-aēni-*, as *zaran-aēni-š*.

Lithuanian. *-ēna-* is common in names of inhabitants, to denote their belonging to or springing from a place, as *Tilš-ēna-s* 'a man from Tilsit (*Tilžė*)'. Subst. fem.: *ož-ēnà* 'goatsflesh', *jaut-ēnà* 'beef', *žqs-ēnà* 'gooseflesh' (cp. Lat. *capr-īna*, O.C.Sl. *zvěr-īna*); *aviž-ēnà* 'oat-field', *rug-ēnà* 'rye-field', *mžž-ēnà* 'barley-field' (cp. Lat. *cēp-īna*); *mėnes-ēnà* 'moonlight' from *mėnū* 'moon' (cp. O.C.Sl. *měsēc-īna*), and other examples.

Remark. It is a point for further investigation whether Lat. *aliēnu-s*, *terrēnu-s* belong to this group. The Slavonic adjectives of material in *-ēnū-* like *drėv-ēnū* 'wooden' *olov-ēnū* 'lead' must in any case be left out of consideration, since the change of *-jē-* to *-jā-*, as in *droždijanū* 'of yeast' for \**droždij-ēnū* proves that their *-ē-* represents Idg. *-ē-*, see I § 76 p. 66.

#### § 69. The Suffix *-tno- -tñā-, -tyno- -tynā-*.

1. This appears in Sanskrit, Latin, Lithuanian, (and Greek?) in adjectives formed from adverbs of time, and in Sanskrit also in some cases from stems with similar meaning.

Sanskrit. From adverbs: *pra-tñā-s* 'former, old' from *prā* 'before', *nū-tna-s* *nū-tana-s* 'present' from *nū* 'now', *sanā-tāna-s* 'not transient, constant, lasting' from *sānā* 'from the beginning', *prātas-tāna-* 'in the morning, early' from *prātāh* 'early', *divā-tana-s* *divā-tāna-s* 'diurnus' from *divā* 'by day', *cirān-tana-s* *ciran-tāna-s* 'coming from olden time' from *cirā-m* 'long ago', *śvas-tana-s* 'of to-morrow' *hyas-tana-s* 'of yesterday'. Formed from stems: *sanā-tna-s* beside *sanā-tāna-s*, *cira-tñā-s* beside *cirān-tana-s*.

Greek. *ἐννε-ταρός* 'lasting for ever'? The etymology of the word has not been satisfactorily explained.

Latin. *diū-tinu-s*, *prīs-tinu-s*, *crās-tinu-s*, *sērō-tinu-s*, *prīmō-tinu-s*.

Lithuanian. *dabar-tina-s* 'present' from *dabār* 'now'.

2. Further, it is a primary suffix in Aryan, Latin and Balto-Slavonic, in participles and infinitives, being probably an extension of *-to-* (§ 79) by a secondary suffix *-no-* (cp. O.C.Sl. *-enĭnŭ* beside *-tĭnŭ*).

Old Persian shows infinitives in *-tanaiy*, as *car-tanaiy* from *kar-* 'do, make', *katanaiy* (read *kantanaiy*, see I § 197 Rem. p. 166) from *kan-* 'dig'; with these Persian infinitives Bartholomae connects Avest. *aiwi-šōiṇē* 'for dwelling in'. To these should no doubt be added Skr. *cyāu-tná-m* 'preparation, undertaking' Avest. *šyao-ṇna-* m. 'deed, work' beside Skr. *cyāv-a-tē* 'bestirs itself, moves', perhaps also Skr. *pāt-tana-m* 'city', orig. 'stronghold', compare *pad-* in *pi-bd-aná-* 'standing fast, firm', cp. also Lat. *op-pid-u-m*<sup>1)</sup>.

In Italic *tno-* appears in the form *-ndo-* after vowels,<sup>2)</sup> in the gerund and gerundive, as *\*piā-tno-*, Lat. *piando-*, Umbr. *pihaner* 'piandi' Osc. *úpsannam* 'operandam' (for the assimilation of *-nd-* to *-nn-* *-n-* in Umbr.-Osc. see I § 506 p. 371). Lat. *dando-* for *\*da-tno-*, *im-plendo-* for *\*plē-tno-*. So *-bundo-* in *vagābundus tremebundus* etc. for *\*fū-tno-* = Lith. *bú-tina-s*, cp. *vagā-bor.* *secundo-* for *secū-tno-*, cp. *secū-tu-s* (J. Schmidt, *apud* Bersu, *Die Gutturalen und ihre Verbindung mit v im Lat.* p. 134), *rotundus* for *\*rotō-tno-* from a verbal stem *rotō-* 'to rotate'. Further, we have the group of forms in *-cundu-s*, as *rubi-cundu-s*, *irā-cundu-s*, *fā-cundu-s*, *fē-cundu-s* for *\*cō-tno-*, derived from adjectives in *-co-*, such as *\*rubico-* (whence *rubicāre*, *Rubicō*) etc. With the forms in *-ō-tno-* compare *aegrō-tu-s* from *aegro-*, Gr. *αἰγρῶ-ρό-ς* and the like. The change to *-ndo-* was impossible in forms coming from verbal stems which ended in a consonant (e. g.

1) In Greek only a few uncertain examples have survived, e. g. *ἄντρο-ς* *ἀνρόμενο*; (Hesych.), which may perhaps be identified with Lith. *dēktina-s* (*√dhegh-*).

2) Cp. Lat. *pandō* for *\*patnō*, beside *pateō*, and *tendō*, Umbr. *ostendu* 'ostendito', for *\*te-tn-ō*, *√ten-*. That the *d* of *tendō* is not the 'root-determinative' *d* (*dh*), as in *fren-dō cū-dō clau-dō*, is shewn by *ten-tu-s* contrasted with *fre(s)su-s*, *in-cūs-u-s clausu-s*. This 'determinative' was in fact used to form not present stems but verbal stems. *tēnsu-s* was formed later by analogy.

\**pectno-* or \**pecteno-* = Lith. *vēsztina-s*, beside *vehō* Lith. *vēžū*), and this gave rise to a variation in form, which was removed by a process of levelling; on the analogy of the relation of *piando-* to *piāns piantis*, of *dando-* to *dāns dantis*, of *im-plendo-* to *im-plēns -plentis* etc., *ferēns* produced a gerund-stem *ferendo-*, *faciens* the stem *faciendo-* and so on. The Umbr. *an-ferener* 'circumferendi' makes it probable that this development was complete in proethnic Italic. The Latin by-forms with *-o-* (*-u-*) like *ferundo-* *faciundo-* *eundo-* must be explained as imitations of the variation *-ent-* *-ont-* in the present participle, as e. g. in *iēns euntis*, *flexuntēs* and the like (§ 126).

Lith. *Participia necessitatis* in *-tina-s*. *sūk-tina-s* 'torquendus' beside inf. *sūk-ti*. *jėškó-tina-s* 'quaerendus' beside *jėszkó-ti*. *minė-tina-s* 'memorandus' from *minė-ti*. *vėry-tina-s* 'credendus' from *vėry-ti*. Without the implied meaning of necessity we have *bū-tina-s* 'being, remaining, actual' from *būti* 'to be': Lat. *-bundu-s*. In Slavonic we have *-tino-*, an adjectival suffix, e. g. *pri-jětīnī* 'pleasant' (we also find *-enīno-*, as *ne-iz-d-rečēnīnū* 'inexpressible').

There was therefore in Indo-Germanic a verbal adjective in *-tno-* *-tyno-*, whose neuter was used as an abstract substantive (*nomen actionis*). The adjectival meaning appears in Latin and Lithuanian, the substantival in Old Persian and Latin. Cp. § 158.

Remark. Compare the Author, 'Der Ursprung der lat. Gerundia und Gerundiva', *American Journal of Philology* VIII (1887) p. 441 ff. In his recently published dissertation 'Die Etymologie der sogen. Gerundivformen' (Königsberg 1888), A. Döhring connects the Latin *-ndo-* forms with the Gr. nouns in *-ανθο-ς* *-ινθο-ς* *-υρθο-ς* *-ορθο-ς*, as *ἀκανθο-ς* *ἀγινθο-ς*, and accordingly argues for an original Idg. *-ndho-*. But besides the fact that these Gr. words show no connexion in meaning with the Lat. gerund and gerundive, the Umbr.-Osc. forms with *-nn-* (*-n-*) can hardly be reconciled with this theory. By the phonetic laws hitherto discovered in the Italic dialects the forms in *-nno-* can be referred only to pr. Ital. *-ndo-*, not to *-npo-*. The most recent theory is that of L. Havet (*Mém. de la Soc. de lingu.*, VI 6 ff.) who identifies *ferundu-s* with Gr. *φερόμενο-ς*; from \**feromeno-* by dissimilation he would derive a supposed form \**feromedo-* (what of *ferimini*?), from this \**feromdo-* \**ferondo ferundo-*; which is simply incredible.

§ 70. The Suffix *-tvaná-* in Sanskrit and *-συνο-* *-συνά-* in Greek<sup>1)</sup>.

These suffixes are no doubt rightly regarded as very closely connected.

Skr. *-tvaná-* (neut.) is a secondary suffix having the same meaning as *-tvá-* (§ 61); as *vasu-tvaná-m* beside *vasu-tvá-m* 'riches', *pati-tvaná-m* 'married state', *martya-tvaná-m* 'the manner of men'. In Avestic *-ḫwana-* is primary in *a-stao-ḫwane-m* 'praise, guerdon'.

Gr. *-συνο-* is secondary in adjectives like *δουλό-συνο-ς* 'serving', *γηθό-συνο-ς* 'glad, joyful', *θάροσυνο-ς* 'confident' for *\*θαρσο-συνο-ς* (I § 643 p. 482), and in substantives like *δουλο-σύνη* 'service', *κλεπτο-σύνη* 'thievery', *μνημο-σύνη* 'memory' (cp. § 158). The ending *-ο-συνο-* became general, whence we have *μαντοσύνη* from *μάντις*, *θειμιστ-οσύνη* from *θέμις*, *ιερωόσυνα* (neut. pl.) and *ιερωσύνη* for *\*ιερη(ς)-ο-* from *ιερής* (Wackernagel, Philol. Anzeiger 1886 p. 73 f.).

Remark. It must be confessed that the phonetic relations of the Greek and Sanskrit suffixes are not clear, since *-συνο-* cannot be regularly derived from *\*τυνο-* (which would be related to Skr. *-tvana-* as *ὑπνο-*; Skr. *svāpnā-s*, an Indo-Germanic variation of ablaut). Should we suppose a doublet in Greek, *\*-τφενο-* beside *\*-τυνο-*, and that the *σ*-sound which was regularly developed in *-τφενο-* (I § 166 p. 147, § 489 p. 361) afterwards invaded *\*-τυνο-*? Cp. Att. *σύ* for *τύ* because of *σέ*, Hom. *πίσυρες* beside New-Ion. *τέσσερες* (Lith. *ketveri*), G. Meyer Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 258, Osthoff Paul-Br. Beitr. XIII 425. Or may we assume for Skr. *-tvana-* and Gr. *-συνο-* a common ground-form *-tṣ-yno-*? Cp. Gr. Ion. *οὐρανός* for *\*φορφαρο-*; and Skr. *ráruṣa-*, for which von Fierlinger (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 475) assumes *\*γοργυνο-* as the common ground-form (here, indeed, the relation of the Greek and Sanskrit forms would be exactly the reverse); add Skr. *catur-tvá-* and Lith. *ketviŕta-s* for *\*getṣṭa-to-* (I § 155 p. 140).

§ 71. The Suffix *-mno-* *-mnā-* (*-myno-* *-mynā-*?) and *-meno-* *-menā-*, *-mono-* *-monā-*<sup>2)</sup>.

In proethnic Indo-Germanic, this suffix formed middle (passive) participles from tense-stems containing the thematic

1) Th. Aufrecht, Das Affix *συνο-*, *συν-*. Kuhn's Ztschr. I 481 ff.

2) Bechstein, De nominibus suffixo *mino* (*mno-*) instructis, Curtius' Stud. VIII 378 ff.

vowel, cp. pres. Skr. *bōdha-māna-s* Gr. *πρωτό-μενο-ς*, fut. Skr. *bhōtsyā-māna-s* Gr. *πρωτό-μενο-ς*, from *bhēydh-*, 'be awake, aware'. We find it in Aryan occasionally, but in Greek universally extended to non-thematic stems, which originally had *-yno-* *-eno-* *-ono-*; see § 65—67 and observe the Remarks on pp. 141 and 152.

It is now impossible to trace the original distribution of the forms which differ in their grade of Ablaut.

In the Umbro-Oscan dialects, and in Balto-Slavonic, *-mo-* appears with a similar function: we are hardly justified in regarding this as a regular phonetic variant of *-mno-* (§ 72, I p. 166).

**Remark.** Sometimes it is difficult to decide whether a particular form contains this suffix or a later extension of *-men-* by means of *-o-* *-ā-*, as must certainly be assumed in e. g. Avest. *airya-mana-* beside *airya-man-*, Gr. *αἰνυ-μενο-ς* beside *δνομα* (§ 117), *ποτ-μνη* 'herd' beside *ποι-μῆν* 'herdsman', *ἡγε-μῶν* 'leader' (f.) beside *ἡγε-μῶν*, Lat. *colu-mna* beside *colu-men*, Goth. *na-mna-* (dat. pl. *namna-m*) beside *namō*. Cp. § 65 Rem. p. 139.

#### Aryan.

In Sanskrit only *-māna-* occurs. Pres. *bhāra-māna-s* beside indic. mid. *bhāratē* (*bhar-* 'bear'), *juṣā-māna-s* beside indic. mid. *juṣā-tē* (*juṣ-* 'taste, enjoy'), *kriyā-māna-s* beside indic. pass. *kriyā-tē* (*kar-* 'make'). Fut. *yakṣyā-māna-s* beside indic. mid. pass. *yakṣyā-tē* (*yaj-* 'revere'). The Ved. perf. part. *sasr-mānā-s* beside *sasr-ānā-s*, from indic. med. pass. *sasr-ē* (*sar-* 'flow') is unique.

In Avestic we find *-mna-* and *-mana-*; the latter should no doubt be referred rather to *-myno-* than to *-meno-*, since the forms vary merely in accordance with the requirements of the metre. Pres. *yaza-mna-* beside indic. mid. *yazaitē* (*yaz-* 'revere, praise'), *bar'ze-mna-* *bar'ze-mana-* 'being great or high', *añha-mana-* beside indic. mid. *añheitē* = Skr. *āsya-tē* I § 558 p. 415 (*ah-* 'throw'), *vaēdaya-mna-* beside indic. mid. (caus.) *vaēdayeitē* (*vid-* 'know', causal 'make to know, show'). Fut. *var'šya-mna-* beside indic. mid. pass. *var'šyeitē* ground-form *\*uerk-sje-taj* I § 401 p. 296 f. (*var'z-* 'work'). Sometimes also in non-thematic stems, as *saya-mna* beside *say-ana-*, from indic. mid. *sae-tē* (*say-* 'lie').

Greek. As a living participial suffix only -μενο- occurs. Pres. φερό-μενο-ς beside indic. mid. pass. φέρε-ται (φερ- 'bear'), φιλέο-μενο-ς φιλού-μενο-ς beside indic. mid. pass. φιλέεται φιλείται (φιλέω 'I love'); side by side with these we find Delph. Locr. καλεί-μενο-ς Arcad. ἀδική-μενο-ς, and similar forms elsewhere, whose ending presupposes a form \*-ε-μενο-ς. Fut. δωσό-μενο-ς beside indic. mid. δώσε-ται (δω- 'give'). -μενο- also established itself in all non-thematic tenses; contrast e. g. pres. τιθέ-μενο-ς beside indic. mid. pass. τίθεται with Skr. *dádḥ-āna-s* (√ *dhē-* 'set, lay'), perf. γεγευμένο-ς for \*γεγευσ-μενο-ς beside indic. mid. pass. 1. s. γέγευ-μαι with Skr. *jūjūṣ-ānā-s* O.H.G. partic. -*koran* (√ *gheus-* 'taste'). The accentuation in the perfect- (Att. -μένος) was no doubt originally -μενός, see I § 676 p. 542 f.

The form -μνο- (cp. the last Remark) perhaps occurs in certain formations no longer felt to be participial, as βέλε-μνο-ν 'missile' (τὸ βαλλόμενον) beside βέλος, στά-μνο-ς 'crock' beside ἵστημι 'I place'.

Italic. In Latin we must refer to this suffix the ending of the 2. pl. -*minī*, as *legi-minī* (sc. *estis*) = λεγόμενοι. The omission of *estis*, which *a priori* would be somewhat remarkable, is easily explained if (with Wackernagel, *Verhandl. der 39. Philologenversammlung* p. 281 f.) we compare the imperative form *legimini* with the Greek infinitive λεγόμεναι (§ 117); the indic. *legimini* representing both λεγόμενοι and λεγόμεναι, caused the imperat. *legimini* to be used only as plural and as mid.-pass.; so conversely, when *legimini* representing λεγέμεναι had been so established in the imperative system it caused the omission of the copula in the indicative, -*minī* being regarded as the ending of the 2nd. pers. The suffix occurs also in *fē-mina*, i. e. 'she who suckles' (cp. Gr. θήλυ-ς 'giving suck, female'). *clēmēns* according to Osthoff (*Wölfflin's Archiv* IV 463) came from \**clēmēnos* for \**clei-e-meno-s*, cp. -*clīnō*: Skr. *śrāya-māṇa-s*. It is doubtful whether this old Lat. -*meno-* was originally -*mno-*, -*meno-*, or -*mono-*.

-*mno-* is seen perhaps in Lat. *alumnu-s*, *Vertumnu-s*, *Volumnu-s* and similar forms (cp. the last Remark).

Pruss. *po-klausī-mana-s* (ī) part. 'becoming heard' beside Lith. *klausý-ti* 'to hearken' is the only form of this kind in the Baltic dialects.

§ 72. The Suffix *-mo-* *-mā-*, *-ṃmo-* *-ṃmā-*.

There are three classes of forms:

1. *-mo-* occurs as a participial suffix in Umbro-Samnitic and in Balto-Slavonic, with the same meaning as *-meno-* (§ 71). It may be related to the *-mo-* in adjectives like Avest. *tū-ma-* 'strong', Gr. *θερ-μός* Lat. *for-mu-s* 'warm' (see below, 3). At the same time it is perhaps a possible alternative to refer it to *-mno-* (cp. I § 219 p. 187).

In the above-named Italic dialects, the suffix is found in imperative forms like Umbr. *persnih-mu* 'precamino, supplicato' Osc. *censa-mu-r* 'censemino'.

In Balt.-Slav. *-mo-* is a living suffix in the pres. part. pass., in Lith. in the fut. part. pass. also, though this is now obsolete. In Pruss. we have *-mana-* instead; see § 71.

Lith. pres. *vėža-ma-s* 'being or capable of being carried', beside the indic. *vežù* 'veho', *jója-ma-s* beside *jó-ju* 'I ride', *jėszko-ma-s* beside *jėszkau* 'I seek' (1. pl. *jėszko-me*). Fut. *vėszī-ma-s* *jósi-ma-s* *jėszkósi-ma-s* beside indic. *vėsziu* (ground-form *\*uegh + sjo*) *jó-siu* *jėszkó-siu*.

O.C.Sl. *vezo-mŭ* beside indic. *vezq* 'veho', *znaje-mŭ* beside *znajq* 'I know', *chvali-mŭ* beside *chvaljq* 'I praise' (1. pl. *chvali-mŭ*).

2. *-mo-* *-ṃmo-* is a superlative suffix in words denoting number, rank, order in space and time, and the like. This suffix is the second element in *-tṃmo-* (§ 73). The corresponding comparative suffix is generally *-ero-*, as *-tero-* beside the superl. *-tṃmo-* (§ 75). A possible derivation is suggested in the Remark on p. 167.

Indo-Germanic. *\*septmó-* (*\*sepdmó-* *\*sebdmó-*? see I § 469 p. 345) *sept-ṃmó-* 'septimus': Skr. *saptamá-s* Gr. *ἑβδομο-ς* (see under Greek) Lat. *septimu-s* O.Ir. *sechtm-ad* Lith. *sėkma-s* Pruss. *septma-s* O.C.Sl. *sedmy-jŭ*; similarly *\*dekṃmó-* 'decimus' (see under Aryan) and *\*oktmó-* *\*oktṃmó-* 'octavus' (see under Balto-Slavonic). *\*up-mó-* *\*up-ṃmó-* 'uppermost, highest': Skr. *upaup-s*,

Lat. *summu-s* for *\*s-up-mo-s* (for the *s-* see I § 568 p. 425), A.S. *ufem-est*, cp. comparative Skr. *úpara-* Lat. *s-upero-*. *\*medh-ḡmó-* 'midmost' beside *\*medh-ḡo-s* 'medius' (§ 63, 3 p. 132): Avest. *maðema-* 'midmost', Goth. *miduma* subst. f. 'middle' (cp. § 158) O.H.G. *metamo metemo* 'mediocris'; beside these are forms which have been readjusted to suit the parallel *\*medhḡo-*, Skr. *madh-yamá-s* 'midmost' and Goth. *midjuma-* or *midjuman-* in *midjun-gards* 'the globe' for *\*midjum(a)-gards* (cp. § 40 p. 69), O.H.G. *mittamo* m. 'middle' (cp. O.H.G. *mittil* A.S. *middel* beside the more archaic O.H.G. *metat* 'medius' and Gr. *velato-ς* beside *véato-ς*, 'novissimus, extremus' from *\*vefḡo* *\*vefo-*).

Remark. *\*septḡmó-* may be related to the cardinal *\*septḡn* as the Gr. *πιαρό-ς* to *πῖνα*, *\*udró-* (Skr. *udrá-s* etc.) to *ὑδωρ* (§ 74). The ordinal numeral appears to have been formed by the addition of *-ó-*, cp. Lat. *nōnu-s* from *\*neḡḡnó-* from *\*neḡḡn* (I § 232 p. 197, § 233 p. 198, § 249 p. 205). It is possible therefore that the superlative suffix *-mo-* was taken bodily from the ending of the numerals. Cp. the suffix *-to-*, which serves in the same way to form both ordinal numerals and superlatives, § 81.

Aryan. Skr. *daśamá-* Avest. *dasema-* 'decimus': Lat. *decimu-s* O.Ir. *dechm-ad*, common ground-form *\*deḡḡmó-*. Skr. *ap-amá-* Avest. *ap-ema-* 'most distant, last' beside Skr. *ápa* 'from, away'. Skr. *av-amá-* 'lowest, next' from *áva* 'off, down'. *adh-amá-* 'undermost' (ground-form *\*ydhḡmó-*) beside *adhás* 'below': the relation of this word to Lat. *infimu-s* and *inferu-s* is not clear; see Ascoli, Sprachwissensch. Briefe 83, and above I § 389 Rem. p. 292<sup>1)</sup>. *par-amá-* 'furthest, last, best' from *pára-* 'further'.

In Greek it is rare. *ἑβδομο-ς* 'septimus' and Heracl. Delph. *ἑβδομήκοντα* for *\*ἑβδομ-* with anaptyctic *-o-* and *-ε-* (see I § 626 p. 470): O.C.Sl. *sedmy-jǎ* etc., see p. 166 above. *πρό-μο-ς* 'foremost' from *πρό* 'before': cp. Umbr. *promom*, Goth. *fra-m*. Perhaps

1) In this Remark there is an error in the translation. The second sentence should read: "we might regard the *f* as regular in *in-fundō con-fundō* and thence substituted for *h* in the uncompounded verb, if there were more evidence for the suggestion that the word *infumus infimus* arose from an old phrase *\*in fumo* 'in humo', etc." [i. e. if we could prove that pr. Ital. *χ* in Latin passed through the stage *f* on its way to *h* initially, and that the compounds *infundo confundo infimus* were formed just at that period.]



also *πύμ-ατο-ς* 'last' (cp. *ἑβδόμ-ατο-ς* beside *ἑβδομο-ς*, *τρίτ-ατο-ς* beside *τρίτο-ς*), although its base is certainly obscure (in J. Schmidt's derivation from *ἄπο*, as though it came from *\*(α)πυ-μο-* (Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXVI 24) the *υ* presents some difficulty).

Italic. Lat. *decimu-s* Osc. *dekmaniois* 'decumanis': Skr. *daśamā-* and similar ordinals (see p. 167 above). Lat. *summu-s* Umbr. *somo* 'summum' pr. Ital. *\*s-up-mo-s*: Skr. *upamā-s* 'uppermost, highest'. Lat. *prīmu-s* Pelign. *pris-mu* 'primo' or 'primum' beside *prius*. Lat. *īmu-s* Osc. *imad* abl. 'ima'; the word no doubt belongs to O.Ir. *is* 'below' *īchtar* 'the lower part'¹). Lat. *min-imu-s*, *plūr-imu-s*, *brūma* (beside *brevi-s*); formed from adverbs in *nē*, *extrē-mu-s* *postrē-mu-s* *suprē-mu-s*. Osc. *pos-mo-m* 'postremum', cp. Lat. *pōne* for *\*pos-ne*. Umbr. *prumum* *promom* 'primum': Gr. *πρό-μο-ς* Goth. *fra-m*; *šimu šimo* 'ad citima, retro'. Umbr. *nuvime* adv. 'nonum', a later formation like Skr. *navamā-s* and O.Ir. *nōma-d* 'nonus'. Umbr.-Osc. *nesimo-* 'proximus' for *\*necsimo-*, no doubt connected with Lat. *nectō nexus*: O.Ir. *nessam* 'next' beside the comparative *nessa*.

*-ḡmo-* is probably also to be traced in Lat. superlatives like *pulcerrimu-s* *celerrimu-s* *facillimu-s* *simillimu-s* (Danielsson, Pauli's *Altital. Stud.* III 153). *\*pulcr-is-emo-* *\*facil-is-emo-* (*-is* is the weakest form of the comparative suffix, cp. *pulcr-ior* *facil-ior*) became *\*pulcr-semo-* *\*pulcersimo-* and *\*facil-semo-* *\*facil-simo-* (I § 633 p. 473 f.) and then *pulcerrimo-* *facillimo-* (I § 571 p. 429).

Old Irish. The ordinals in *-ḡmo-* appear to be extended by *-eto-*, as *sechtmad* 'septimus' for *\*septḡmeto-s*, *dechmad* 'decimus' for *\*dekḡmeto-s*, undoubtedly through the influence of *cōiced* 'quintus' *sessed* 'sextus' (§ 81); similarly in the other Celtic languages, e. g. Mid.Cymr. *seithuet* 'septimus'. Cp. Gr. *ἑβδόματο-ς* on the analogy of *δέκατο-ς*, etc. *rem-* 'ante, prae', which has lost an initial *p* (I § 339 p. 268): Goth. *fruma* Lith. *pirma-s* 'primus', common ground-form *\*pḡ-mo-*.

1) See Loth, *Mém. de la Soc. de lingu.* V, 231 f. and d'Arbois de Jubainville, *ib.* VI 55 f. It is better to refer it to *\*ik-mo-* or *\*ig-mo-*, than to *\*iks-mo-*, from which we should expect in Osc. *ismo-*.

In Keltic this suffix was regularly used to form the superlative. In O.Ir. *nessam* 'next', and some other forms, *-am* corresponds to Lat. *-imo-*; see above. On the other hand, *-em* cannot be identified with *-ḡmo-* in e. g. *dilem* 'pleasantest' (comp. *diliu* pos. *dil*) *coemem* 'fairest' (comp. *coimiu* pos. *coem*) *toisigem* 'first, most excellent' (comp. *toisigiū* pos. *toisech*) *lugem* 'smallest' (comp. *laigiū*) *ḡam* for *\*ḡ-em* 'youngest' (comp. *ḡa*) *mām* for *\*mā-em* 'greatest' (comp. *māo*). Probably Thurneysen is right in comparing these forms with Latin superlatives like *pulcerrimu-s* (see above); *\*dilis-ḡmo-* became *\*dilisamo-* *\*dilihum(o)-*, finally *dilem*<sup>1)</sup>. To such superlative forms the same *-em* was sometimes added a second time, as *uaislimem* 'highest' beside the comp. *uaisliu* pos. *uasal*, cp. Gr. *-τ-ατο-ς* § 81.

Germanic. In proethnic Germanic this suffix passed over into the *n*-declension in adjectives; the Gothic feminine ended in *ei* gen. *-eins*, as in the comparatives in *-iz-a* (see §§ 110, 135). In Gothic the forms in *-uma* also acquired a comparative meaning, so that e. g. *inn-uma* was sometimes equivalent to the O.H.G. *inn-ero* (cp. de Saussure, *Mélanges Renier* 383 ff.). Goth. *fru-ma* 'prior, primus' (whence *frum-ists* 'primus'), O.H.G. *fruma* f. 'use, advantage': O.Ir. *rem-* Lith. *pīr-ma-s* common ground-form *\*pṛ-mo-*; contrast with these Goth. O.H.G. *fra-m* adv. 'forwards, further': Gr. *πρό-μο-ς*. Goth. *aúh-uma* 'higher, highest', compare *aúh-m-ists* and *aúh-um-ists* 'highest', A.S. *ȝynest* = Goth. *aúhmists*. Goth. *inn-uma* 'inner, innermost' A.S. *inn-em-est* 'innermost'. Goth. *spēd-um-ists* 'latest, last' beside *spēd-ists*. Goth. *hleid-uma* 'left, ἀριστερός', compare no doubt O.H.G. *(h)lī-ta* 'slope, declivity' Gr. *κλί-τι-ς* 'hill'. A.S. *sīd-em-est* 'latest' beside *sīd-est*, *laet-em-est* 'latest'; *nord-m-est* 'northernmost' *sūd-m-est* 'southernmost'.

1) "The loss of an *s* is indicated both by the medial *h* of O.British *hinhām* 'eldest' for *\*senisam-*, and later *\*henihām-* (= Ir. *\*sinem*), and by the retention of the older *tenuis* before this suffix in Cymric, as in the superlative *rhataf* for *\*rat-hām* beside the pos. *rhad* 'cheap' Whether Gall. *Belisama* (a goddess) and *Trigisamo-* (the river 'Treisam') belong to this group is doubtful." Thurneysen.

In Balto-Slavonic the suffix is rare. Lith. *āszma-s* Pruss. acc. *asma-n* O.C.Sl. *osmy-jŭ* 'octavus' pr. Balt.Slav. *\*oš(t)-mo-*: Skr. *aṣṭamā-* Avest. *ašte-ma-* O.Ir. *ochtm-ad*: this word, in spite of the agreement of several languages, can scarcely have been formed until after the separation of the Indo-Germanic families, as was Skr. *navamā-* Umbr. *nuvime*. Lith. *pir-ma-s* Lett. *pir-mā-is* Pruss. *pir-mois* 'primus': O.Ir. *rem-* Goth. *fruma*.

3. *-mo-* with other functions. It forms substantives, and adjectives. There are only a few groups of words which by their parallelism in form and meaning constitute a special class, as e. g. the Greek abstract substantives in *-μός-*. The substantives are generally masculine, more rarely feminine, and the neuter very seldom appears.

*-mo-* is used as a denominative suffix in several languages, but this use is on the whole rare and no doubt a secondary development.

Where the suffix is primary, the root syllable, from the very earliest period, varies between the weak and the strong grade of ablaut; in the latter case, in roots of the *e*-series, the *o*-form seems to have been regular in the proethnic and later periods. It is common to find forms of the strong and weak grade in the same word, e. g. Gr. *λι-μός-*: *λοι-μός-*, Skr. *dhū-mā-s*: O.H.G. *tou-m*, Gr. *χευ-μός-*: Skr. *hō-ma-s*, Skr. *idh-mā-s*: Avest. *aēs-ma-* (I § 94 p. 88); this indicates an original variation of ablaut within the same paradigm (cp. Osthoff, *Morph. Unt.* IV 127 f.).

In a large number of cases *-mo-* is closely connected with *-men-* (§ 117). In *e*-roots, where both suffixes are found side by side and the root-syllable has *e*, as in Gr. *κευθ-μός-* beside *κευθ-μῶν* 'hiding-place', O.C.Sl. *zi-ma* 'winter' beside Gr. *χει-μῶν* 'storm, winter', the presumption is in favour of the greater antiquity of the *men*-formation. In many instances there has obviously been a confusion of the two. In compound words, the *mo*-form was substituted for *men-* both in the Indo-Germanic period and later (§ 12 p. 27)<sup>1)</sup>.

1) For this process of substitution in the use of the suffixes a reference may now be added to J. Wackernagel, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXX 296 ff.

Idg. *\*dhū-mó-* 'ebullition, smoke': Skr. *dhūmá-s*, Gr. *θῦμός*- ('spirit, passion'), Lat. *fūmu-s*, Lith. pl. *dūmai*, O.C.Sl. *dymū*, add O.H.G. *tū-mōn* 'to turn one's self in a circle'; beside this we have *\*dhou-mo-* in O.H.G. *toum* 'vapour, fume'. *\*tu-mo-* *\*tū-mo-* from  $\sqrt{\text{teu-}}$  'swell, grow strong': Skr. redupl. *tū-tumá-* Avest. *tūma-* 'strong', Mod.Cymr. *twf* 'vigor' (a borrowed word?), O.C.Sl. *tūma* f. 'great number' (there are many extended formations from the *-mo-* stem, as Skr. *tūm-ra-* 'fat, strong', Lat. *tumēō*, O.H.G. *dūmo* m. 'thumb'); with these compare *\*toḡ-mo-* in O.H.G. *thauḡm doum* 'vapour', which was confused with *toum*. *\*ḡ-mó-* 'arm, something bowed or bent': Skr. *īrmá-s* Avest. *ar'ma-* Armen. *arm-ukn* Lat. *armu-s* O.H.G. *aram* O.C.Sl. *ramo*. *\*ḡhi-mo-* *\*ḡhi-mā-*: Skr. *himá-s* 'cold' *hi-mā* 'winter' Avest. *zima-* m. 'winter', Armen. *jm-eṛn* (gen. *jm-eran*) 'winter' for *\*jin-er-* (for the suffix compare *amaṛn* 'summer'), Gr. *δῖος-χίμος*- 'exposed to dangerous storms, fearful', Lat. *bīmu-s* for *\*bi-himu-s* (I § 510 p. 374 § 604 p. 458); the vocalism of Idg. *\*ḡheḡ-men-* (Gr. *χε-μῶν*) appears in Lith. *žēmà* O.C.Sl. *zima* 'winter'; and we can trace the form *\*ḡhēm-* *\*ḡhim-* in Avest. *zyd̥*, gen. *zim-ō* 'winter's frost' Gr. *χιών* 'snow' Lat. *hiems* (§ 160, 2). *\*stī-mó-* (cp. Skr. *styā-* 'curdle, thicken', also connected with Goth. *stái-n-s*): Skr. *stīmá-* 'lazy, creeping' *pra-stīma-* 'pressed, heaped', Mid.H.G. *stīm* m. 'bustle, confused mass' O.Icel. *stīm* n. 'wrestling, trouble' (Lith. *stymas* and *styma* 'shoal of moving fish' are no doubt borrowed from Scandinavian, cp. Swed. *stim* 'tumult, shoal of tumbling fish'); Mid.H.G. *stei-m* 'turmoil' shows a stronger form of the root. *\*ghor-mó-s* ( $\sqrt{\text{gher-}}$ ): Skr. *gharmá-s* 'heat' Avest. *gar'ma-* 'warm' *gar'me-m* 'warmth' (see especially I § 78 p. 69, § 445 p. 331), Lat. *formu-s*, O.H.G. *warm* 'warm', Pruss. *gorm-e* 'heat'; beside these, with *e*, Armen. *jerm* 'warm', Gr. *θερμός*- 'warm' *θέρμη* 'warmth'. *\*oi-mo-* 'way' ( $\sqrt{\text{ei-}}$ ): Skr. *é-ma-s* 'way, path' Gr. *οἶμος* *οἶμη* 'path, tract'.

For its use as a secondary suffix there seems to be only one example which we can regard as proethnic: Skr. *dru-ma-s* 'tree' Gr. *δρυ-μά* pl. 'wood' *δρε-μός*- 'woodland', beside Skr. *dru-* (Gr. *δρῦ-* 'wood'.

Aryan. In Sanskrit it is nearly always masculine. Skr. *sā-mā-m* 'milk, water', *sōma-s* Avest. *hao-ma-* 'sap, soma-drink', from *su-* 'press'. Skr. *iṣ-mā-s* *īṣ-mā-s* 'god of love' Avest. *aēš-ma-m*. 'chiding, wrath': cp. Gr. *ἔμερο-ς* 'longing, desire'. Skr. *bhā-ma-s* 'light, sheen' Mod.Pers. *bām* 'light' Avest. *bāmya-* 'shining, clear'. Skr. *tōk-ma-s* 'green stalk of corn' O.Pers. *taumā-* 'family' for *\*tauxmā-*, cp. Skr. *tōk-man-* n. 'green stalk of corn' (older than *tōk-ma-s*) Avest. *taox-man-* n. 'seed, kernel, offspring'; the O.Pers. *tau-mā-* however should perhaps be explained otherwise, see § 117 under Aryan. Skr. *āj-ma-s* 'path, course' (beside *āj-man-* *j-mān-*, which mean the same): Gr. *ὄγ-μο-ς* 'path' (with prothetic *ō-*?). Skr. *ū-ma-s* *ō-ma-s* 'helper, companion' beside *ō-mān-* 'help, support', compared with *ava-ti* 'he helps'. *bhī-mā-s* 'terrible', cp. Lith. *bái-m-é* 'fear'. *tig-mā-s* 'sharp'. *ruk-mā-s* 'shining, ornament'. *yudh-mā-s* 'fighter': cp. Gr. *ὑσμίτη* 'fight, battle' from *\*ύθ+σμι-* (cp. p. 173). *yug-mā-* 'even, forming a pair' neut. subst. 'pair'. *dar-mā-s* (beside *dar-mān-*) 'he who shatters'. *dhār-ma-s* (beside older *dhār-man-* n.) 'order, law, institution'.

It is secondary only in Skr. *dru-ma-* (see above p. 171) and *dyu-mā-* 'clear, shining' from *dyu-* *div-* 'brightness, day'.

Armenian. *arm-ukn* 'elbow', *jm-ērñ* 'winter', *jerm* 'warm', see above under Idg., p. 171.

Greek. *λι-μός-ς* 'hunger' *λοι-μός-ς* 'plague, pestilence': cp. Skr. *sri-ma-s* 'nightly spectre' from *√ sleṣ-* 'hurt'. Substantives with the strong-grade of the root-syllable are not uncommon: *ὄρ-μή* 'onset': Skr. *sār-ma-s* 'flow, flowing' perhaps also O.H.G. *stur-m* 'storm, fight' (*stur-* for *st-*, cp. I § 580 p. 433 f.); *τόρ-μο-ς* 'what is bored, a hole': O.H.G. *dar-m* O.Icel. *þar-m-r* 'intestine' (i. e. 'that which goes right through the body', or 'the channel through which the food passes'); *φλογ-μός-ς* 'brand' (*φλέγω*); *πλοχ-μός-ς* 'lock of hair' (*πλέκω*); *ὄλ-μο-ς* 'cylindrical body, mortar' (*ἐλύω*); *ὄρ-μο-ς* 'cord, necklace' (cp. *ἐρμα*); *λόχ-μη* 'thicket, bushes' (*λέχος*). Further we have examples with weak vocalism: *κρῦμός-ς* 'frost' (for *\*κρυσ-μο-*, beside *κρυσ-ταίνω*), *ἀρδ-μός-ς* 'drink, drinking-place', *πταρ-μός-ς* 'sneeze'. In forming abstract verbal nouns *-μός-* was very fertile,

e. g. *μνγ-μός-ς* *μνχ-μός-ς* 'groan' (beside *μύζω μέμικα*), *ἰνγ-μός-ς* 'shriek' (beside *ἰθίζω*), *ὀδνρ-μός-ς* 'lamentation' (beside *ὀδδρσμαι*), *ἀρπαγ-μός-ς* 'plundering' (beside *ἀρπάζω*), *κηρῶγ-μός-ς* 'calling out' (beside *κηρῶσσω* — for the *γ* see I § 486 Rem. p. 359), *μερισμός-ς* 'division' (beside *μερίζω* — for the *-σ-* see below). Feminines of the same kind are: *πνγ-μή* 'fight with fists', *τι-μή* 'estimation, honour', *χαρ-μη* 'joy of battle, battle', *ἀκ-μή* 'edge, sharpness', *γνώ-μη* 'intent, opinion', *μνή-μη* 'memory', *ἐπιστή-μη* 'science'.

Sometimes we find *-τ-μο-* (cp. *-τ-μεν-* § 117): *ἐρε-τμός-ς* 'oar' beside *ἐρέσσω ἐρέ-της*, *ἐφε-τμή* 'injunction' beside *ἐφ-ί-της* *ἐφ-ί-ημι*, etc., cp. O.S. *brahtum* and the like, p. 175. More frequently *-θ-μο-* (cp. *-θ-μεν-* § 117): *ἀρι-θμός-ς* 'number' (no doubt connected with O.H.G. *ri-m* 'orderly succession, number'), *ἀρ-θμός-ς* 'tie', *στα-θμός-ς* 'standing-place, stall, posts' *στά-θμη* 'plumb-line', *ῥυθ-μός-ς* 'rhythmical motion', *κλαυ-θμός-ς* 'crying' *κηλη-θμός-ς* 'bewitching', *μηνι-θμός-ς* 'wrath' etc., cp. *-θ-ρο-* *-θ-λο-* (§ 77).

*-s-mo-* according to Morph. Unt. I 81. occurs in *δασμός-ς* 'division' beside *δατέσμαι*, *ὠσμός-ς* 'push' beside *ὠσείω*, *ἀφλοισμός-ς* 'foam' beside *πέφλοισθα*, *ὀσμή* beside older *ὀδ-μή* 'smell', *σχισμός-ς* 'split' beside *σχίζω*, and in substantives in *-ισμός-ς* and *-ασμός-ς* connected with derivative verbs in *-ίζω* *ἀζω*, as *μερισμός-ς* *ἀκοντισμός-ς* *ἐνθονιασμός-ς*. Yet it may also be assumed (cp. Solmsen Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 123) that in such forms there was originally only *-mo-* (which would give us *\*δατμός-ς* *\*ὠθμός-ς* *ὀδμή*); that then, where perfect forms in *-σμαι* *-σμεθα* *-σμενος* (the *σ* came from *-σται*, *δέδασμαι* being formed on the model of *δέδασται*) occurred in the paradigm of the verb, the *σ* from these forms took the place of the explosive; and that afterwards, on the analogy of such words, the explosive was replaced by *σ* in other instances (e. g. *ὀδμή*). The occurrence of *-μο-* and *-σμο-* side by side in derivatives of these dental stems led to the substitution of *-σ-* for *θ* in several of the forms in *-θμο-* mentioned above, as *ῥυσμός-ς* instead of *ῥυθ-μός-ς*, *δυσμή* instead of *δυ-θμή*, *θισμός-ς* for (Lacon. and other dial.) *θε-θμός-ς*. Cp. *-σμεν-* § 117.

*-mo-* is secondary in *δρῦ-μό-* (p. 171), and also in the adjectives in *-μο-ς*, which were derived from *i*-stems; as *φύξιμο-ς* 'protecting, whither one can flee' (from *φύξι-ς* 'flight'), *βάσιμο-ς* 'that can be traversed, safe' (from *βάσι-ς* 'a going'), *λύσιμο-ς* 'that can be ransomed' (from *λύσι-ς* 'ransom'); on the model of these were formed *ἄλκιμο-ς* 'strong', *νόστιμο-ς* 'relating to one's return', *νόμιμο-ς* 'lawful' and others. It occurs also in *ἔτυ-μο-ς* *ἐτήτυ-μο-ς* 'true, genuine' (cp. *ἔτεός* for *\*ἔτεφο-ς*).

Italic. Lat. *lī-mu-s* 'crooked' *lī-mil-* 'crossway, dividing line, boundary', Osc. *liimítú[m]* 'limitum': the Oscan word cannot have arisen from *\*lixmo-* (cp. *lixula*) which would have become *\*lismo-* in Oscan, and if this derivation is correct, it must have been borrowed from Latin. Osc. *eg-mo* 'res', stem *eg-mā-*.

Lat. *lī-mu-s* 'grease, slime, mud': O.H.G. *lī-m* 'glue' *lei-m* 'loam'. *fi-mu-s* *fi-mu-m*: no doubt connected with Gr. *θύ-μο-ρ* 'scented plant' (see I § 49 p. 41 f.). *ani-mu-s* *ani-ma*: Gr. *ἄνε-μο-ς* 'wind', cp. also O.Ir. *anim*, dat. *anmain*, 'soul'. *fā-ma*: Gr. *φή-μη* 'news, rumour'. *for-ma*: cp. Skr. *dhari-mán* 'figure'. *spūma* for *\*spoi-mā*: O.H.G. *fei-m* m. 'foam' (cp. § 66 p. 148).

Lat. *dūmu-s* (*dusmo in loco* Paul. Fest.), *rāmu-s* no doubt for *\*rād-mo-* ground-form *\*ygd-mo-*, beside *rādix*, with other examples. The neuter is rare: *pō-mu-m*, *ar-ma*. There are a fairly large number of feminines: *lī-ma*, *rā-ma* (beside *rū-men*), *rī-ma*, *gem-ma* etc.

*-mā-* is secondary in *lacru-ma* *laci-ma*: cp. Gr. *δάκρυ* 'tear'.

Old Irish. *le-m* m. 'elm' ground-form *\*l-mo-*: Lat. *ul-mu-s*, O.H.G. *el-m* O.Icel *al-m-r* 'elm'. *lā-m* f. 'hand': Gr. *παλά-μη* Lat. *pal-ma* O.H.G. *fol-ma* 'hand, flat hand'. *rī-m* f. 'number', *āram* f. 'number, counting' for *\*ad-rīmā* (cp. I § 623 Rem. 1 p. 469, § 634 p. 474 f.): cp. O.H.G. *rī-m* Gr. *ἀρι-θμός* p. 173. O.Ir. *gor-m* 'blue' Mod.Cymr. *gwr-m* 'dusky': Skr. *ghṛ-ṇḍ-mi* 'I shine'? (see Curtius Grdz.<sup>5</sup> 494). O.Ir. *lua-m* 'celox': cp. Lith. *plau-s-ma-s* 'raft'.

Infinitival *nomina actionis* are formed with *-mā-*; as *cretem* 'faith, believing', *sechem* 'a following'.

Germanic. O.H.G. *bodam* m. 'bottom': cp. Gr. *πυθ-μήν*

'ground, bottom', (cp. Kauffmann, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XII 537). Goth. *hái-mōs* pl. fem. 'villages, market-towns', O.H.G. *hei-m* 'dwelling': Lith. *kė-ma-s* 'village, farm' *kaim-ýna-s* 'neighbour'. O.Icel. *strau-m-r* O.H.G. *strō-m* 'stream': we should doubtless add (with orig. *ou*) Lett. *stráu-m-e* f. 'stream', and (with *ū*) Thrac. *Στρού-μη* a town on the Lissos; compare with these *\*srey-men-* (§ 117). A.S. *far-m* 'a going, pressing forward' O.H.G. *far-m* 'boat': cp. Gr. *πορ-θ-μός* 'ferry'. O.H.G. *halm* 'stalk' O.Icel. *hál-m-r* 'straw': Gr. *κάλα-μο-ς* 'reed, stalk', Lat. *cul-mu-s*, Lett. *sal-m-s* O.C.Sl. *sla-ma* f. 'stalk'; pr. Germ. *\*χalmo-* may represent either *\*kol-mo-* or *\*kǫ-mo-* (I § 306 p. 242 f.). O.H.G. *fadam* m. 'fathom, ulna' A.S. *fathmōs* pl. 'both outstretched arms' O.Icel. *faðmr* 'cord, fathom, embrace': cp. O.Cymr. *etem* 'fathom'. Goth. *dō-m-s* O.H.G. *tuo-m* 'sentence, trial, standing, worth': Gr. *θω-μός* 'stack', from *√dhē-* 'set, place'; beside it we have *\*dhē-men-* (§ 117).

Goth. *rū-m-s* 'room, roomy' O.H.G. *rū-m* m. 'room': cp. Avest. *rav-ah-* 'road, free way'. O.H.G. *scū-m* m. O.Icel. *skū-m* n. 'foam'. Forms with the 'high' grade of ablaut (*o*-grade in *-e*-roots) are far commoner. We may add O.H.G. *bar-m* O.Icel. *bar-m-r* 'womb' ('that which bears', *√bher-*); O.H.G. *zou-m* O.Icel. *tau-m-r* 'bridle, rein' pr. Germ. *\*tauzu-má-* 'that which pulls or is pulled', *√deuk-* 'ducere').

A smaller number of forms have *e* in the root syllable; von Bahder (Verbalabstr. 136 f.) assumes that these were originally *men*-stems; as O.H.G. *melm* m. 'dust' beside O.Icel. *málmr* 'metal' and Lith. *melmā*, gen. *melmeñs*, 'nephritic stone'. Cp. further O.H.G. *atum* A.S. *athom* 'breath' pr. Germ. *\*ēp-ma-* (for the history of the original tenuis in Germanic see Kögel, Literaturbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil. 1887 no. 3) beside O.Fris. *ēhma* 'breath', Skr. *āt-mán-* 'breath, soul'.

Several instances of *-t-mo-* occur (cp. Gr. *-τ-μο* p. 173), as Goth. *mái-þm-s* A.S. *mē-thom* 'present, jewel' beside Gr. *μαί-το-ς* 'thanks, payment', Lat. *mū-tuo-s*, Lith. *maĩ-na-s* 'barter'; O.Sax. *brah-tum* 'noise' beside O.Sax. O.H.G. *braht* 'noise'; O.H.G. *brā-dam* 'vapour, steam, exhalation' beside A.S. *bræð*



f. 'vapour' (cp. Bremer, Paul-Br. Beitr. XI 279); O.H.G. *kra-dam* 'shriek' beside O.H.G. *hano-kra-t* 'cock-crow' (cp. Bremer loc. cit.); Mid.H.G. *bladem* 'wind' beside O.H.G. *bla-t* 'breath, fulness'.

Remark. The different explanation of the latter forms given by von Bahder, Verbalabstr. 144 does not convince me.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. pl. *dū-mai* O.C.Sl. *dy-mū* 'smoke': Skr. *dhū-mā-s* etc., see p. 170 above. Pruss. *irmo* 'arm' (perhaps nom. sing. of an *n*-stem, like Lith. *-mū*) O.C.Sl. *ramo* beside *ramę* 'shoulder': Skr. *īr-mā-s* etc., see p. 171 above. Lith. *szāl-ma-s* 'helmet' (Pruss. *salmi-s*): Goth. *hilm-s* O.H.G. *helm* 'helmet', Skr. *śār-man-* n. 'shelter, protection, armour'; may we therefore assume Idg. *\*kol-mo-* and *\*kel-men-*? O.C.Sl. *sramū* 'shame': O.H.G. *haram* O.S. *harm* 'insult, outrage'.

Lithuanian. Masculines are rare; *szār-ma-s* 'potash', *at-szlai-ma-s* 'fore-court' (✓ *klei-* 'clinare'). Feminines are more common, as *tar-mā* (also *tarmė*) 'statement', *szar-mā* 'rime, frozen dew', *važ-mā* 'payment of fare'. On the other hand, there are many masculines formed with *-s-ma-*, as *garsma-s* 'call' from *\*gard + sma-* beside *gařsa-s* 'noise' from *\*gard + sa-s* (*gird-mi gird-žiū* 'I hear'), *varsma-s* 'the length of a furrow' for *\*vart-sma-*, *lañk-sma-s* 'bending', *vałk-sma-s* 'pull, draught', *kaūk-sma-s* 'howl', *rėk-sma-s* 'roar', cp. also *-s-mė* in *drausmė* 'training', Lett. *drausma* 'threat' beside Lith. *draudžiū* 'I protect, forbid', *bausmė* 'punishment' beside Lith. *baudžiū* 'I punish', *gėsmė* Lett. *d/isma* 'song' beside Lith. *gėd-mi* 'I sing', etc. Adj. *szir-ma-s* Lett. *si'r-m-s* 'grey'.

*-ima-s -yma-s* form abstract verbal substantives from any given verb, as *sukima-s* 'a turning' from *suk-ti* 'to turn', *sākyma-s* 'saying' from *saký-ti* 'to say'. How (i. e. from what model) this group of forms took its rise is doubtful; cp. also *jaunima-s* 'the dance of youth, company of young folks' from *jáu-na-s* 'young', *minksztima-s* 'soft part of bread' from *minkszta-s* 'soft'.

Secondary: *tóli-ma-s* 'distant' from *tolì* adv. 'afar', *arty-ma-s* 'near' from *artì* adv. 'near'.

The secondary suffix *-uma-s* forms abstract substantives.

This arose in forms like *gražū-ma-s* 'beauty' from *gražū-s* 'beautiful', on the model of which were formed such words as *sausūma-s* 'dryness' from *saūsa-s* 'dry'. By the side of this we find *-umā* used to denote some part of the land, as *lygu-mā* 'a level place' (beside *lygū-ma-s* 'levelness, the being level') from *lygu-s* 'even, level', *sausumā* 'dry place'.

O.C.Sl. *kos-mū* and *kos-ma* 'hair'. *u-mū* 'thought, understanding', no doubt connected with Skr. *av-* Lat. *avēre* and therefore similar in formation to Skr. *ḍ-ma-s* 'helper' (p. 172). *glu-mū* 'sport, scena' *glu-ma* 'licentiousness'. *-s-mo-* is the suffix in *usmū usma* 'indumentum, corium', if the word is connected with *ob-u-ti* 'to cover the feet'.

§ 73. The Suffix *-tṃmo- tṃmā-*, forming superlatives. We may analyse it as *-t-ṃmo-*, and the second element *-ṃmo-* is itself a superlative suffix (§ 72, 2 p. 166 ff.). As a single indivisible suffix, *-tṃmo-* must have been rare in the Indo-Germanic period.

*-t-ṃmo-* is linked with the comparative *-tero-* (§ 75) in the same way as *-ṃmo-* with *-ero-*, cp. Goth. *af-tuma*: O.H.G. *aftra* *aftero* and Skr. *ap-amā-s*: Skr. *áp-ara-s* Goth. *afar*, further Skr. *ut-tamā-s*: Skr. *ūt-tara-s* Gr. ὕψ-τερο-ς and A.S. *ūt-em-est* (an extension of an original *\*ūt-ema*): Skr. *ud-arā- ūd-ara-* ('belly') O.H.G. *ūz-ro*. *-tero-* however had become an independent suffix earlier than *-t-ṃmo-* and it appears from the evidence of the different languages that it was widely used even in the proethnic period.

Indo-Germanic. *\*trīkṃtī-tṃmo-* or *\*trīkṃt-tṃmo-* 'tricesimus': Skr. *trīṣat-tamā-s* (ṛ for ī is hystero-genous) Lat. *trīcēsimu-s* *trīcēsīmu-s* (*-s-* for *-ss-*, see I § 501 p. 367 f.): compare (and contrast) Gr. τριᾶκοστό-ς i. e. τριᾶκοστ+το-. Similarly Avest. *vīśastema-* (Skr. *vīṣati-tamā-s*) 'vicesimus' Lat. *vīcēsimu-s* *vīcēsīmu-s*: compare and contrast Gr. Att. ἑξαστό-ς Boeot. *ἑξαστό-ς* (I § 238 p. 199 f., § 501 p. 367 f.).

Skr. *án-tama-s* 'innermost, nearest, intimate', Lat. *in-tīmu-s*: cp. the comparative Skr. *án-tara-s* 'inner' Gr. ἔν-τερο-ν 'entrails', Lat. *inter-ior*, beside Gr. ἐν and Lat. *in*; beside these we

have Gr. *ἐν-τός* Lat. *in-tus*, so that we may fairly compare the relations of Skr. *adh-amá-s* : *ádḥ-ara-s* : *adh-ás* and *\*pṛ-mo-* (Lith. *pirma-s* Goth. *fruma*) : *\*pṛ-ós* (Skr. *purás* Avest. *parō* Gr. *πάρος*). Avest. *ni-tema-* 'lowest, smallest', A.S. *neo-ðem-est* 'lowest, undermost': cp. the compar. Skr. *ni-tarām* A.S. *ni-ðer-ra*.

Skr. *ka-tamá-s* 'which (of several)?', Lat. *quo-tumu-s* beside *quo-tu-s*: cp. compar. Skr. *ka-tará-s* Gr. *πό-τερο-ς*.

Aryan. Skr. *pra-thamá-s* Avest. *fra-tema-* O.Pers. *fra-tama-* 'primus' (the *th* of the Skr. form follows *cathur-thá-* and the like) beside the compar. Skr. *pra-tará-m* Avest. *fra-tara-*; Gr. *πρό-μο-ς* Umbr. *pro-mo-m* Goth. *fra-m* § 72, 2 p. 167 show a more ancient formation. Skr. *sahasra-tamá-s* Avest. *hazanrō-tema-* 'millesimus', Skr. *śata-tamá-s* 'centesimus', *aṣṭi-tamá-s* 'octogesimus' etc. The feminines of these numerals have in Sanskrit *-tam-ī* instead of *-tamā*.

Skr. *ut-tamá-s* 'highest, uppermost, best' Avest. *us-tema-* 'outermost', beside Skr. *úd* 'up, out' compar. *úttara-*: cp. Gr. *ῥοτ-ατο-ς* 'latest' compar. *ῥοτ-τερο-ς*.

Even in proethnic Aryan *-tama-* was the regular superlative ending for adjectives whose comparative was formed with *-tara-*. Where it was added to *a-*stems, their final *-a-* was in Avestic almost entirely replaced by *-ō-*; cp. the same phenomenon in compounds, as *daēvō-dāta-*, § 25 p. 42. Skr. *yajñiya-tama-* Avest. *yesnyō-tema-* 'most honourable', Skr. *ugra-tama-* Avest. *uyrō-tema-* 'strongest, mightiest'. Some words however have *-a-* in Avestic, e. g. *aiwyāma-tema-* 'most helpful'. Skr. *vāhni-tama-* 'carrying best', Avest. *hubaoiði-tema-* 'with sweetest scent or perfume'. Skr. *ama-vat-tama-* Avest. *ama-vas-tema-* 'most violent, strongest, mightiest'. Skr. *mīḍh-úṣ-ṭama-* 'most gracious', Avest. *jaymuš-tema-* 'most helpful'. Skr. *vṛṣaṇ-tama-* 'manliest, strongest'.

*-tama-* is sometimes added as an intensive suffix to superlative forms in (Ar.) *-iṣṭha-*, as Skr. *śrēṣṭha-tama-* from *śrēṣṭha-* 'brightest, most glorious', Avest. *vahištō-tema-* from *vahišta-* 'best'.

It was affixed to substantival stems, as Skr. *mātṛ-tama-* 'most motherly', Avest. *daēvō-tema-* 'most devilish'.

Skr. *ka-tamā-* 'which (of several)' beside *ká-tara-* 'which (of two)', interrogative. *ya-tamā-* 'which (of many)' beside *ya-tarāf* 'which (of two)', relative.

Italic. *vīcēsīmu-s trīcēsīmu-s*, see p. 177 above. Later analogical forms are *cent-ēsīmu-s mill-ēsīmu-s mult-ēsīmu-s*.

*in-tīmu-s, ex-tīmu-s, ci-tīmu-s, ul-tīmu-s. dex-tīmu-s, sinis-tīmu-s. mari-tīmu-s, fīni-tīmu-s, lēgi-tīmu-s*, originally meaning 'most closely connected with the sea, with a boundary, with law'. *op-tīmu-s*, in inscr. also *opi-tūmu-s* (differently regarded by von Fierlinger in Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 478, who derives it from a verbal stem *ō-pet-* 'strive after, wish'). *sollis-tīmu-s*. Umbr. *hon-domu* 'infimo' beside compar. *hon-dra* 'infra' Osc. *hu[n]truis* 'inferis', beside Lat. *humu-s*, see I § 207 p. 174.

*-simo-* occurs as well as *-timo-*, but its *-s-* cannot be derived from *-t-* merely by phonetic change. *maxīmu-s*, archaic *ōxīmē* (beside *ōcissīmē*), *medīoxīmu-s* (cp. *medioc-ri-s*). The most common ending is *-is-sīmu-s* (cp. *sollis-tīmu-s*), which no doubt drove out an older *-is-to-s* (§ 81), as *pot-issīmu-s, alt-issīmu-s*. *-issimo-* was also added to superlatives with intensive force, especially in later times, e. g. *postrēm-issīmu-s, minim-issīmu-s*. It is added to the stems of substantives in the language of the comedians, as *patru-issīmu-s*. But it is doubtful whether the formation with *-simo- -issimo-* is in any way connected with *tymo-*.

Remark. In Morph. Unt. III 135 I explained these forms as modelled upon the *-ens(s)imo-* of the numerals. We might also with Osthoff (Zur Gesch. d. Perf. 542) regard *pessīmu-s* beside *pējor* as another form that served as a type for the new development in *-issimo-*, since the *ss* in this word as well as in the numerals arose by a regular phonetic process, whether we accept Corssen's or W. Schulze's derivation (see Osthoff *loc. cit.*, Schulze, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 426, Stolz Lat. Gr. p. 220). On the other hand, Stolz (*loc. cit.*) holds that *-simo-* was taken from *\*plūsimo-* (*plūrīmo-*) before the law of rhotacism came into operation. According to § 72 p. 168 we could also regard forms like *\*pulcr-is-emo* *\*pulcrsemo-* as prototypes of the formation. Danielsson on the other hand (Pauli's Altital. Stud. III 153. 192) starts from the two words *maximus, oxime*, which he analyses *macs-imo* *ōcs-imē*, regarding the first elements as comparative stems for *\*mahis-*, *\*ōcis-* (cp. *plor-umē plūr-imu-s* and the like § 72 p. 168), and supposing that it was these forms which led to the analogical

change of *-istimo-* to *-issimo-*. Danielsson compares with these forms Umbr. Osc. *nesimo-* O.Ir. *nessam* 'next' (beside the compar. O.Ir. *nessa*). But the assumption of syncope, which is required by the supposed forms in *-is-ηmo-* (*\*mah-is-ηmo-*, *\*ōc-is-ηmo-*) cannot be allowed without considerable hesitation (see p. 168); hence it is very doubtful whether Danielsson's explanation of *maximu-s* etc. can be allowed. Can *\*neks-* and Lat. *\*max-* contain the weak form of an old *es-*stem (cp. Skr. *māhas-* 'greatness' *mahās-* 'great')? The whole question needs further investigation.

Germanic. What was said of *-uma-* (§ 72, 2 p. 169) also applies to the inflexion of *-tuma-* and its meaning in Gothic. Goth. *af-tuma* 'hinder, hindmost, latter, last', A.S. *æf-tem-est* 'hindmost'. Goth. *hin-dum-ists* 'outermost' A.S. *hin-dema* 'hindmost, last'. Goth. *if-tuma* 'next': Gr. *ἐπι* 'on, to'. A.S. *neodēm-est*, see p. 178 above.

#### § 74. The Suffix *-ro- -rā-, -gro- -grā-*<sup>1)</sup>.

On the variation between *-gro-* and *-ro-* see I § 287 p. 229.

This suffix was both primary and secondary from the earliest period; but the latter use is comparatively rare.

In its primary use the root syllable has generally the weak grade of ablaut; as we should therefore expect, the accent falls on the suffix, e. g. *\*spa-ró-*. Sometimes we have a variation of ablaut in the root, as Skr. *chid-rá-s* 'perforated': Lith. *skėd-rà* 'splinter'; Gr. *ἰθ-αρό-ς* 'clear, bright': *αἶθ-ρᾶ* 'bright weather'; Gr. *ἰδ-ρό-*: Lett. *swid-ri* pl. 'sweat'; O.H.G. *bitt-ar*: Goth. *bait-r-s* 'bitter'; O.H.G. *munt-ar* 'cheerful': O.C.Sl. *maq-d-rŭ* 'wise'.

In some words *-ro-* seems to be connected with the *-r̥* ending of the nom. acc. neut. (§ 118); cp. e. g. Idg. *\*ud-ro-*: Gr. *ἴδ-ωρ* O.H.G. *wazz-ar*; Gr. *πῖε-ρό-ς* *πῖα-ρό-ς* 'fat': *πῖαρ* 'fat' (subst.); *ἡμέ-ρᾶ*: *ἡμαρ* 'day' (cp. also Armen. *aur*, gen. *avur*, 'day'); Gr. *ῥ-ο-ς* Goth. *jē-ra-* 'year': Avest. *yā-r\** 'year' (for further examples see Morph. Unt. II 232). It is also connected with *-er-* (§ 119), cp. e. g. Idg. *\*us-ro-*: Skr. *uṣ-ár-* 'early light' Gr. *ἡ-ο-* 'in the early time' from *\*aus-er-*; Gr. *αἶθ-ρᾶ*: *αἶθ-ῆρ*

1) H. Osthoff, Über *-ra- -la-* als instrumentales suffix der indogerm. Sprachen, Forschungen I 157 ff. G. Curtius, De adjectivis Graecis et Latinis litterae ope formati, Leipz. 1870.

'the pure light of heaven'; further with the comparative -(t)ero- (§ 75).

This suffix formed adjectives and substantives both in the proethnic and in later periods of Indo-Germanic; the substantives were chiefly concrete. In the separate languages -ro- was rarely fertile to any great extent; Gr. -η-ρο- in πονηρό-ς etc. is an exception.

Indo-Germanic. \**rudh-ró-* (in Skr. -ग्रó-) 'red': Skr. *rudh-irá-s*, Gr. ἐρυθ-ρό-ς, Lat. *ruber rub-ra*, O.Icel. *roð-ra* f. 'blood', O.C.Sl. *rŭd-rŭ*. \**sk(h)id-ró-* and -ग्रó-: Skr. *chid-rá-s* 'perforated' *chid-rá-m* 'hole, interruption, break' *chid-irá-s* 'axe, sword', Gr. σιδ-αρό-ς 'thin, weak, breakable', O.H.G. *scet-ar* 'thin, defective', Lith. (with a different grade of ablaut) *skėd-rà* 'splinter'. \**spē-ró-* from √ *spē-* 'to expand' (Lat. *spēs spatium* &c.): Skr. *sphi-rá-* 'fat, great, rich', Lat. *pro-sper -spera* (for \*-*spa-ro-*, like *red-dere: dāre*, see I § 97 p. 91), O.C.Sl. *spo-rŭ* 'rich'. Skr. *iṣ-irá-s* 'quick, lively, fresh', Gr. Hom. ἰρό-ς Lesb. ἰρο-ς for \*ἰσ-ρο- (Lesb. ἰρο-ς beside ἰρρο-ς, like gen. μῆν-ος beside μῆνν-ος and the like) and Corcyr. ἰαρό-ς Boeot. ἰαρό-ς for \*ἰσ-αρο- 'lively, fresh, strong, healthy'; for Att. ἱερό-ς, see below. Skr. *us-rá-s* 'belonging to the morning' beside *us-r-tyā* 'brightness', Gr. ἄγχ-αυρο-ς 'near morning' (adj.) *αὔρι-ο-ν* 'on the morrow' for \**αὔσ-ρο-* (\**aus-* or \**aus-*); cp. also Lith. *ausz-rà* 'red of the morning', whose *sz* no doubt was borrowed from *aũszo* 'it dawned' (cp. I § 414 Rem. p. 303 f.). \**ud-ro-* (in Gr. also -gro-) beside Skr. *ud-án-* 'water': Skr. *an-udrá-s* 'waterless' *sam-udrá-s* 'billowy, the sea', Gr. ἰδ-αρό-ς 'watery' *ἄν-υδρο-ς* 'waterless'; and meaning a 'water-creature', Skr. *ud-rá-s* 'a creature that lives in water', Gr. ἰδ-ρο-ς ἰδ-ρᾱ 'watersnake' O.H.G. *ott-ar* O.Icel. *ot-r* 'otter', Lith. *úd-ra* O.C.Sl. *vyd-ra* 'otter'. Skr. *vī-rá-s* 'man, hero', Lat. *vi-r*, O.Ir. *fe-r* Goth. *vaí-r* Lith. *vý-ra-s* 'man'. \**aġ-ro-s* 'pasture, level meadow, field' from √ *aġ-* 'drive': Skr. *áj-ra-s* Gr. ἀγ-ρό-ς Lat. *ag-er* (gen. *ag-rī*) Goth. *ak-r-s*.

-ro- in secondary use. \**teməs-ro-* 'dark' (the neut. or fem. can be used as an abstract subst., see § 158) beside Skr. *tám-as-* n. Lith. *tam-s-à* f. 'darkness': Skr. *tamis-ra-m* *támis-rà*

'darkness, dark night' Avest. *tāp-ra-* for *\*tams-ra- \*tansra-* 'dark' <sup>1)</sup>, Lat. *teneb-rae* pl. (cp. I § 570 p. 429), Mid.Dutch *deemster* (*-as-ro*) O.H.G. *dinstar* (*-s-ro-*) 'dark' with parasitic *-t-* (I § 580 p. 433 f.), Lith. *tīms-ra-s* 'light bay coloured' of a horse (the root has the weak grade of ablaut).

Beside Skr. *pī-van-* Gr. *πί-(f)ων* 'fat' (adj.) and Skr. *pī-vas-* n. 'fat' (noun) we must recognise Idg. *\*pī-ue-ro-* 'fat' (adj.): Skr. *pīva-rá-* Gr. *πίε-ρό-ς* (fem. *pīva-rí-, πίειρα* for *\*πίφερ-ια*), cp. also Gr. *πῖό-της πῖό-τερο-ς*; for *πῖαρό-ς* see below. Similarly Gr. *ἡ-μέ-ρα* 'day' compared with the stem *ἡ-μεν-* implied in the pl. *ἡ-μα-τα*. For the *-e-* of these compound suffixes *-ue-ro-me-ro-* cp. Gr. *φοβε-ρό-ς* 'fearful', from *φόβο-ς*, etc. (Skr. *phēna-la-s* 'foamy' from *phēna-s* 'foam'). But *-ro-* can hardly be secondary in Gr. *πτε-ρό-ν* 'feather, wing' Skr. *pat-a-rá-* 'flying' Avest. *pat-a-ra-*, which is implied in *hu-patar'ta-* 'well winged', (contrast *\*petrā* 'feather' in O.Icel. *fjǫðr* O.H.G. *fedara*); it is far more likely that here, as in Skr. *pát-a-tra-m* 'wing', *-e-* is the 'thematic vowel' (cp. Gr. *πτε-σθαι, πέρτε-σθαι*); cp. also Gr. *σχε-ρό-ς* 'continuous' beside *σχε-τό-ς* *σχε-έ-σι-ς* *σχε-έ-ς*. It is quite possible that originally *-e-ro-* was always a primary suffix, and only became secondary when it was popularly connected with nominal *e- : o-* stems.

Aryan. Since Idg. *r* and *l* are indistinguishable in the Aryan languages (I § 254 p. 207 f.), it is often difficult to separate *-ro-* and *-lo-*. In some cases the meaning vouches for *-lo-*, e. g. *vr̥ṣa-lá-s* 'mannikin, small man' (see § 76). Often the other languages give us a criterion, since in them Idg. *l* and *r* remained distinct.

Skr. *śū-ra-* Avest. *sū-ra-* 'strong, grand': Gr. *ἄ-κῦρο-ς* 'weak, ineffective'. Skr. *jī-rá-* 'lively, quick, active' Avest. *pouru-jīra-* 'very active' *daēma-jīra-* 'quick of eye, with quick

1) If this explanation of the Avestic word is correct, we might compare the *p̥* with the same sound in *aivi-pūra-* from *sūra-*, (see Bartholomae Hdb. § 144). No other example of *-msr- -nsr-* appears to occur, and thus there can be little serious objection to our assuming that it was just in this group of consonants that *p̥* was regularly developed.

eyes': Lat. *vi-reō* 'be fresh, strong, green', O.C.Sl. *ži-rŭ* 'pasture', Lett. *dī-ras* pl. f. 'banquet'. Skr. *ud-rá-* Avest. *ud-ra-* m. a water animal: Gr. *ῥδ-ρο-ς* etc., see p. 181 above. Skr. *cit-rá-* 'shining, glorious, wonderful' Avest. *ciṣ-ra-* 'wonderful': O.H.G. *heit-ar* 'shining, clear, bright'. Skr. *śubh-rá-* 'shining, fine': Armen. *surb* 'pure'; no doubt the suffix is the same in Skr. *śuk-rá śuk-lá-* 'clear, pure' Avest. *sux-ra-* 'flaming, red' O.Pers. *jux-ra-* proper name. Skr. *váj-ra-s* Indra's thunderbolt, Avest. *vaz-ra-* 'club' O.Pers. *vazra-ka-* 'great, mighty', beside Skr. *vāja-* Avest. *vāza-* m. 'strength': cp. O.H.G. *wahh-ar* O.Icel. *vak-r* 'lively, quick, fresh, alert' and Goth. *vōk-r-s* 'profit' O.H.G. *wuohh-ar* 'increase, gain, profit'. Skr. *am-lá-* and *ambla-* (I § 199 p. 167 f.) 'sour': Dutch *amper* 'sharp, bitter' O.Icel. *apr* 'sharp' O.H.G. *ampfarō* 'sorrel' (adj. used as subst.) no doubt for pre-Germ. *\*am(b)-ro-*, cp. also Lat. *am-āru-s*.

Skr. *śith-irá-* *śith-ilá-* 'loose, unsteady': Gr. *καθ-αρό-ς* 'open, free, pure'. Skr. *mand-irá-m* 'lodging, dwelling, room, house' Gr. *μάνδ-ρᾱ* 'fold, pen, stall'; Skr. *mand-urđ* 'stable' either has *-urđ-* for *-ṛrā-* (cp. however I § 290 p. 231 f.) or may be an extension of a stem *\*mandu-*.

With Skr. *pata-rá-* 'flying' (see p. 182) compare *drava-rá-* 'running', *ny-ōca-rá-* 'suited to, belonging to a place'.

*-ro-* in secondary use: Skr. *tamis-ra-*, *pīvará-*, see above, p. 181 f. *vy-ad-vará-* 'gnawing, rodent' beside *ad-van-* 'eating': cp. Hom. *ἔδφαρ* (*ēlḗdāp*), gen. *ἔδφαρος*, 'food'.

Examples of Aryan words with *-ra-* *-la-*, which, so far as we can tell, may represent either *-ro-* or *-lo-*, are given in § 76 Rem. 1.

Armenian. *surb*, gen. *srboy*, 'pure' for *\*sub-ro-s* (I § 263 p. 214): Skr. *śubh-rá-s*. *Ṛirtn*, gen. *Ṛrtan* 'sweat' for *\*ṛitr-an-*: Gr. *ῥδ-ρῶ-* Lett. *swid-ri* pl. 'sweat'. *tu-r* 'gift': Gr. *δῶ-ρο-ν* O.C.Sl. *da-rŭ* 'gift'.

The *-aro-* of adjectives in *-ar*, which no doubt comes from *-ṛro-*, appears to be sometimes primary, sometimes secondary. It is primary e. g. in *dal-ar* 'green, fresh' (cp. Gr. *θαλε-ρό-ς*), and secondary e. g. in *ard-ar* 'just' (cp. Skr. *ṛ-tá-*). *mecar-em*



'I exalt, praise' a denominative verb like Gr. *μεγαίρω* 'I rate highly, admire' (from \**μεγαρο-*, cp. *μέγαρο-ν* 'large space, chamber').

Greek. *ἐλαφ-ρός* 'light, brisk': O.H.G. *lung-ar* 'quick, active', common ground-form \**lǝgh-ró-s*. *ἄκ-ρο-ς* 'pointed' *ἄκ-ρο-ν* *ἄκ-ρᾱ* 'point, peak': Skr. *catur-aśra-* 'four-cornered', O.C.Sl. *os-t-rŭ* 'sharp'. *ζω-ρός* 'unmixed' (of wine), *ἐνεργής, ταχύς* (Hesych.): no doubt to be compared with O.C.Sl. *ja-rŭ* 'amarus, iratus' Serv. *jara* 'heat of a stove'. *ἀφ-ρός* 'foam': Skr. *abh-rā-m* 'cloud' (cp. also Lat. *imber* gen. *imbris* in the *i*-declension), common ground-form \**ǵbh-ró-*; beside this *ὄμβ-ρο-ς* 'rain' with Idg. *b* like Skr. *ámb-u-* 'water', see I § 469, 8 p. 346 f. *κάπ-ρο-ς* 'boar': Lat. *cap-er cap-ra*, O.Icel. *haf-r* 'he-goat'. *νεφ-ρός* 'kidney, testicle': Ital. Praenest. *nefr-ōn-es*, Lanuv. *nebr-undin-es* 'kidneys testicles', O.H.G. *nior-o* 'kidney, testicle' O.Icel. *nýr-a* n. 'kidney' (I § 443 p. 329), common ground-form \**negh-ró-*. *ἔδ-ρᾱ* 'seat': O.Icel. *set-r* n. 'seat'. *λαμπ-ρός* 'shining'. *σαπ-ρός* 'rotten'. *φαιδ-ρός* 'beaming, happy'. *νεκ-ρός* 'corpse'. *τάφ-ρο-ς* 'ditch, trench'. *κόπ-ρο-ς* 'dung'. *τέφ-ρᾱ* 'ashes'.

Adjectives were formed in proethnic Greek in *-η-ρός* (a fertile suffix) from verbs in *-έω*, as *πονη-ρός* 'toilsome' from *πονέομαι*, *ὀκνη-ρός* 'slack' from *ὀκνέω*, *ὀλισθη-ρός* 'slippery' from the fut. *ὀλισθήσω* (pres. *ὀλισθάνω*).

*-tro-*. *ἰαρό-ς* beside *ἱρό-ς* see p. 181 above. *λιπ-αρό-ς* 'fat': cp. Skr. *rip-rá-m* 'smear, stain, impurity'. *σιν-αρό-ς* beside *σιν-δ-ρός* (for the *δ*, see I § 204 p. 170) 'harmful', and other examples.

*-ro-* is secondary in Att. (Aristoph.) *οἰζυ-ρός* 'woeful' from *οἰζύς*, gen. *οἰζύος* 'woe, and similarly in *λγυ-ρός* beside *λγύς* 'clear, ringing' and *μωλυ-ρός* beside *μῶλυς* 'enfeebled', unless these are derived from \**λγυλο-ς* \**μωλυλο-ς* (cp. *παχυ-λός* § 76) by dissimilation (I § 266 p. 215). Further, in many adjectives in *-ε-ρο-ς*; e. g. *φοβε-ρός* 'terrible' from *φόβο-ς*, *δροσε-ρός* 'dewy' from *δρόσο-ς*, whose termination *-ερός* was regarded as an independent suffix, and added to other than *o*-stems, as *σκιε-ρός* 'shady' from *σκιά*, *κρατε-ρός* 'strong' from *κράτος* n.; cp. p. 182.

*-ro-* can be considered either a secondary or a primary suffix in adjectives in *-ᾱ-ρο-*, as *ὀδυνη-ρός* Dor. *ὀδυνᾶ-ρός* 'painful'

beside *ὀδύνη* Dor. *ὀδύνᾱ* and *ὀδυνάω*, *ἀσηρό-ς* Lesb. *ἄσᾱρο-ς* 'causing disgust, disagreeable' beside *ἄση* Lesb. *ἄσᾱ* and *ἀσάω*, and in those in *-ῶρο-*, as Hom. *οἰζῶρο-ς* 'woeful' beside *οἰζῶ* and *οἰζῶω* (Att. *οἰζῶρο-ς*, see p. 184 above), *ισχυρό-ς* 'strong' beside *ισχύ-* and *ισχύω*.

**Remark.** The relations of *-ερο-* and *-αρο-* are not quite clear in such instances as *ιερό-ς*: *ιερó-ς* (Skr. *iṣ-irā-s*); *σκιερό-ς* (from *σκιᾶ*): *σκιερό-ς*; *πιερό-ς* (Skr. *picarā-*): *πιερό-ς* (see Morph. Unt. II 241 ff.). I should compare *πιερό-ς* (and also *πίλο-ς*) with *πιάλω* for *\*πίμπ-ιδ*, exactly as *μιαρό-ς* 'defiled' is to be derived from *μιάλω*, so that the relation is the same as that of *θαυματό-ς* (i. e. *\*θαυμη-το-ς*): *θαυμαίνω*. Then new formations arose, *ιερά-ς* (modelled upon *πιερό-ς σκιερό-ς*) on the one hand, *σκιερό-ς* (modelled upon *μιαρό-ς πιερό-ς*) on the other.

**Italic.** Lat. *rub-er rub-ra*, Umbr. *rufru* 'rubros' *rufra* 'rubras': Gr. *ῥουθρό-ς* etc., see p. 181 above. Lat. *vi-r* gen. *vi-rī*, Umbr. *veiro* 'viros': O.Ir. *fe-r* Skr. *vī-ra-s* etc., see p. 181 above. Lat. *cap-er cap-ra*, Umbr. *kaprum* 'caprum': Gr. *κάπρο-ς* etc., see p. 184 above. Lat. *ag-er* gen. *ag-rī*, Umbr. *agre* gen. 'agri': Skr. *āj-ra-s* etc., see p. 181 above. Lat. *sac-er sac-ra*, Falisc. *sacru* 'sacrum', Umbr. *sakra* 'sacras', Osc. *sax-oro* 'sacrum' *sak-arater* 'sacratur' (I § 627 p. 471). Lat. *mac-er mac-ra*: Gr. *μακρό-ς* 'long, lean, far', O.H.G. *mag-ar* O.Icel. *mag-r* 'lean' pr. Germ. *maz-rā-*. Lat. *ob-scūru-s* 'dark', properly 'covered over': O.H.G. *skū-r* 'shelter, covered place, lodging'. Lat. *plē-ru-s plērī-que*: Gr. *πλήρ-ης* 'full', which is a modification of an older form *\*πληρ-ο-* (cp. *πληρόω*), but its accent, in contrast to the analogous *ὑδαρίς* (: *ὑδαρό-ς*), followed that of compounds in *-ήρης* like *διήρης*. Lat. *pā-ru-s dī-ru-s clā-ru-s gnā-ru-s* (cp. I § 253 p. 207). *in-teger* (cp. *intāctu-s*). *nig-er. glab-er* (we may conjecture that the original form of the stem was *\*gladh-ro-* or *\*glādh-ro-*, cp. O.C.Sl. *gladūkū* 'smooth'). *scab-er. stup-ru-m. lab-ru-m* 'lip'. *scalp-er* and *scalp-ru-m. flag-ru-m*. At the same time in words where an *l* occurs before the suffix *-ro-*, it must be remembered that the latter may have come from *-lo-*, cp. *lu-crum* for *\*lu-clum* I § 269 p. 217. Sabin. *cuprum* 'bonum' *Cupra* 'bona dea', Umbr. *Cubrar* gen. 'Bonae deae', beside Lat. *cup-iō*.

No certain examples of *-gro-* can be found; perhaps it may be traced in Lat. *camur camura*, cp. Gr. *καμάρα* 'vault'.

*-e-ro-* occurs in Lat. *liber libera* O.Lat. *loeber-tatem*, which is usually compared with Gr. *ἐλευθ-ερο-ς* (see I § 49 p. 42, § 65 p. 52), *puer* gen. *puerī*, *gener* gen. *generī*.

The relation of Lat. *amā-ru-s*: Skr. *am-lā-* 'sour' is obscure.

*-ro-* in secondary use. *teneb-rae*: Skr. *tamis-ra-* etc., see above p. 181 f. *cerebru-m* for *\*ceres-ro-*, cp. Skr. *śtras-* 'head'. *fūnebri-s* instead of *\*fūnes-ro-*, transferred to the *i*-declension, beside *fūnus fūnes-tu-s*, see I § 570 p. 423, II § 93 under Italic. *membru-m membr-āna* for *\*mēms-ro-*: O.Ir. *mīr* 'piece of flesh' from pr. Kelt. *\*mēns-r...*, beside Skr. *māśá-* Goth. *mimza-* O.C.Sl. *měso-* 'flesh' (I § 570 p. 428, § 574 p. 430, § 585 Rem. 3 p. 440).

Old Irish. *sī-r* Mod.Cymr. *hi-r* 'lasting long' (comparative O.Ir. *sia*): Lat. *sē-ru-s*, common ground-form *\*sē-ro-*, beside Skr. *sāya-s* 'late time, end'. *lā-r* Mod.Cymr. *llaw-r* 'flooring, floor': A.S. *flō-r* 'floor' Mid.H.G. *vluo-r* 'level, floor'. *ar* Mod.Cymr. *aer* 'battle, fight' for *\*ag-ro-* (I § 523 p. 380): Skr. *ghasē-ajra-* 'attractive to the taste, creating appetite' Gr. *ἄγ-ρα* 'game, prey', from *√ag-* 'drive', cp. Idg. *\*ag-ro-* 'place where cattle are driven, field' which was formed from the same root, p. 181. *bod-ar* (acc. pl. *bod-ra*): Skr. *badh-irā-* 'deaf'. *mā-r mō-r* Mod.Cym. *maw-r* 'great' Gall. *-māro-* in *Virido-māru-s* and other proper names, beside the compar. O.Ir. *māo mō* 'greater': Gr. *ἑγχεσί-μω-ρο-ς* 'great or distinguished in throwing the spear', and the like (Bechtel, Über die Bezeichn. d. sinnl. Wahrnehm. 101; Osthoff, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 431 ff.), common ground-form *\*mō-ro-*. *uar* Mod.Cymr. *oer* 'cold' pr. Kelt. *\*og-ro-*.

*-ro-* is secondary in O.Ir. *mīr*, see above.

Germanic. O.H.G. *sū-r* O.Icel. *sū-r-r* sour, 'bitter': Lith. *sū-ra-s* 'salt' (adj.) O.C.Sl. *sy-rū* 'raw'. O.H.G. *munt-ar* 'fresh, lively, hasty, Goth. *mund-r-ei* 'goal, object': O.C.Sl. *maq-rū* 'wise' (Lith. *mand-rū-s* 'conceited, overbearing' instead of *\*mand-ra-s*). Goth. *gáu-r-s* 'troubled, sorrowful' beside *gáu-nōn* 'to sorrow, lament': Skr. *ghō-rá-s* 'horrible'. O.H.G. *weig-ar* 'teme-

*rius* pr. Germ. \**raiz-rā-*, beside Goth. *veihan* 'to fight': Lith. *vik-rū-s* 'brisk, lively' instead of \**vik-ra-s*. Goth. *jē-r* O.H.G. *jā-r* n. 'year': Gr. ὥ-ρο-ς 'year' ὥ-ρᾱ 'season' O.C.Sl. *ja-rū ja-ra* 'springtime', by the side of which we find Avest. *yā-r*<sup>6</sup> n. 'year', cp. Skr. *yā-ti* 'he goes, travels'. O.H.G. *fed-ara* O.Icel. *fjōð-r* f. 'feather' pr. Germ. \**feþ-rō-*: cp. Gr. πτ-ε-ρό-ν etc., see p. 182 above. Goth. *skei-r-s* A.S. *skī-r* 'pure, clear' (: Russ. *ščiryj* 'pure', see I § 414 Rem. p. 303 f.). Goth. *fag-r-s* 'suitable' O.H.G. *fag-ar* 'fair' pr. Germ. \**fag-rā-*, √ *pāk-*: cp. Umbr. *pacrer* pl. 'propitii' § 98. O.H.G. *hē-r* 'grand, exalted, sublime' pr. Germ. \**χai-ra-*, no doubt to be compared with Goth. *hái-l-s* 'healthy'. O.H.G. *sē-r* 'painful, sore' O.Icel. *sā-r-r* 'sore, bad', Goth. *sái-r* O.H.G. *sē-r* n. 'pain' pr. Germ. \**sai-ra-*. O.H.G. *zang-ar* 'biting, sharp' pr. Germ. \**tang-rā-*, cp. O.H.G. *zanga* 'tongs' Skr. *dāś-ana-m* 'a biting, bite'. O.H.G. *bū-r* m. 'dwelling' O.Icel. *bū-r* n. 'room, storehouse', beside O.H.G. *bū-an* 'build upon'. O.H.G. *scob-ar* m. 'stack, piled up heap of corn', √ *skeyp-* *skeyb-* 'shove, push': Lith. *skub-rū-s* 'hasty'. Goth. *skū-ra* f. 'shower, storm' O.H.G. *scū-r* m. 'shower'. O.H.G. *zunt-ra zunt-ara* f. O.Icel. *tund-r* n. 'tinder' beside O.H.G. *zant-ro zant-aro* m. 'glowing coal' O.Icel. *tand-re* m. 'fire' (pr. Germ. \**tand-r-en-*). Goth. *lig-r-s* m. O.H.G. *leg-ar* n. 'couch'. O.H.G. *zimbar* n. 'timber, dwelling' A.S. *timbar* n. 'building', West Germ. \**timbra-* for \**tim-ra-*, Goth. *tim-r-jan* 'to do carpenter's work', √ *dem-*. O.H.G. *eit-ar* n. O.Icel. *eit-r* n. 'poison', beside Gr. οἰδ-ος οἰδ-μα 'swelling'.

*-pro-* pr. Germ. *-ura-* occurs perhaps in O.H.G. *ebur* A.S. *eofor* O.Icel. *jōforr* (pl. *jōfrar*) 'boar': cp. Lat. *ap-er* gen. *ap-rī*, O.C.Sl. *vep-rī* (stem *vep-r-je-*) 'boar'. *-e-ro-* is even more difficult to identify in Germanic.

*-ro-* is secondary in O.H.G. *dinstar* Mid.Dutch *deemster* 'dark': Skr. *tamis-ra-* etc., see above, p. 181 f.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *asz-t-rū-s asz-ru-s*, instead of \**-ra-s*, O.C.Sl. *os-t-rū* 'sharp' (for the *-t-* see I § 544 p. 398 f., § 545 p. 400): Gr. ἄx-ρο-ς etc., see p. 183 f. above. Lith. *pū-rai* pl. 'wheat' O.C.Sl. *py-ro* n. 'spelt': Gr. πῦ-ρό-ς 'wheat'. Lith. denomin. *szvit-r-inėti*

'to glimmer' *szvyt-r-ūti* 'to gleam': Skr. *śvit-rá-s* 'white'. Lith. *kup-rà* 'knob, boss': O.H.G. *hov-ar* A.S. *hof-er* m. 'knob'. O.C.Sl. *ved-rū* 'clear, bright' *ved-ro* n. 'fair wather': O.H.G. *wet-ar* n. 'weather', common ground-form *\*uedh-rò-*. O.C.Sl. *dob-rū* 'good': O.H.G. *taph-ar* Mid.H.G. *tapf-er* 'heavy, weighty, fast'. O.C.Sl. *da-rū* 'gift': Armen. *tu-r* Gr. *δῶρο-ν* 'gift'.

Lith. *bud-rū-s* instead of *\*-ra-s* O.C.Sl. *būd-rū* 'watchful'. *-ra-s* is seldom kept in adjectives in Lithuanian (e. g. *tik-ra-s* 'suitable'); they generally passed over into the *u*-declension; cp. § 107. In O.C.Sl. we have only a few adjectives, cp. besides those quoted above, *pīstrū* 'gay' for *\*pīs-rū* (like *os-t-rū*) from *✓peik-*.

Lith. *stuñb-ra-s* 'aurochs'. *stañb-ra-s* and *stemb-r-ỹ-s* 'stalk'. *gaīs-ra-s* *gaīs-rà* 'distant gleam on the horizon', beside *gis-tu* 'extinguor' (cp. Leskien, Der Ablaut der Wurzelsilben im Lit. 65). O.C.Sl. *pi-rū* 'convivium'. *ra-rū* 'sonitus'. *mě-ra* 'measure'. *reb-ro* 'rib' (beside O.H.G. *rippi* n. 'rib', pr. Germ. *\*rið-ja-*).

*-ro-* in secondary use: Lith. *tīms-ra-s* 'light bay coloured' (of a horse): Skr. *tamis-ra-* etc., see p. 181 f. above. Lith. *vidurỹ-s* 'middle', no doubt = *vidu-r-ja-* a derivative of *vidū-s* 'the inside', similarly *duburỹ-s* 'depth' from *dubū-s* 'deep and hollow'. It seems to me doubtful whether we should compare with these the *-ro-* of Lith. *nas-raĩ* pl. 'throat' O.C.Sl. *noz-dri* pl. 'nostrils' (beside Low Germ. *nuster* 'nostril' and Idg. *\*nas-* 'nose'), and of O.C.Sl. *męz-dra* 'fine skin on a recent wound, the fleshy part of anything' (beside *męso* 'flesh'), cp. I § 585 p. 439.

§ 75. The Suffixes *-ero-* *-erā-* and *-tero-* *-terā-*, forming Comparatives.

These are closely parallel to the superlative *-mo-* *-mmo-* (§ 72, 2 p. 166 ff.) and *-tmmo-* (§ 73 p. 177 ff.).

*-(t)ero-* shows a close etymological relation to the adverbs in *-(t)er* and (loc.) *-(t)er-i*, e. g. *\*upero-* beside Gr. *ὑπὲρ* Skr. *upári*, *\*en-tero-* beside Lat. *in-ter* Skr. *antári-kṣa-*. On the other hand *-(t)ero-* is often connected with *-ro-* (see § 74). Per Persson's suggestions for its etymology (*Studia Etymologica*, Upsala 1886,

p. 94 ff.) are more extensive, but for the most part exceedingly bold.

Beside *-(t)ero-* is found *-(t)oro-*, e. g. Avest. *ka-tāra-* Goth. *hva-þar* O.C.Sl. *ko-tory-jŭ*, *-(t)ro-*, e. g. Skr. *an-trá-m* Gr. ἀλλό-*-τρο-ος* Lat. *in-trō* O.C.Sl. *ję-tro*, and *-(t)gro-*, e. g. Gr. *νε(ς)-αρό-ς* A.S. *eafora*<sup>1)</sup> The original distribution of these different grades of ablaut can no longer be traced; the difference of accent however should be noticed, e. g. Skr. *án-tara-* *an-trá-an-tári-kṣa-*.

*-tero-* shows the greatest fertility in Aryan and Greek, where it was a regular comparative suffix for adjectives.

Indo-Germanic. *\*upero-*, beside Skr. *upári* 'above' Gr. ὑπέρ, ὑπεῖρ (i. e. *\*ὑπερ*, see I § 645, 2 p. 489) Lat. *s-uper* O.H.G. *ubir* 'over' (compare further Skr. *úpa* 'towards' Gr. ὑπό 'under' etc.): Skr. *úpara-* 'nearer, behind, under' Avest. *upara-* 'upper', Gr. ὑπερο-ς ὑπερο-ν 'pestle' ὑπέρα 'upper rope', Lat. *s-uperu-s* *s-upra* *s-uprē-mu-s*, A.S. *ufer-ra* 'upper' (*-ra* = Goth. *-iza*); cp. superl. Skr. *upamá-s* Lat. *s-ummu-s*. *\*ṛdhero-* 'lower' beside Avest. *adairi* 'under' and Skr. *adhás* 'below': Skr. *ádharma-* 'lower', Goth. *undarō* adv. 'underneath' O.H.G. *undaro undero* 'lower'; cp. superl. Skr. *adhamá-s*.

*\*en-tero-* 'inner', subst. n. 'intestines', beside Lat. *in-ter* Skr. *antári-kṣa-* 'that which lies in between heaven and earth, sky': Skr. *ántara-s* 'inner, dearer, more intimate' *antrá-m* *antrá-m* 'intestine', Armen. *ęnder-k* pl. 'intestines' (possibly borrowed from the Greek), Gr. ἔντερο-ν 'intestine', Lat. *inter-ior* *intra* *intrō*, O.Ir. *eter etir* 'between', O.C.Sl. *ję-tro* n. 'liver'; cp. superl. Skr. *ántama-s* Lat. *intimu-s*. *\*ni-tero-* 'lower': Skr. *nitardm* 'downwards, down', O.H.G. *nidaro* adj. 'lower'; cp. superl. Avest. *niteima-* A.S. *neodēm-est*. Avest. *fra-tara-* Gr. πρό-τερο-ς 'former,

1) *-tŕ* (cp. *-ter* beside *-tero-*) seems to occur in Skr. *sani-túr* 'beside, except, without' Gr. ἀ-τάρ 'sed' O.H.G. *sun-tar* 'by itself, especially, but, however' beside Skr. *sanu-tár* 'away, aside' Gr. ἀ-τερ 'without' (is the irregular *spiritus lenis* in ἀτάρ and ἀτερ due to the influence of ἀντάρ and ἄννυ?) A.S. *sun-dir* 'except, without'; cp. also Goth. *sun-drō* 'separated, alone'. The root-syllable of the Greek and Germanic words is *\*sn-*. Cp. Bugge, Bezzenberger's Beitr. III 120 f.

earlier', beside Osc. *pruter-pan* 'πρότερον ἢ, priusquam'; compare further Avest. *fra* Gr. *πρό* 'before'; cp. superl. Avest. *fra-tema-*.

\**qo-tero-* from the stem \**qo-* 'who?': Skr. *ka-tard-* Avest. *ka-tāra-*<sup>1)</sup> Gr. *πό-τερο-* 'which of two?' Umbr. *podruh-pei* 'utroque', Goth. *hva-þar* 'which of two?' Lith. *ka-trà-s* 'which of two? which? who?' O.C.Sl. *ko-teri-jŕ ko-tori-jŕ* 'who?'; cp. superl. Skr. *ka-tamá-s*, Lat. *quo-tumu-s*.

It can hardly be an accidental coincidence that several Indo-Germanic languages have a word for 'left' which shows the suffix *-tero-* added to a stem formed with the comparative suffix *-ies -is-* (§ 135), and contains the idea of 'goodness' (cp. Gr. *ἐξώνυμο-* 'left'). Avest. *vairyas-tāra-*, beside *vara-* 'desirable, excellent' compar. Skr. *várīyas-*. Gr. *ἄρισ-τερό-*, beside *ἄρισ-το-* 'best' *ἀρεῖων* 'better' (not connected with Ar. *vara-*). O.H.G. *winis-tar*, beside *wini* 'beloved' *wunsc* 'wish, desire'; cp. also, from the same root, Skr. *vāma-s* 'left', identical with *vāmá-s* 'worthy, dear, good', from a ground-form \**uē-mo-s*, √ *uēn-*. Lat. *sinis-ter*, which should surely be compared with Skr. *sán-īyas-* 'gaining more' √ *sen-* 'to reach a goal (which is striven after or longed for), to succeed' (see Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIV 271 f.), and not with *senior seniū-m* (when the intermediate stage of meaning would be 'weak, incapable'); for the *i* of the first syllable cp. *simili-s*. One at least therefore of these formations must date from proethnic Indo-Germanic, and at the time of the separation of the peoples must have still retained its original meaning as well as the secondary one of 'left', and so become the model for the rest. Cp. the Author, Rhein. Mus. XLIII p. 399 ff.

Aryan. Skr. *ādḥ-ara-* Avest. *aḍ-ara-* 'lower', see p. 189 above. Skr. *áp-ara-* 'more distant, later, smaller, other', *ap-arā-m* adv. 'later' Avest. *ap-ara-* 'the other' O.Pers. *ap-ara-m* adv. 'afterwards', beside Skr. *ápa* 'from, away': A.S. *af-era eafora* O.Sax. *adaro* m. 'successor, offspring' (Goth. *afar* 'after' O.H.G. *abur avar* 'again, anew; on the other hand, however');

1) The quantity of the *ā* in the syllable *ka-*, if the law given in I § 78 p. 69 is correct, might be explained by reference to a by-form \**kātra-* in proethnic Aryan (cp. the Ital. and Lith. forms).

with which compare O.Pers. *apa-tara-m* 'further' and Goth. *af-tarō* adv. 'backwards' *aftra* adv. 'back, anew, further' O.H.G. *aftaro* m. 'hinder part' A.S. *æftra* adj. 'hinder'. Skr. *áv-ara-s* 'lower' Avest. *aora* adv. 'down, off' (cp. Avest. *naotara-* = Skr. *navatara-* compar. from Skr. *náva-* 'new'), cp. Skr. *áva* 'off, downwards'.

Skr. *án-tara-* Avest. *an-tara-* 'inner' Skr. *an-trá-m* *án-trá-m* 'intestine': Gr. ἔν-τερο-ν etc., see p. 189 above. Skr. *út-tara-* 'higher, upper' from *úd* 'up, out': Gr. ὕσπερο-ς 'later' ὕσπερο-ς 'belly'; beside this we have Skr. *ud-arā-* *ūd-ara-* 'belly, swelling' Gr. ὄδπερο-ς 'belly' Hesych. (probably Cyprian, with *o* = *u* as in *μοχοῖ* = *μυχοῖ* and other words), O.H.G. *ūgro* 'outer'. *-tara-m* is especially frequent in Aryan as an adverbial termination. Skr. *vi-tará-m* Avest. *vī-tare-m* 'further' (in Avestic also an adj.) beside Skr. *vī* 'away, apart': Goth. *vi-þra* adv. 'against, with-' (in composition); compare also Lat. *vi-tr-icu-s* 'stepfather', the termination being like that of O.H.G. *ent(i)rig* 'strange' = \**antrizá-s* from *ander* 'other'. Skr. *parā-tará-m* *paras-tará-m* 'further away' from *pārā* *parás* 'away, forth'. Instead of this later Sanskrit has generally *-tarā-m*, as *uccāis-tarām* 'higher' from *uccāiṣ* 'high', *śandāis-tarām* 'more softly, more gradually', from *śandāiṣ* 'softly, gradually'.

Skr. *ka-tará-* Avest. *ka-tāra-* 'which of two?': Gr. πό-τερο-ς etc., see p. 190 above. Skr. *ya-tará-* Avest. *ya-tāra-* 'which (of two) (rel.)', beside Skr. *yá-s* 'qui'. Avest. *a-tāra-* from the stem *a-* 'that'.

*-tara-* was also the regular comparative ending of adjectives in Aryan where *-tama-* formed the superlative. The same rules of formation hold as for *-tama-*, see § 73 p. 178. Skr. *āmá-tara-s* 'more raw' from *āmá-s*: Gr. ᾤμότερο-ς 'more raw, more rude'; Skr. *yajñiya-tara-* 'more deserving of reverence'; Avest. *aka-tara-* 'worse' from *aka-*, *srīrō-tara-* 'nobler' from *srīra-*. Skr. *śrēṣṭha-tara-* 'more excellent' from superl. *śrēṣṭha-*, *garīyas-tara-* 'heavier, weightier' beside compar. *garīyas-*, Avest. *vairyas-tara-* 'left' see p. 190 above; cp. also Avest. *fratarō-tara-* from *fratara-* 'more prominent'. Skr. *duḥkha-tara-* 'more painful, more unpleasant',



and as subst. n. 'greater pain', from *duhkhá-m* 'pain'. Avest. *ušas-tara-* 'easterly' from *ušah-* 'red of the morning', *daoša-tara-* 'westerly' from *daoša-* 'evening'.

Armenian. *nor*, gen. *noroy*, 'new': cp. Gr. *νεαρός* 'young, youthful' ground-form *\*neu-ró-s*, see p. 189 above; it is doubtful whether *\*neu-ro-* was also the ground-form of the Armenian word. Gen. *mer* 'our' *jer* 'your' (nom. *me-ē* 'we' *du-ē* 'ye'): cp. O.Ir. possess. *ar n-* 'our' *far n-* 'your', Goth. *unsar* 'our' *izvar* 'your'; and further Gr. *ἡμέ-τερο-ς* *ὑμέ-τερο-ς*, Lat. *nos-ter ves-ter*.

*ender-ē* pl. 'intestines' cannot be quoted without suspicion, as it may perhaps have been borrowed from the Greek (*ἐν-τερα*), cp. p. 189.

Greek. *ὑπ-ερο-ς* 'pestle': Skr. *úpara-* etc., see p. 189 above. *ὄδ-ερο-ς* 'belly': Skr. *udará-* etc., see p. 191 above. *ἐν-εροι* 'inferi' (properly those within, those dwelling within the earth) from *ἐν* 'in', cp. also *ἐνέρ-τερο-ς* *νέρ-τερο-ς* 'deeper' beside *ἐνερ-θε* 'apud inferos' and *ἐν-τερο-ν* 'intestine'. *νεαρός* 'young, youthful': cp. Armen. *nor* (see above) and Lat. *noverca* meaning *\*ἡ νεαρκή*.

*ἐν-τερο-ν* 'intestine', see p. 189 above. *ὕστερο-ς* 'later'. *ὕστρο-ς* 'belly': Skr. *úttara-*, see p. 191 above. *πρό-τερο-ς* 'earlier': Avest. *fra-tara-*, see p. 190 above. Greek has many new formations modelled upon old comparatives derived, like these, from adverbs. *ὑπέρ-τερο-ς* 'higher' from *ὑπέρ*. *κατώ-τερο-ς* 'lower' from *κάτω*. *ὑψί-τερο-ς* 'higher' from *ὑψι*. *παροι-τερο-ς* 'more prominent' beside *πάραι-θε* 'before'. *μυχοί-τερο-ς* 'further back in the corner' (only *μυχοί-τατο-ς* is actually found) from *μυχοί* 'in the corner, inside'. *παλαι-τερο-ς* 'older' from *πύλαι*. *παλαι-τερο-ς* was referred to *παλαιός* and hence arose the forms *γεραι-τερο-ς* 'older' from *γεραιός*, *σχολαί-τερο-ς* 'more idle' from *σχολαῖος*, and when *-αιτερο-ς* further came to be regarded as an independent suffix, it produced the forms *ἡσυχ-αίτερο-ς* 'quieter' from *ἡσυχος*, *ιδι-αίτερο-ς* 'more especially one's own' from *ἴδιος*, and many more. With the adverbial termination *-τέρω*: *ἄνω-τέρω* from *ἄνω* 'up', *προσω-τέρω* from *πρόσω* 'forwards', *ἐγγν-τέρω* from *ἐγγύς* 'near', and many more.

*πό-τερο-* 'which of two?': Skr. *ka-tarā-s* etc., see p. 191 above. Dor. Boeot. etc. *ἄτερο-* 'one of two, the other' ground-form *\*sm-tero-* from *\*sem-* Gr. *εἷς* 'unus' (cp. *ἄ-παξ* etc.); the Attic form *ἑτερο-* no doubt arose through an assimilation to the vowel of *έν-*, just as *ἐκατόν* 'a hundred' replaced *\*ἀ-κατον* for the same reason.<sup>1)</sup> *ἐκά-τερο-* 'each of two' beside *ἐκάς*, cp. Wackernagel in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 150 f.

*ἡμέ-τερο-* 'our' *ὑμέ-τερο-* 'your': cp. Lat. *nos-ter ves-ter*.

The form *-tro-* occurs in *ἄλλο-τρο-ιο-* 'belonging to another, strange'; tis extension by the suffix *-ιο-* is no doubt due to the form of its antithesis *ἴδιο-*.

*-τερο-* was also the regular comparative termination in adjectives whose superlative was formed in *-τατο-* (§ 81). *ᾠμό-τερο-* 'more raw, more rude' from *ᾠμός*: Skr. *amā-tara-s*. *κοιφó-τερο-* 'lighter' from *κοῦφο-*. *γλυκύ-τερο-* 'sweeter' from *γλυκύ-*. *πῖό-τερο-* 'fatter' from *πῖων -ονος*, *ἐπιλησμό-τερο-* 'more forgetful' from *ἐπιλήσμων -ονος*, cp. *πῖό-της* and *ἀκμό-θετο-ν* (cp. § 12 p. 27, § 29 p. 49). *μελάν-τερο-* 'blacker', from *μέλας -ανος*. *χαριέστερο-* 'more charming, more gracious', i. e. *\*χαρι-φετ + τερο-*, from *χαρίεις -εντος*; *-φετ-* took the place of the regular phonetic *-φατ-* = Idg. *-h₂t-* (§ 127). *ἀχαρίστερο-* 'more ungraceful' i. e. *\*ἀχαριτ + τερο-*, from *ἄχαρις -ιτος*. *ἀληθέστερο-* 'truer' from *ἀληθής* neut. *-ές*.

Comparatives with *ω* like *σοφώ-τερο-* 'wiser', from *σοφός*, were formed from adverbs in *-ω* (cp. the Germanic comparatives in *-ōz-en-* formed from the instr. sing. in *-ō* § 81, and the Slavonic comparatives in *-ě-jǐ* which came from the instr. sing. in *-ě* § 135), and their use became gradually restricted to words in which the *ω* followed a short syllable. A few remaining examples of the freer use occur in literature, as *οἰζυρώτερος* (Hom.), *δυσποτμώτερος* (Eur.) and several others. The *-ο-* of *κενότερος στινότερος* in later Attic is a reminiscence of the early Attic forms *\*κενφό-* *\*στινφό-*, see p. 135 footnote.

1) A different explanation of *ἄτερο-* *ἑτερο-* is given by Per Persson, *Studia etymol.* p. 102; but his arguments do not convince me.

*-ωτερο-ς* was sometimes grafted upon other classes of stems, e. g. *ἐπιχαριτ-ώτερο-ς* 'more charming' from *ἐπίχαρις*.

The termination *-εστερο-ς* (*ἀληθέσ-τερο-ς*) was very largely extended in use as an independent suffix, e. g. *εὐδαιμον-έστερο-ς* 'happier' from *εὐδαιμων*, *ἀκρᾶτ-έστερο-ς* 'more unmixed' from *ἄκρᾶτο-ς*, *ἐρρωμεν-έστερο-ς* 'stronger' from *ἐρρωμένο-ς*.

Comparative suffixes were often combined. Parallel to *ἀρ-ισ-τερό-ς* (see p. 190) arose *λαλ-ιστίτερο-ς* 'more talkative' from *λάλο-ς*, *κλεπτ-ιστίτερο-ς* 'more thievish' from *κλέπτη-ς*, *βλακ-ιστίτερο-ς* 'lazier', from *βλάξ*, etc.; the spread of these double suffixes was furthered by the similar sound of the termination of *ἀχαρίστερο-ς* = \**ἀχαριτ-τερο-ς*. *ἀμεινó-τερο-ς* from *ἀμείνων* 'better', *ἀρειó-τερο-ς* from *ἀρείων* 'better' etc. *κυντερώ-τερο-ς* from *κύν-τερο-ς* 'more like a dog, more impudent', *ὑπερτερώ-τερο-ς* from *ὑπέρ-τερο-ς* 'upper', *προτεραί-τερο-ς* from *πρό-τερο-ς* 'earlier' (cp. Avest. *fratarō-tara-* p. 191), with other examples.

Comparatives are frequently formed from substantives. *κύν-τερο-ς* from *κύνων* 'dog'. *βασιλέν-τερο-ς* 'more royal' from *βασιλέν-ς* 'king'. *δημό-τερο-ς* 'belonging to the people' from *δῆμος* 'people', *ὄρέσ-τερο-ς* 'of the mountains' from *ὄρος* 'mountain' and the like, where the comparative suffix, just as in *ἡμέ-τερο-ς* Avest. *ušas-tara* O.H.G. *ni-daro*, only served to contrast the words with their opposites (cp. § 139).

Italic. Lat. *s-uperu-s s-uprā s-uprē-mu-s* Umbr. *subra* 'supra' Osc. *supruis* 'superis', beside Lat. *s-uper*, with the by-form *s-up-ter* (written *subter*), like O.H.G. *afar* beside Goth. *afar* (for the *s-* of *s-sub s-uper* see I § 568 p. 425): Skr. *úpara-s* etc., see p. 189 above. For Lat. *inferu-s infrā*, which are usually connected with Skr. *ádharma-* Goth. *undarō*, see § 72 p. 167, under Aryan.

Lat. *in-ter-ior in-trā in-trō*, Osc. *entraí* dat. fem. 'intestinae, ἐμφυλίων': Skr. *án-tara-* etc., see p. 189 above. Lat. *i-teru-m*, the stem of which is contained in Lat. *mātertera* ('quasi mater altera') for \**mātēr-iterā*, Umbr. *etram-a* 'ad alteram': Skr. *i-tara-s* 'other', perhaps also Goth. *idr-eiga* 'repentance' O.Icel. *iðra-sk* 'repent'. Lat. *ex-ter ex-trā* Osc. *eh-trad* 'extra', beside Lat. *ex*:

O.Ir. *echtr-ann* 'foreign, stranger'. Lat. *ci-ter ci-trā ci-trō*: Goth. *hi-drē* 'hither'. Lat. *pos-teru-s postrī-diē postrē-mu-s* Umbr. *postra* acc. fem. 'posteriores' Osc. *pústiris* 'posterius', from Ital. *pos pos-t*; it is perhaps better to analyse the word *post-eru-s*. Lat. *con-trā contrō-versia* Osc. *contrud* 'contra', beside Lat. *cum* Osc. *con*. Umbr. *hon-dra* 'infra' Osc. *hu[n]-truis* 'inferis', cp. Lat. *humu-s*, and Umbr. superl. *hon-domu* § 73 p. 179. Umbr. *pretra* acc. fem. 'priors', beside Lat. *prae-ter*.

Lat. *u-ter u-tra* (I § 431 Rem. 3 p. 321) Umbr. *podruh-pei* 'utroque' Osc. *pútúrús-píd* 'utrique' (for \**potro-*, see I § 271 p. 218, § 627 p. 471): Skr. *ka-tará-s* etc., see p. 190 above. Lat. *al-ter altera altrín-secus* Osc. *alltram* 'alteram', beside Lat. *al-iu-s* (cp. § 63, 3 p. 132).

Lat. *nos-ter nostra*, *ves-ter vestra*, Umbr. *vestra* abl. 'vestra', Osc. *nistrus* 'nostros' (according to Bugge; 'propiores' according to Bücheler): cp. Gr. *ἡμέτερος ὑμέτερος*.

Lat. *dex-ter dextera* and *dextra*, Umbr. *destram-e* 'in dextram': cp. O.Ir. *Dechter* a woman's name (Zimmer, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXX 214) and Gr. *δεξι-τερός* 'dexter' (formed like *ῥήϊ-τερος*). Umbr. *nertru* abl. 'sinistro': Gr. *νέρι-τερος ἐνέρι-τερος* 'deeper' beside *ἐνερ-θε* (cp. p. 192); as to the meaning 'left', see Bücheler *Umbrica* p. 76 f.

Here perhaps should also be classed *palūs-ter*, from *palūd-*, *Nemes-tr-īnu-s*, from *nemus*, Volsc. *Veles-trom* 'Veliternorum', beside Gr. *ἐλος* 'low ground'; so also Lat. *campester terrester silvester* and the like, which are to be compared with the Gr. *ἐνδαμουν-έστερος* (p. 194).

Combinations of comparative suffixes. *-is-tero-*: Lat. *sin-is-ter -tra* see p. 190, Lat. *magister magistrī* Umbr. *mestru* fem. 'maior', beside Lat. *magis* Osc. *mais* 'magis'; Lat. *minister ministri* Osc. *mīnstreis* 'minoris', beside Lat. *minus*; cp. § 135. Lat. *inter-ior dexter-ior* and the like, Osc. *pústir-is*. Lat. *suprē-mu-s extrē-mu-s* and the like (cp. § 72 p. 168) and *postrē-m-issimu-s* (cp. § 73 p. 179).

Old Irish. *ar n- far n-* poss. 'our, your', orig. gen. pl.

like Lat. *nostrum vestrum*: cp. Armen. *mer jer* Goth. *unsar izvar*.<sup>1)</sup>

*in-a-thar* Corn. *enederen* 'intestines' O.Ir. *eter etir* 'between': cp. Skr. *an-trā-m* etc., see above p. 189. *ōchtar uachtar* n. 'that which is above, the upper part', beside *ōs uas* 'above'. *echtrann* 'a stranger' from *ech-tar* 'extra' (*-tar* for *\*-trā*): Lat. *extero-extra*. *air-ther* 'former, the east', from *ar air* 'ante'.

*cech-tar* 'each of two' from *cech* adj. 'each'. *nech-tar* 'one of two' from *nech* 'one'.

*-ther* is also found side by side with *-iu* (§ 135) in adjectival comparative forms, yet it is comparatively much rarer than in Aryan and Greek: *luathi-ther* from *luath* 'quick', *libri-ther* from *lebor* 'long' and so forth. It occurs also in comparatives formed from substantives: Mid.Ir. *mētither* 'larger' from *mēt* f. 'size'.

*-is-tero-*. *sinser* 'older, oldest', ground-form *\*sen-is-tero-*, cp. *sin-iu* 'older' Lat. *sen-ior*. *ōser* 'younger, youngest' ground-form *\*iā'u-is-tero-*, cp. *ōa* 'younger' Skr. *yāv-īyas- yāv-iṣ-ṭha-*.

Germanic. Goth. *uf-arō* 'over' A.S. *uf-er-ra* 'upper': Skr. *ūp-ara-* etc., see p. 189 above. Goth. *und-arō* 'underneath' O.H.G. *unt-aro untero* 'lower' (adj.): Skr. *ādḥ-ara-* etc., see p. 189 above. A.S. *af-era eafora* O.Sax. *aḅaro* 'offspring': Skr. *āp-ara-* etc., see p. 190 above. O.H.G. *ūz-ro ūzaro ūzero* A.S. *ūt-ra ūter-ra* 'outer': Skr. *ūd-ara- ud-arā-* etc., see p. 191 above. O.H.G. *sīd-ero* A.S. *sīdra* 'later' (adj.), beside O.H.G. *sīd* 'late, later'.

Goth. *uns-ar* 'our' fem. *unsara*, *izv-ar* 'your' fem. *izvara*, O.H.G. *unsēr iuwēr*; *unsro* (nom. pl. fem.) *unsrēm* (dat. pl.) and the like, show the West-Germanic syncope: cp. Armen. *mer jer*, O.Ir. *ar n-*, *far n-*.

Goth. *vi-þra* O.H.G. *wi-dar* 'against, with-' (in composition):

1) "*ar n-* and *far n-* no doubt stand for *\*(s)arom* *\*(s)arom*, since *s* disappears before a vowel which precedes the accent (cp. *it* = *\*senti*). We find in Mid.Ir. *sar*, accented, in Ps. 2, but *nar* in Ps. 1. I suppose *\*sarom* *\*sarom* to have arisen in proclitic positions, from forms like the Goth. *unsar izdr*, by loss of the initial sonant (*uns-* for *us-*), just as Romance *lo* came from *illum*, *loro* from *illorum*." Thurneysen.

Skr. *vi-tará-m.* O.H.G. *ni-daro* A.S. *ni-ðer-ra* 'lower' (adj.):  
 Skr. *ni-tará-m.* O.H.G. *for-dro fordaro fordaro* A.S. *furðra*  
 'former' ground-form \**pǫ-tero-*, beside Goth. *faúr faúra* 'before'.  
 O.H.G. *hin-taro* 'hinder' beside Goth. *hin-dar* 'behind', cp. A.S.  
 superl. *hin-dema*. Goth. *af-tarō* 'from behind' *aftra* 'back' O.H.G.  
*aftra aftaro aftero* 'hinder part' beside Goth. *afar*. Several ad-  
 verbial terminations derived from *-tero-* show considerable fertility,  
 e. g. Goth. *hi-drē* 'hither' (Lat. *ci-trō ci-trā*) *jáin-drē* 'thither',  
*jáin-þrō* 'thence', *alja-þrō* 'from some other place' *dala-þrō* 'from  
 beneath'. With regard to several adverbs in *-ar*, like Goth.  
*af-ar hin-dar*, we cannot tell whether they are acc. sing. neut.  
 (cp. Skr. *prataram* Gr. *πρότερον* Lat. *iterum*) or are parallel to  
 forms like Gr. *ὑπὲρ* Skr. *upári*.

Goth. *hva-þar* O.H.G. *hwedar wedar (wederemo wederan)*  
 'which of two?': Skr. *ka-tará-s* etc., see p. 190 above. Goth.  
*an-þar* O.H.G. *andar (andremo andran* with West Germanic  
 syncope) 'other': Lith. *añ-tra-s* 'other'.

Combination of comparative suffixes. O.H.G. *win-is-tar*  
 'left', see p. 190 above. *-(t)ero- + -ies- -is-*: O.H.G. *unt-arōro*  
 beside *unt-aro*, *for-drōro* beside *for-dro* and the like, A.S. *ūt-*  
*-er-ra* beside *ūt-ra*, *æfter-ra* beside *æft-ra*, etc. O.H.G. superl.  
*unt-arōsto* from *unt-aro*, *for-darōsto* from *for-dro fordaro*, *af-tristo*  
 from *af-tro* and the like.

Remark. O.Icel. *aus-tr* 'east' O.H.G. *ōs-tra ōs-tara* f. 'Easter' *ōstar*  
 'eastwards' (*ōstar : ōstana = hintar : hintana*), A.S. *eāstra eāsterra* 'more  
 easterly', also Goth. *Ōstro-gotha*: cp. Lat. *aus-ter austr-āli-s*, and further  
 Avest. *ušas-/ara-* 'easterly'. Should we consider the Germanic and the  
 Latin word as the extension of a noun-stem \**aus-to-* by *-ero-*, or as  
 derivatives in *-tero-* from an adverb \**aus*, or as the regular phonetic re-  
 presentatives of a form \**aus-(e)s-l(e)ro-*? In Germanic the names for the  
 other quarters of the heavens are exactly parallel to the word for east,  
 so far as their inflexional part is concerned, cp. e. g. O.Icel. *westr norðr*  
*suðr*, A.S. compar. *westerra norðerra sūðerra*. *norðr* appears to be con-  
 nected with Gr. *νότος* Umbr. *neitro-*. In proper names we find also  
*Ausi- Auri-* beside *Austro- Austar-*, and *Wesc- Wisi-* (*Wesc-gothae Wisi-*  
*gothae*) beside *Westar-*.

Balto-Slavonic. *-ero-* cannot be identified with certainty.  
 Perhaps in O.C.Sl. *seŭ-erŭ* Lith. *sziau-r-ỹ-s* 'north wind'?

O.C.Sl. *je-tro* 'liver' from Idg. \**en* 'in', and beside it *a-tro-ba*

f. 'intestines, belly' *a-tr-ī* adv. 'inside' beside O.C.Sl. *vŭ* for \**on*, cp. p. 189. O.C.Sl. *ju-tro u-tro* 'morning' loc. *jutrē utrē* 'tomorrow', from *ju u* Lith. *jaũ* 'iam' (whence also O.C.Sl. *junũ* Lith. *jũuna-s* 'young', see § 66 p. 149).

Lith. *ka-trà-s* 'which of two, which, who?' O.C.Sl. *ko-tery-jĩ ko-tory-jĩ* 'who?': Skr. *ka-tará-* etc., see p. 190 above. Lith. *añ-tra-s* 'other, second' fem. *antrà*: Goth. *an-þar*; in O.C.Sl. *vũ-torũ*, which corresponds in meaning, the form of the root is unexplained. O.C.Sl. *je-terũ* 'any one', from the pronominal stem *je-*: Skr. *ya-tará-*, relat. 'which of two'.

### § 76. The Suffix *-lo- -lā-, -llo- -llā-*.<sup>1)</sup>

For the variation between *-llo-* and *-lo-* see I § 287 p. 229.

In the proethnic and later periods it is both primary and secondary, forming adjectives and substantives. In its primary use *-lo-* serves especially to form nouns of the agent and instrument; as a secondary suffix it is used especially to form diminutives: in the latter use *-lo-* was exceedingly fertile in Latin, Germanic and Lithuanian.

Indo-Germanic. Skr. *tu-rá-* 'mighty, strong' *tũ-la-m* 'panicle, tuft, reed, cotton' *tũ-lā* 'cotton plant', Gr. *τῦ-λο-ς* *τῦ-λη* (also *τῦ-λη*) 'swelling, lump', Lith. *tũ-la-s* 'so many', i. e. 'a good number of' O.C.Sl. *ty-lũ* 'neck', *√tey-* 'tumere'. Skr. *ci-rá-* 'long', *ci-rá-m* 'delay, delaying', Goth. *hvei-la* 'while, time'. Armen. *dai-l da-l* 'beestings', Gr. *μη-λη* 'mother's breast', Lat. *felāre*, O.Ir. *de-l* 'teat', O.H.G. *ti-la* 'woman's breast', Lett. *dē-l-s* (stem *dē-la-*) 'son' Lith. *pirm-dē-l-ẽ* 'one that has borne a child for the first time', *√dhē(i)-* 'suck'; cp. also Gr. *μη-λν-ς* 'suckling, female' Skr. *dha-rũ-š* 'sucking' with *-lu-* (§ 107). Gr. Lac. *ἐλλᾶ* 'seat' for \**ἐδ-λᾶ* (I § 364 p. 277), Lat. *sella* for \**sed-lā* (I § 369

1) Besides the authorities given in the footnote on p. 180 cp. Osthoff, Die Suffixform *-sla-*, vornemlich im German., Paul-Brauno's Beitr. III 335 ff.; Vogel, Lateinische Diminutiva auf *-ulus*, Mitau 1876; Lissner, Über den Suffixcomplex *-ti-li-* im Lat., Eger 1874; von Paucker, Die [lat.] Diminutiva mit dem Suffix *-culus, a, um*, Ztschr. f. österr. Gymn. 1876 p. 595 ff., and the same writer, Die [lat.] Diminutiva mit doppeltem *l* (*-ellus, -illus, -ullus* etc.), Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIII 169 ff.

p. 280), Goth. *sit-l-s* 'seat', O.C.Sl. *selo* 'fundus' (Lower Sorb. *sedlo* 'seat' Upper Sorb. *sydlo* 'abode' Czech *sed-l-ák* 'peasant') for \**sed-lo-* (I § 548 p. 402). Idg. \**ghes-lo-* \**ghes-l-ijo-*: Skr. *sa-hásra-m* 'thousand' *sa-hasríya-s* 'thousandfold', Gr. *δεκά-χιλοι* 'ten thousand' Lesb. *χέλλοι* Dor. *χήλλοι* Att. *χίλλοι* 'thousand' from \**χ<sub>ε</sub>-σ-lo-* (I § 565 p. 423); for the *ι* of *δεκά-χιλοι* and *χίλλοι* I can now refer to Thurneysen, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXX 353.

Gr. Hom. *ομίχ-λη* Lith. *mig-là myg-là* (also *myg-là* with the suffix *-iā-*) O.C.Sl. *mīg-la* 'mist'. Skr. *aj-irā-* 'mobile, quick', compare Lat. *ag-ili-s* (transferred from the *o-* to the *i-* declension), which may represent either \**ag-llo-* or \**ag-lo-*.

In Italic, Germanic and Balto-Slavonic we frequently find *-s-lo-*, which was taken from forms where *-s-* was the so-called root-determinative, like Lat. *ala* for \**a<sub>1</sub>la* (cp. *axilla*) O.Sax. *ahsla* O.H.G. *ahsala* 'shoulder' beside Skr. *ákṣa-s* O.H.G. *ahsa* Lat. *axi-s* Lith. *as<sub>2</sub>l-s* 'axle' for \**ag + s-* from \**ag-* 'drive, set in motion'; O.H.G. *dehsala* O.C.Sl. *tesla* 'axe' beside Avest. *taša* 'axe' Gr. *ρόξο-ν* 'bow' O.H.G. *dehsa* 'hatchet, trowel' from \**tek- + s-*.

In the same way were formed e. g. Lat. *vēlu-m* 'sail' (cp. *verillu-m*) O.C.Sl. *veslo* 'oar' from \**uegh + slo-* ('means of moving'), √ *uegh-* 'vehere'.

*-lo-* as a secondary suffix. Skr. *nābhīla-m* 'puḍenda, navel', Gr. *ομφαλό-ς* 'navel, boss of a shield', Lat. *umbil-īcu-s*, O.Ir. *imbl-iu* 'navel', O.H.G. *nabolo* O.Icel. *nafla* m. 'navel', beside Skr. *nābhi-ṣ* 'nave, navel', Lat. *umbō* 'boss of a shield', O.H.G. *naba* 'nave', Pruss. *nabi-s* 'nave, navel' Lett. *nabba* 'navel'. Skr. *tūm-ra-* 'swelling, fat, strong', Lat. *tumulu-s*, O.Icel. *þumall* m. 'thumb', beside Skr. *tū-tū-mā-* Avest. *tū-ma-* 'strong, powerful' etc., see § 72 p. 171. Skr. *bahu-lā-* 'thick' Gr. *παχυ-λό-ς* 'rather thick', beside Skr. *bahú-ṣ* Gr. *παχύ-ς* 'thick'. Skr. *aṅku-rá-s* 'a swelling, tumour', Gr. *ὀγκύ-λο-ς* 'swollen, proud' (whence *ὀγκύλλομαι*) *ἀγκύ-λο-ς* 'crooked' (older accentuation \**ὀγκυλό-ς* \**ἀγκυλό-ς*, see I § 676, 4 p. 542 f.); we should perhaps also compare O.H.G. *angul* O.Icel. *qngull* m. 'fishhook, angle', pr. Germ. \**a<sub>1</sub>ngulá-*, cp. Skr. *aṅku-śá-s* 'hook'. The diminutival sense is clearly marked e. g. in Lat. *porculu-s* *porcil-ia* O.H.G. *farhel-i* n. Lith.



*parszēl-i-s* 'little pig, sucking pig' compared with *porcu-s farah pařsza-s* 'pig', Lat. *rotula* Lith. *ratēl-i-s* 'little wheel' beside *rota rāta-s* 'wheel' (the diminutival sense of the *l*-derivative in Lithuanian is certainly older than the addition of the further suffix *-jo-*, although the latter is also a diminutive suffix, see § 63, 2). Here belong also pet-names like Skr. *bhānu-la-* Gr. *Θρασύ-λο-ς* O.Ir. *Tuath-al* Goth. *Vulfi-la* Pruss. *Butil*, for which see below.

The termination *-e-lo-* is exceedingly common and certainly dates from the proethnic period of Indo-Germanic, but in many cases we cannot tell whether the stem to which it is added is verbal or nominal.

Aryan. Skr. *sthū-rā- sthū-lā-* 'massive, strong, rough, stupid': Gr. *στῦ-λο-ς* 'pillar'. Skr. *has-rā-* 'laughing', with which Windisch would compare Gr. *χεῖλο-ς* n. 'lip' for \**χεσ-λ-ος*. Avest. *tiy-ra-* 'point': Goth. *stik-l-s*, see below. Avest. *stax-ra-* 'strong, firm': O.H.G. *stah-al*, see below. Skr. *sa-hāsra-m* Avest. *ha-zanre-m* 'thousand': Gr. Lesb. *χέλλ-ιοι*, see p. 199 above. Skr. *gō-la-s* 'ball', *gō-la-m gō-lā* 'spherical water-vessel': Gr. *γαν-λό-ς* 'pail, vessel' *γαῦ-λο-ς* 'trading ship' (O.H.G. *chiol* and O.Icel. *kjöll* 'ship' can hardly be compared with this group of words; their vocalism seems to shew that they come from a different root). Avest. *zaf-ra-* n. (beside *zafar*\*) 'mouth, throat': O.Sax. *kaf-l* A.S. *ceaf-l* m. 'jaw' (of animals).

*-llo-*. Skr. *ajirā-s*; see above. *suš-irā-s śuṣ-irā-s* (see I § 557, 4 p. 413) 'hollow, a reed', n. 'hole, wind instrument': Gr. *αὐλ-ός* 'reed, pipe, flute' for \**συνσ-λο-ς*. Skr. *āṅgira-*, name of divine beings who were regarded as mediators between men and gods: Gr. *ἄγγελος* 'messenger': the *g* of the Skr. form implies that the original form was not \**āngā-lo-* (cp. Skr. *āni-la-s* 'wind' Gr. *ἄνε-μος* for \**anā-*, beside Skr. *āni-mi*), but \**āng-llo-*, see I § 445 p. 331, § 450 p. 333 f. We should no doubt add *tum-ura-* *tum-ula-* 'loud, noisy' beside *tum-ala-*, with the same meaning (cp. *trpā-la* beside *trp-rā-* 'restless, anxious'): Lat. *tumul-tu-s*: the word is usually connected, and perhaps rightly, with Skr. *túm-ra-* 'swelling puffed up' (see p. 198 above.)

*-lo-* in secondary use. Skr. *nābhīla-m*, *tūm-ra-* (ultimately also *tum-ura-*), *bahu-lā-*, *aṅku-rā-s*; see above. Further, with diminutive sense, *vṛṣa-lā-s* 'mannikin, small man' (*vṛṣan-* 'man'), *śiśu-lā-s* 'little child' (*śiśu-ś* 'child'), *śalaka-lā* 'small splinter' (*śalāka* 'splinter'). Add pet names like *bhānu-la-* cp. *bhānu-datta-*, *pity-la-* cp. *pity-datta-*, *dēvila-* cp. *dēva-datta-*.

Remark 1. We may add here a number of forms from Aryan, in which it is doubtful whether the suffix is Idg. *-ro-* or *-lo-*, cp. § 74 p. 182.

Skr. *dū-rā-* Avest. O.Pers. *dū-ra-* 'distant'. Skr. *krū-rā-* 'bloody, wounded, cruel, gruesome', Avest. *xrū-ra-* 'wounding, horrible'. Skr. *śrī-lā-* 'beautiful' *a-śrī-rā-* *a-ślīla-* 'not beautiful, ugly' Avest. *sri-ra-* 'beautiful', cp. compar. Skr. *śrē-yas-*. Skr. *ug-rā-* Avest. *uy-ra-* 'strong, mighty'. Skr. *āg-ra-m* Avest. *ay-re-m* 'beginning'. Skr. *kṣip-rā-* 'quick', *miś-rā-* 'mixed' *ā-miś-lā-* 'intermingling', *vak-rā-s* 'crooked', *pā-lā-s* 'protector, herdsman', *rāndh-ra-m* 'opening'. Avest. *hix-re-m* 'fluid, impurity'.

*-rro-* *-llo-*. Skr. *dhvas-irā-* (beside *dhvas-rā-*) 'scattering', *mad-irā-* 'gladdening', *sar-irā-* *sal-irā-* 'flowing, undulating', n. 'wave, flood', *tṛd-ilā-* 'perforated, porous'. In Iranian the regular phonetic development reduced *-rro-* *-llo-* and *-e-ro-* *-e-lo-* to one form *-ara-*, and they are thus indistinguishable.

*-ro-* *-lo-* in secondary use; Skr. *āsu-ra-* Avest. *ahu-ra-* O.Pers. *au-ra-* (in *aura-mazdāh-*) meaning perhaps 'lord', epithet of divinities, compared with Skr. *āsu-* 'vital spirit'; for the etymology of the word see von Bradke, Ztschr. der deutsch. morg. Ges. XL. 347 ff. Skr. *pāsu-rā-* 'dusty' (*pāśu-ś* 'dust'). *madhu-ra-* *madhu-lā-* 'sweet' (*mādhū* 'sweetness, honey'). *muśka-rā-* 'having testicles' (*muśkā-s* 'testicle'). *phēna-lā-* 'foamy' (*phēna-s* 'foam'). In the following words the primary stem has no final *-a-*: *dhūm-rā-* 'gray' (*dhūmā-s* 'smoke'), *rath-irā-* 'travelling in a chariot' (*rātha-s* 'chariot'), *phēn-ila-* beside *phēna-lā-* 'foamy'.

The addition of *-ra-* *-la-* to stems in *-van-* is particularly common. The combination *-vara-* *-vala-* (cp. p. 182 for Skr. *pīvara-* Gr. *πίρο-*; = Idg. *\*pi-ye-ró-*) was taken into common use as an independent suffix. Skr. *adhvarā-s* 'festal gathering' (*ādhevan-* 'way') *it-varā-* 'going' (*itevan-* 'going'), and further *vid-valā-* 'clever' (*vid-* 'know'), *kṛṣi-valā-* 'husbandman' (*kṛṣi-ś* 'husbandry') and other words. *-varī* is a common fem. termination from adjectives in *-van-*; e. g. *yāj-varī* from *yāj-van-* 'pious', *ṛtāv-varī* Avest. *ašāvairi* from *ṛtāvan-* *ašāvan-* 'pious'. In Avestic, certain nom.-acc. neut. end in *-varē*, e. g. *miṣ-warē* from *miṣ-van-* n. 'pair', *karš-varē* from *karš-van-* n., the name for the seven divisions of the earth: op. Gr. *πῖ-(f)αρ* 'fat' beside *πίρο-*; *πίρο-*;

Compare with this *-vara-* *-vala-* Skr. *admarā-* 'ravenous' from *ād-man-* n. 'food', *sidhmālā-* 'leprous' from *sid-man-* *sid-mā-* 'leprosy'; further, O.H.G. O.Sax. *himil* beside Goth. *himin-s* 'heaven', A.S. *dymel* 'thumb-stall, finger-guard' beside *ḍūma* m. (acc. *ḍūman*) 'thumb'.

Armenian *dai-l da-l* 'beestings': Gr. *θῆ-λη* etc., see above p. 198.

Here too no doubt belong infinitives in -l, as *ta-l* 'to give' (indic. *ta-m*), *bere-l* 'to carry' (*bere-m*), *metani-l* 'to die' (*metani-m*).

Greek. *στῦ-λο-ς* 'pillar': Skr. *sthā-rā- sthā-lā-*, see above p. 200. *πῦ-λο-ς* 'felt': Lat. *pi-lu-s* 'hair' and the derivative *pīleu-s* 'felt' (also written *pilleus*, see I § 612 p. 463<sup>1</sup>). *καυ-λό-ς* 'stalk': Lat. *cau-lae* pl. 'cavities' (cp. also Lat. *cau-li-s* 'stalk'), Lith. *káu-la-s* 'bone'. *ζεύγ-λη* 'yoke-ring, thong': cp. Lat. *jug-ulae* pl. 'Orion's girdle of stars'. *τυφ-λό-ς* 'blind'. *στρεβ-λό-ς* 'twisted'. *ἐκ-παγλο-ς* 'awful, terrible' for \**ἐκ-πλαγ-λο-ς*, from *ἐκ-πλαγ-ῆναι*, see I § 266 p. 215. *φῦ-λο-ν* 'stem, race' *φῦ-λή* 'community' *ἄθ-λο-ς* *ᾄθ-λο-ς* 'contest' *ἄεθ-λο-ν* *ᾄθ-λο-ν* 'prize'. *στροβ-λη* 'roll, roller'.

By the side of the adjectives in pr. Gr. -η-ρο-ς (§ 74 p. 184) there were others in -η-λο-ς, like Hom. *κατα-ρῖγῆλό-ς* 'making one shudder, terrible' (*κατα-ρριγέω*), *μιμηλό-ς* 'imitative, imitated' (*μιμέομαι*), including such substantival *nomina agentis* as *κάπηλο-ς* 'huckster', Lac. *δείκηλο-ς* (and the extended form *δεικηλικτᾶ-ς*) 'actor'. Cp. Lat. *cicindēla* (below, Remark 2) and Lith. *tekē-la-s* beside *tekē-ti* (see below).

*πῦλο-ς* 'fat', like *πῖαρό-ς*, from *πῖαίνω* (see § 74 Rem. p. 185), extended *πῖαλέο-ς* 'fat' (see § 64 p. 135); like the latter are formed *ἰκμαλέο-ς* 'damp', from *ἰκμαίνω*, *κρῦμαλέο-ς* 'frosty', from *κρῦμαίνω*, *δειμαλέο-ς* 'timid, terrible' from *δειμαίνω*, and many other similar words.

-λλο-. *κεφ-αλή* beside *κέβ-λη* 'head': Goth. *gib-la* m. 'spire' O.H.G. *gebal* m. 'skull, head', ✓ *ghebbh-*. *πέτ-αλο-ς* 'outspread' *πέτ-αλο-ν* 'leaf'. *αῖθ-αλο-ς* 'soot'. *κρέμβ-αλο-ν* 'rattle'.

-λο- -λλο- in secondary use. *παχυ-λό-ς*, *ὀγκύ-λο-ς*, see p. 199. *ἡδύ-λο-ς* 'sweetish' (*ἡδύ-ς* 'sweet'), *δριμύ-λο-ς* 'somewhat sharp' (*δριμύ-ς* 'sharp'), both with shifted accent like *ὀγκύλο-ς* (see I § 676, 4, p. 542 f.). *δανλό-ς* 'thickly overgrown' for \**δασυ-λο-ς*, from *δασύ-ς* 'thickly grown', *τραυλό-ς* 'lisping, snarling, stuttering'

1) In the first sentence of this section of the English edition (p. 462) instead of 'nasal liquid explosive or sonant', read 'nasal liquid explosive or spirant' (Geräuschlaut).

for \**τρασν-λο-ς* beside Skr. *त्रक्षु-* 'brisk, impetuous' (Wheeler, Der griech. Nominalaccent 63). *όμ-αλό-ς* 'smooth, even', from *όμό-*: Lat. *simili-s*, for older \**sem-lo-* or \**sem-llo-*. *χαμ-αλό-ς* 'low', beside *χθον-* 'earth' for \**χθου-* (I § 204 p. 172, II § 160, 2): Lat. *hum-ili-s*. Words like *παχν-λό-ς*, where *-λο-* acts as a diminutive suffix, gave rise to a number of new formations, most of which however appear only in later Greek; as *μικκ-ύλο-ς* 'small', from *μικκό-ς*, *άρκτ-ύλο-ς* 'young bear', from *ἄρκτο-ς*; and to extended formations with *-ίλο-* like *καθαρ-ύλλο-ς* 'cleanly' (*καθαρό-ς* 'clean'), to which again a further diminutive suffix was added, e. g. *άνθ-ύλλ-ιο-ν* 'floweret' (*ἄνθος*), *ἐπ-ύλλ-ιο-ν* 'small poem' (*ἔπος*). Pet names with *-λο-* are common. *Ὀνησί-λο-ς* cp. *Ὀνησι-κράτης*, *Ταξι-λο-ς* cp. *Ταξι-κλής*; hence *-λο-ς* became an independent ending, e. g. *Σω-ίλο-ς* cp. *Σω-κράτης*. Further, we have names of this kind extended by *-ίλο-* as *Τίρψι-λλο-ς*, cp. *Τερψι-κλής*; then *-ιλλο-ς* also became an independent ending, as *Δόρ-ιλλο-ς* cp. *Δορύ-λᾶος*. *Θρασύ-λο-ς* cp. *Θρασυ-μαχος*, *Βαθύ-λο-ς* cp. *Βαθυ-λᾶος*, hence such forms as *Ἀγ-ύλο-ς* *Ἠγ-ύλο-ς* cp. *Ἀγέ-στρωτο-ς* *Ἠγέ-στρωτο-ς*; with the *-ίλο-* extension we have e. g. *Βάθν-λλο-ς* beside *Βαθύ-λο-ς*, hence forms like *Νίκ-υλλο-ς* cp. *Νίκο-μήδης*.

We may regard either as primary or as denominative formations adjectives in *-ā-lo-*, such as *σιγηλό-ς* (Pind. *σιγᾶλό-ς*) 'silent, quiet' beside *σιγάω* 'I am silent' and *σιγή* 'silence', *ἀπατηλό-ς* 'deceitful' beside *ἀπατάω* 'I deceive' and *ἀπάτη* 'deceit', cp. *-ā-ro-* § 74 p. 184 f. The same is generally true of forms in *-ε-lo-* = Idg. *-e-lo-*, e. g. \**τρων-ε-λό-ς* 'turning' in *ἐν-τρέπελο-ς* 'turning easily': Lat. *torculu-s* for \**torcu-lo-* (I § 431 c p. 320 f.); *στυφ-ε-λό-ς* beside *στυφ-λό-ς* 'solid, compact, firm, hard'; *εἰκ-ε-λο-ς* 'like, similar'; *μῦ-ε-λό-ς* 'marrow'; *σκόπ-ε-λο-ς* 'rock'; *νεφ-έ-λη* 'cloud': Lat. *nebula*, O.Ir. *nēl* 'cloud' for \**neb-lo-*, O.H.G. *neb-ul* m. 'cloud'; *ἀγ-έ-λη* 'herd': cp. O.Lat. *agolo-* n. 'pastorale baculum, quo pecudes aguntur' (Paul. Fest.). The *-λο-* of *-ε-lo-* can be more certainly identified as a secondary suffix in *πι-με-λή* 'fat' and *θν-μέ-λη* 'place of offering', to be compared with *ή-μέ-ρᾱ* and similar words, but in no other examples.

Italic. Ital. \*fē-lo- in Lat. *fēl-are* *fīl-iu-s*, Umbr. *feliuf* *filiu* acc. 'lactantes' *fel.* (abbreviation) 'filius': Gr. *ῥῆ-λη* 'mother's breast', Lett. *dē-l-s* 'son' etc., see above p. 198. Lat. *sella* for \**sed-lā*: Gr. *ἑλλά* etc., see above, p. 198 f. *grallae* 'stilts', compared with *gradior.* *rallu-m* (*ā*?) 'ploughshare' beside *rādula* 'scraper' (is this for orig. \**rad-ʎlā*, or a new formation of later date?) from *rādō*; also *rallu-s* (*ā*?) 'close shorn'. *caelu-m* 'chisel' from *caedō*. *pīlu-m* 'pestle' for \**pīns-lo-m* (I § 208 p. 175 f.). *exem-p-lu-m* (from *eximō*, 'something taken out', hence) 'specimen, type', *tem-p-lu-m* (cp. Gr. *τέμνω*, 'something cut off', hence) 'holy precinct, temple', with -*p*- as a glide sound (I § 208 p. 175). *assecla*, from *assequor*.

-ulo- ulā- are very frequent in Latin. In the forms *assecula* beside *assecla*, *vinculu-m* beside *vinclu-m*, *torculu-s* (*torqueō*), *coculu-m* (*coquō*), as in *tragula* (*trahō*), -ulo- -ulā- were developed from -lo- -lā- during the Latin period, see I § 269 p. 218, § 431 c p. 320 f., § 509 p. 373. Elsewhere it is doubtful, whether Idg. -lo- or -ʎlo- or -e-lo- was the original suffix; e. g. in the *nomina instrumenti*, like *capulu-s* *capulu-m* *excipulu-m* (cp. O.H.G. *hev-ilo* 'yeast', the means of making something rise), *cingulu-m* *cingula*, *tēgulu-m* *tēgula*, *cōpula*, *rēgula*. Further, in substantival *nomina agentis*, as *figulu-s* 'potter' *legulu-s* 'gatherer', and adjectival *nomina agentis*, which usually imply a culpable tendency to some action, as *bibulu-s*, *crēdulu-s*, *gemulu-s*, *tremulu-s*, *pendulu-s*: cp. Goth. *sakul-s* 'quarrelsome' and the like; see below. In a few cases also it is conceivable that the suffix may represent Idg. -u-lo-. Where there has been a transference from the *o*- to the *i*- declension, -ili- appears, instead of -ulo-. Thus we have *agili-s*: Skr. *ajirā-s*, see above, p. 199. Similarly *bibili-s*, *fragili-s*, *facili-s*, *docili-s*, *habili-s* etc., and by an extension to the *to*- participle *coctili-s*, *fissili-s*, *flexili-s*, *versatili-s*, *volatili-s* etc.

-s-lo- is of common occurrence. *āla*, *vēlu-m*, see p. 199 above. *alu-m* 'wild garlic' for \**an-s-lo-m*, cp. O.C.Sl. *ačh-ati* 'to give forth smell' for \**on-s-ati*, beside Skr. *āni-ti*. *prēlu-m* for \**prem-s-lo-m*, from *premō*. *pālu-s* *pālu-m* for \**pac-slo-* or \**pāc-slo-*,

from *pac-īsiōr*, √ *pāk-* 'fasten': cp. Gr. *πάσσαλο-ς* 'peg, nail' as though from a present *\*πάσσω*, for *\*παζιω* (cp. *πήσσω*), and hence to be compared in point of formation with O.H.G. *azkel* from *decken* = O.Icel. *þekja*. *scāla* for *\*scantslā*, from *scamē*. For the phonetic changes in these words see I § 208 p. 175 f., § 570 p. 428.

Remark 2. Osthoff (Paul-Braune's Beitr. III 346) would also derive from *-s-lo-* *-s-lā-* the feminine substantives like *fugēlu sequēla querēla*, and *candēlu nitēla*, referring, *-ēla* in the former group to *\*-e-slā* (cp. *fuge-re*), in the latter to *\*-ē-slā* (cp. *candē-re*), and he compares such Germ. forms as O.H.G. *ruomi-sala* f. *hruomi-sal* n. 'boasting' (see below). This is possible. Still there is nothing to prevent our deriving them from Idg. *-ē-lā-*, and I rather prefer this explanation on account of *cicindēla* 'glow-worm'. This was the feminine of an adjective *\*cicindēlo-*, which may be compared with Gr. *μύμη-λό-ς*. Accordingly we should regard *candēla* and the other parallel forms as having been originally adjectival.

*-lo-* *-llo-* is secondary in *simili-s*, *humili-s* (with change of declension, see p. 203 above); similarly *parili-s* from *pār*, *pestili-s* from *pesti-s*, *herbili-s* from *herba*. *nūbīlu-s* from *nūbēs*. *angulus*, Umbr. *anglom-e* 'in angulum' for *\*anc-lo-*, compared with Lat. *ancu-s*; similarly O.Lat. *ungulu-s* compared with *uncu-s*; see I § 499 p. 366. Whether *-lo-* is also secondary in Lat. *famul* *famulus* Osc. *famel* 'servus' *famelo* f. 'familia' (compare Lat. *famil-ia* Umb. *fameř-ias* pl. 'familiae') may be left an open question; see Danielsson in Pauli's Altital. Stud. III 178.

This suffix was very fertile in forming diminutives. Lat. *catulu-s* Umb. *katel* 'catulus' *katlu* 'catulum'. Lat. *porculu-s* *porcil-ia* beside *porcus*: O.H.G. *farhel-i* n. Lith. *parszēl-i-s* 'sucking pig'. *rotula* beside *rota*: Lith. *ratēl-i-s*. Other substantives are: *rēgulu-s*, *adulēscēntulu-s*, *ōīculu-s*, *scūtulu-m*, *glandula*, *nūtrīcula*, *animula*, *mēnsula*; *servolu-s*, *clāvola*; *filiolu-s*, *glōriola*, *līneo-la*. Adjectives: *loquāculu-s*, *valentulu-s*, *frīgīdulu-s*, *barbatulu-s*; *helvolu-s*; *ēbriolu-s*, *aureolu-s*. Umbr. *fondlo-* 'fonticulus' (*fondlir-e* 'in fonticulis') for *\*font-lo-*, cp. *adro-* I § 499 p. 366. Osc. *Nūvlā-* 'Nola' in *Nūvlanūs* pl. 'Nolani' corresponds to a Lat. form *\*novola* (beside *novō-s*). We should notice also as examples of different phonetic changes; Lat. *stella* for *\*ster-lā* (Gr. *ἀστὴρ* 'star'), *puella* for *\*puer-lā*, *agellus* for *\*ager-lo-s*,

*nigellu-s* for \**niger-lo-s*, *satullu-s* for \**satur-lo-s*, *paullu-s* *paulu-s* for \**paur-lo-s* (Gr. *παῦρος* 'small, little'), see I § 269 p. 216, § 633 p. 473 f.; further *asellu-s* for \**asen-lo-s*, *fēmella* for \**fēmen-lā*, *bellu-s* for \**ben-lo-s* (*bene*), *gemellu-s* for \**gemen-lo-s*, *suillu-s* for \**suin-lo-s*, *corōlla* for \**corōn-lā*, see I § 208 p. 175; lastly *lapillu-s* for \**lapid-lo-s*, see I § 369 p. 280.

In Latin *-lo-* was often added to these diminutives as a further diminutive suffix, e. g. *catellu-s* from *catulu-s*, *cistella* from *cistula*, (*catello-*: orig. \**cat-lo-* = \**ager-lo-* *agello-*: *agro-*), *agellulu-s* from *agellu-s*, *puellu-lā*, *paullu-lu-s*, *tenellulu-s*, *bellulu-s*.

Another suffix in which the diminutive sense was doubly expressed, but which in the historical period of Latin was regarded merely as a single diminutive suffix, arose in proethnic Italic through the addition of *-lo-* to the suffix *-ko-* (§ 88) <sup>1)</sup>: Lat. *diē-cula*, Osc. *zi-colois* 'diebus' *zi-culud* 'die' (see I § 73 p. 63 f., § 135 p. 123). Other examples from Latin are: *mūs-culu-s* 'little mouse, muscle' (cp. Skr. *muṣ-kā-* 'testicle' *mūṣ-aka-s* *mūṣ-ika* 'rat, mouse', Armen. *mukn* 'mouse, muscle'), *jūs-culu-m*, *corculu-m* i. e. \**cord*+*culu-m*, *māter-cula*, *latrānculu-s*, *corpus-culu-m*, *melius-culu-s*, *igni-culu-s*, *resti-cula*, *levi-culu-s*.

Old Irish. O.Ir. *de-l* 'teat': O.H.G. *ti-lā* etc., see above p. 198. *cē-l* O.Cymr. *coi-l* 'augurium': Goth. *hái-l-s* 'sound, healthy', O.H.G. *hei-l* 'sound, whole', A.Š. *hæl* O.Icel. *heill* n. (for \**hailiz-*) 'luck, favourable omen', Pruss. *kail-üstika-n* acc. 'health' O.C.Sl. *cě-lŭ* 'whole, complete'. *ně-l* 'cloud' for \**neb-lo-*, Cymr. *niol* 'cloud': Gr. *νιφέλη* etc., see p. 203 above. *coll* m. 'hazel' for \**cos-lo-*: Lat. *cor-ulu-s* '(*corylu-s*)' for \**cos-*, O.H.G. *hasal* O.Icel. *hasl* 'hazel'. *temel* 'darkness': Skr. *tam-rā-* 'darkening'. *sī-l* n. 'seed', √ *sē-*. *gabul* *gobul* Mod. Cymr. *gaf* 'forked branch or twig, fork of the thighs'.

*-s* + *lo-*. *uall* f. 'exaltation, haughtiness' *uasal* 'high, exalted, noble' Mod.Cymr. *uchel* 'high' Gall. *Ūxello-dūnu-m* 'High-town', compared with O.Ir. *ōs uas* Mod.Cymr. *uch* 'above' for \**auq-s* (cp. Lith. *duksz-ta-s* 'high') from √ *aug-* 'increase'; *uall* there-

1) G. Curtius (Stud. I 1, 259 ff.) treats this combination as older than the Italic period. I cannot regard this as completely demonstrated.

fore = *\*ayq-s-lā*, on the other hand *uasal* must be compared with Lat. *auxiliu-m*, which represents a form *\*auxulo-*, cp. *famil-ia*: *famulu-s*, *Caecil-ius*: *Caeculu-s*. *ciall* Mod.Cymr. *pwyl* 'wit understanding' orig. *\*gei-sla-*, cp. Skr. *ci-kē-ti ci-nō-ti* 'observes, finds out'. Perhaps we should add *giall* 'hostage' pr. Kelt. *\*gēslo-*: O.H.G. *gisal* O.Icel. *gisl* m. 'prisoner of war, prisoner held as a surety', common ground-form *\*gheislo-*; the etymology of the word has not been explained; the vocalism of the Keltic word is against its connexion with Lat. *haereō*, which Osthoff considered certain (Z. Gesch. d. Perf. 630).

*-lo-* occurs with diminutival force in pet names, such as *Tuathal* cp. *Tuath-char*; cp. also Gall. *Teutalu-s*, *Camulu-s*, *Toutillu-s*, *Catullu-s*.

Germanic. Goth. *fū-l-s* O.H.G. *fū-l* 'foul': Lith. *pū-lei* pl. 'pus, matter', stem *pū-l-ja-*. O.H.G. *siu-la* f. 'awl, punch': Lith. *siū-la-s* 'thread for stitching' *siū-l-ė* 'seam', perhaps also Gr. *ῥ-λ-ιαί* pl. 'pieces of leather for shoe soles' (Hesych.). O.H.G. O.Icel. *sei-l* n. 'rope' O.H.G. *si-lo* m. 'straps for draught cattle, harness': Lith. *āt-sei-l-i-s* 'the iron which joins the connecting rod to the axle, the crank', *āt-sai-l-ė* 'connecting pole between the splinter-bar and the axle'. Goth. *stō-l-s* O.H.G. *stuo-l* 'stool, seat': Lith. *pa-stó-la-s* 'stand', pl. 'carpenter's scaffolding', Goth. *stik-l-s* O.H.G. *stechal* m. 'drinking vessel, goblet' (properly used of drinking horns that run to a point, then of other drinking vessels): Avest. *tiy-ra-* 'point'. O.H.G. *hag-al* m. O.Icel. *hag-l* n. 'hail' is presumably to be compared with Gr. *ἄλλ-ης* 'small stone, pebble'. O.H.G. *stah-al* m. O.Icel. *stál* n. 'steel': Avest. *stax-ra-* 'strong, firm', Pruss. *punu-stacla-n* acc. 'steel for kindling fire'.

Goth. *ag-l-s* 'terrible', beside *ōg* 'I am afraid'. Mid.H.G. *krol*, gen. *krolles* 'in ringlets, curled' pr. Germ. *\*kruz-lā-*, see I § 582 p. 436. O.H.G. *zī-la* 'line, row', beside *zī-t* pr. Germ. *\*tī-dī-* 'time'. Goth. *fug-l-s* O.H.G. *fog-al* m. 'bird', for *\*fluz-la-?*, see I § 277 p. 221. Goth. *þvah-l* n. 'bath'. Goth. *fatr-veit-l* n. 'stage play'. O.H.G. *scūv-ala* A.S. *sceof-l* f. Dutch *schoff-l* 'shovel', beside O.H.G. *scioban* 'shove, push'.

The following examples probably contain *-llo-*: Goth. *hakul-s*



O.Icel. *hqkull* m. 'mantle' beside O.Icel. *hek-la* 'mantle'. O.Icel. *sqđull* O.H.G. *satul* m. 'saddle'. O.H.G. *snabul* m. 'snout'. Adjectival *nomina agentis* generally imply an inclination to something; Goth. *sakul-s* 'quarrelsome', *slahul-s* (beside *slahal-s*) 'apt to strike', O.Icel. *hugull* (beside *hugall*) 'careful, thoughtful', O.Sax. *slāpol* 'lethargic' *fluzol* 'fleeing' (in O.H.G. -al, as *eggaz* 'ravenous', *sprungal* 'saliens'); forms like A.S. *hlaȝ-ol* 'inclined to laughing' (beside *hliehhan* 'to laugh') indicate that the suffix was originally accented. Also in secondary use, as Goth. *vein-ul-s* 'bibulous' from *vein* n. 'wine' (O.H.G. *wort-al* 'talkative' from *wort* n. 'word').

-s-lo- is frequent; it is nowhere so fertile as in Germanic. O.H.G. *ahsala*, *dehsala*, see p. 199. Goth. *preihsl* n. 'distress', from *preiha* 'I press' for pr. Germ. \**preiχō* (I § 214 p. 181). Goth. *skōh-sl* n. 'evil spirit'. Goth. *hunsl* A.S. *hūsel* O.Icel. *hūsl* n. 'offering' for \**χyunt-sla-*, compared with Avest. *spent-a-* O.C.Sl. *svetū* 'holy', cp. I § 180 p. 158 (where \**χyunt-sla-m* should be read for \**χyunt+tila-m*) and § 413 p. 303. O.H.G. *wehsal* m. O.Icel. *vīxl* n. 'change', compared with O.H.G. *wīthhan*. O.H.G. *knuosal* A.S. *cnōsl* n. 'family', cp. Gr. *γνω-ρό-ς* 'a relative'. O.Icel. *beisl* n. 'bit, curb' ground-form \**bhojd + slo-*, beside Goth. *beita* 'I bite'. In particular many nouns were formed in -isla- in connexion with verbs in -jan, as Goth. *svartizl* n. 'blackness, ink' beside \**svartjan* O.Icel. *sverta* 'to blacken', O.H.G. *irrisal* 'error' beside *irren*, *truobisal* 'affliction' beside *truoben* 'to trouble', *ruomisal* and *hruomisala* 'ostentation, boasting' beside *hruomen* 'to boast'. Later the suffix was added to noun stems, as in Mid.H.G. *twanc-sal* 'restriction' from *twanc* 'force', *fluht-sal* 'a fleeing, escape' from *fluht* 'flight'. From the Middle High German period onwards it was regarded as a distinct word in composition. Cp. -s-tyo- § 61, -s-tro- § 62, -s-ti- § 100, -s-tu- § 108, -s-men- § 117.

Pr. Germ. -ila- is very frequent, and difficult to explain with certainty. If Paul (in his Beitr. IV 235) is right in holding that pre-Germanic -llo- in the proethnic Germanic period passed sometimes into -ula-, sometimes into -ela- later -ila-,

according to the varying intensity of the accent, then some of the forms in *-ila-* must be added to the examples given above of Idg. *-llo-* (with pr. Germ. *-ula-*), and we could derive Goth. *mikil-s* A.S. *mikil* O.H.G. *mihhil* O.Icel. *mikell* 'great', with Gr. μέγало-, from a ground-form \**meg-llo-*. But this law does not seem to me clearly established. In any case some of the forms with pr. Germ. *-ila-* are to be referred to Idg. *-e-lo-*. A certain number may represent an Idg. *-i-lo-*. If we exclude more or less isolated formations, like the already mentioned *mikil-s*, Goth. *ubil-s* O.H.G. *ubil* 'evil, bad' (perhaps the meaning is 'going beyond bounds, transgressing rules', so that we should compare O.H.G. *ubir* 'over' Gr. ὑπέρ), and Goth. *in-ilō* f. 'excuse, motive' (beside *fair-ina* f. 'charge, ground of complaint'), pr. Germ. *-ila-* is found especially in substantival *nomina agentis* and in diminutives. Hence these two classes may be placed here:

Substantival *nomina agentis*. O.H.G. *brūt-pitil* 'wooer, suitor's advocate' O.Icel. *bidell* 'one who asks'. O.Sax. *crupel* O.Icel. *krypell* 'cripple' ('creeper'), beside O.Icel. *kryþa* 'to creep'. O.H.G. *tripil* 'charioteer' ('driver'), *putil* 'beadle' ('summoner'), *tregil* 'carrier', *drähsil* 'turner'. Names of creatures like O.H.G. *wibil* O.Icel. *vifell* 'chafer, beetle' (Mid.H.G. *webelen weberen, wabelen waberen* 'move hither and thither'): cp. Lith. *vāb-ala-s* 'chafer', O.H.G. *tūhhil* 'mergus'. Further, names of tools (cp. § 150), like O.H.G. *meizil* O.Icel. *meitell* 'chisel' ('cutter'), beside Goth. *māitan* 'to cut', O.H.G. *sluzzil* O.Sax. *slutil* 'key' ('shutter'), O.H.G. *slegil* 'mallet', *stōzil* 'pestle, beetle', *driscil*, also fem. *driscila*, 'flail', *spinnila* 'spindle'. *-ila-* occurs also as a secondary suffix: O.H.G. *reitil wagan-reitil* 'charioteer' from *reita* 'car, carriage'. We have also examples of *nomina agentis* without an *i* preceding the *l*-suffix: O.H.G. *tāhhāl* beside *tūhhil*, *staphul* 'grasshopper', *scūvala* 'shovel'.

Diminutives. O.H.G. *bendil* O.Icel. *bendell* m. 'small band, redimicula' Mod.H.G. dial. (Rh.-Frank.) *bendel*, which has lost its diminutive meaning. O.H.G. *stengil* 'stalk' (no longer regarded as a diminutive), from *stanga* 'pole'. The forms have for the most part passed over to the *n*-declension: O.H.G. *scalchilo* m. 'servulus' from *scalch* m. 'servus', *līhhamilo* m. 'corpusculum' from

*līhhamo* m. 'corpus'; Goth. *mavilō* O.Icel. *meyla* f. 'little maiden' beside Goth. *mavi* f. 'maid, damsel', O.H.G. *niftila* f. 'niece' from *nift* f. 'niece', *turila* f. 'small door' from *turi* f. 'door'; Goth. *barnilō* n. 'little child' from *barn* n. 'child'. Add pet names like Goth. *Vulfila* O.H.G. *Wolfilo* cp. O.H.G. *Wolf-hart*, O.H.G. *Gundilo* cp. *Gund-hart*. Examples of diminutives without an *i* before the *l*-suffix: Goth. *magu-la* m. 'little boy' from *magu-s* m. 'boy', O.H.G. *morhala* f. 'moril, edible mushroom' from *moraha* f. 'carrot', O.H.G. *Bodulo* *Bodalo* by the side of *Bodilo*, O.Icel. *Sinfjqtli* by the side of O.H.G. *Sintarfizzilo*.

The diminutival *l*-suffix was extended by other diminutival elements. O.H.G. *turilī* (*turilīn*) Mid.H.G. *türlīn* from *turila*, *chindilī* (*chindilīn*) 'little child'; for the origin of this extension see Kluge, Stammbild. p. 29. O.H.G. *jungal-ing* O.Icel. *ungl-ingr* 'a youth', O.Icel. *mýslingr* from *mýsla* 'little mouse', which itself is derived from *mūs* 'mouse'.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *gai-la-s* (and with changed declension *gai-lū-s*) 'ill-tempered, liable to bite (of dogs)' O.C.Sl. (*d*)zě-lū 'violent': O.H.G. *gei-l* 'ungovernable, petulant, wanton'. Lith. *mig-là* *myg-là* O.C.Sl. *mĭg-la* 'mist': Gr. Hom. *ὀμίχ-λη* 'mist'. Lith. *āk-la-s* 'blind': Lat. *aquilu-s*. O.C.Sl. *strě-la* f. 'arrow': O.H.G. *strā-la* f. 'arrow, flash of lightning'. O.C.Sl. *si-la* 'might, strength' Sloven. *si-la* 'haste', cp. Pruss. *sei-li-* 'earnestness, endeavour, diligence' *seiliska-* 'devotion': it is not clear whether we should compare Skr. *śī-la-m* 'custom, character' or Lett. *si-t* 'to bind'. Lith. *aū-la-s* 'leg of a boot' beside *aū-ti* 'to cover the feet'. Lett. *ē-la* 'road', beside *i-t* 'to go', cp. Lith. *ei-l-ē* f. Lett. *ai-l-i-s* m. 'series, row'. O.C.Sl. *qz-lū* *vqz-lū* 'knot'.

-llo- may perhaps be traced in the following instances. Pruss. *sirs-il-i-s* O.C.Sl. *strš-ŭlū* beside Lith. *szirsz-l-ỹ-s* 'hornet': Dutch *horzel*. Lith. *sprāg-ila-s* 'flail', beside *sprag-ėti* 'to rustle'. O.C.Sl. *koz-ŭlū* (*kozlū*) 'he-goat', from *koza* 'goat'. *orlū* 'eagle', beside Lith. *erēl-i-s* O.H.G. *aro* m. 'eagle'. O.C.Sl. *sedlo* n. 'saddle' for \**sedlō* (are O.H.G. *satul* A.S. *sadol* 'saddle' borrowed from some Slavonic language?). *světlū* 'luminous' for \**světlū*, from *světū* 'light'. In considering the last two words it should

be noted that pr. Slav. *\*sedlo*, *\*světlŭ* would necessarily have appeared in O.C.Sl. as *\*selo*, *\*svělŭ* (I § 545 p. 399, § 548 p. 402). Cp. also Pruss. names like *Butil* (*buta-* 'house'), *Cantil* (*canta-* 'endurance').

*-s-lo-* is not uncommon (cp. *-s-li-* § 98). O.C.Sl. *tesla veslo*, see p. 199 above. Pruss. *san-insl-e* f. 'girdle' O.C.Sl. *sŭ-vešlo* n. 'band, fetter' *u-vešlo* n. 'diadem' for *\*q̃gh+s-lo-*, *✓ aňgh-* 'tie, press tight', cp. O.C.Sl. *až-lŭ* 'knot'. Lith. *mók-sla-s* 'teaching', *krisla-s* Lett. *krisl-s* 'refuse, fragment' for *\*krit-sla-*; *mészla-s* Lett. *měsl-s*, both usually in pl., 'dung, sweepings' beside Lith. *mėž-iu* Lett. *mě/chu* 'I cleanse out' (I § 414 p. 303); *gý-sla* 'vein, sinew', cp. O.C.Sl. *ži-la* 'vein'; *ŭsl-ŷ-s* 'one who scents out' *ŭsl-ě* 'nostril' for *\*ŭtsl-* beside *ŭdžiu* 'I smell': *mĭ-sl-ě* 'riddle'. O.C.Sl. *čislo* 'number' for *\*čit-slo* (cp. *čismę* § 117), *prešlo* 'gradus' for *\*prentslo* from Slav. *prend-* or *prent-* (see Miklosich, Etym. Wörth. 262), *maslo* 'oil, salve' beside *maz-atī* 'to smear' (I loc. cit.).

*-e-lo-*. In Baltic this is preserved in *-e-l-jo-*, as Lith. *dīd-eli-s* 'great' (beside *dīdi-s* 'great' like Gr. *μεγάλο-* beside *μέγας*), *er-ēli-s* 'eagle' (cp. O.C.Sl. *orŭlŭ*); usually with diminutive meaning, as in Lith. *parszēli-s* 'little pig' *galvėlė* 'little head'. Cp. also Pruss. names like *Dargelo Dargels* (*darga-* 'dear'). In Slavonic the simple *-elo-* also occurs, though rarely: e. g. *drěselŭ* (beside *drěsŭkŭ*) 'sorrowful, peevish', *cvětelŭ* 'flower', *plěvelŭ* 'weed' beside *plěva* Pruss. *pelwo* 'chaff'.

*-o-lo-*, *-a-lo-* or *-ə-lo-*. In Baltic *-ala-* is fairly common, as in Lith. *mĭžalaš* pl. Lett. *mĭšals* 'urine', Lith. *ŭž-vaikala-s* 'bed-cover' (cp. O.C.Sl. *oblěklo* 'clothing' for *\*ob-velk-lo*), *āvala-s* 'foot-covering' (cp. *aŭla-s* p. 210), *veĭkala-s* 'business', *snaĭgala* 'snowflake'. In Slavonic it is rarer; O.C.Sl. *sokolŭ* 'falcon'.

Remark 3. For the combinations *-o-lo-*, *-a-lo-*, *-ə-lo-* I can find no sufficiently certain parallels in the other languages to prove that they are genuine pre-Slavonic suffixes. In the case of *-o-lo-*, Gr. *μαινόμενος* and the like must be disregarded; on the other hand Skr. *karmāra-* 'smith' *vācāla-* 'talkative' and Goth. *slahal-s* might be regarded as positive evidence. *-ə-lo-* appears in Skr. *ani-la-s* 'wind' (beside *āni-mi*).

Balt. *-ē-la-* *-ē-l-ja-*. This is derived from a verb in *-ē-ti* in Lith. *tekėla-s tekė-l-i-s* 'grindstone, running on an axle' (Lett. *tezzel-i-s*, usually fem. *tezzele*), from *tekėti* 'to run'; and is also found in the numerous *nomina agentis*, which often imply contempt, e. g. *paklydėli-s* 'rover, gad-about' from *klydėti* 'to wander about', *netikėli-s* 'ne'er-do-weel' (*tikti* 'to suit'), *padūkėli-s* 'raving madman' (*pa-dūkti* 'to go mad') *nudėgėli-s* 'one ruined by a fire' (*nu-dėges* 'burnt out'). Cp. O.C.Sl. part. *želē-lū* beside *žēlēti* 'to wish', *vidē-lū* beside *vidėti* 'to see'; see below. Examples of *-ē-l-ja-* as a secondary suffix are *kirmėlē* 'worm' from O.Lith. *kirmi-s*, gen. *kirmio* 'worm', *musėlē* 'fly' from *musė* 'fly'; further, diminutives formed from words of more than two syllables, like *avinėli-s* 'little ram' from *āvina-s* 'ram', *kepurėlē* 'little hat' from *kepurė* 'hat', *kirmėlėlē* 'little worm' from *kirmėlē*. The origin of this secondary *-ēl-ja-* is not clear.

*-ī-lo-*. Lith. *aký-la-s* 'observant' (beside *aký-ta-s* 'furnished with eyes' and *aký-va-s* 'furnished with eyes, inquisitive'), beside *aký-ti* 'to get eyes, become porous'. Cp. O.C.Sl. part. *chvali-lū* beside *chvali-ti* 'to praise'.

In Slavonic the suffix *-lo-*, which formed *nomina agentis*, was used very freely, and hence was developed the so-called part. praet. act. II; as *bi-lū* beside *bi-ti* 'to strike', with *jesmī* practically equivalent to a perfect, 'I have struck'. Other examples are *nes-lū* beside *nes-ti* 'to carry', *by-lū* beside *by-ti* 'to be' (cp. Gr. *q̄v̄-λο-ν*, *q̄v̄-λη*), *zna-lū* beside *zna-ti* 'to know', *dēla-lū* beside *dēla-ti* 'to do, make', *žēlē-lū* beside *žēlē-ti* 'to wish', *chvali-lū* beside *chvali-ti* 'to praise'. Cp. Lat. *legulu-s* 'one who picks (fruit)' O.H.G. *ezzal* 'ravenous' (O.C.Sl. *jalū* for \**ēd-lū*), *tregil* 'bearer', Gr. *σιγᾶλό-ς* 'silent', *μιμηλό-ς* 'imitative', Lith. *tekėla-s* ('runner') 'grindstone', *akýla-s* 'observant'.

Diminutives. Lith. *-e-l-i-s* and *-ė-l-i-s* have been mentioned; with *parsčēli-s* compare Lat. *porculu-s* *porcil-ia* O.H.G. *farhel-i* n. 'sucking pig', with *ratēli-s*, Lat. *rotula*. *ragēli-s* 'little horn' may be directly connected with O.C.Sl. *rog-l-ī* Mod.Sloven. *rogelj* beside *rogū* 'horn', though in the Slavonic languages the diminutival sense is lost. The pet names, however, in Slavonic belong

to this class; e. g. Serv. *Božilo* beside *Božo Bogo-ljub*, *Bratilo Brajilo* beside *Brato Brato-ljub*; cp. Pruss. *Butil Dargelo* p. 211.

§ 77. The European suffixes *-dh-ro-* *-dh-rā-* and *-dh-lo-* *-dh-lā-*<sup>1)</sup>.

In Greek, Italic, Slavonic, and perhaps also in Germanic, these suffixes are found beside *-tro-* *-tlo-* (§ 61) and *-ro-* *-lo-* (§ 74. 76) with similar meaning. They are used in substantives mainly to denote the means, or a tool, or a locality. They sprang from the coalescence of the so-called 'determinative' *dh* (Skr. *rā-dh-ami*, Gr. *πλή-θ-ω*, Lat. *pū-b-ēs*, O.C.Sl. *i-d-a*, cp. § 8 Rem. 2 p. 20) with *a* following *-ro-* *-lo-*, and are therefore parallel to such combined forms as Gr. *-θ-μο-* (§ 72) and to *-s-lo-* (§ 76), and others. Cp. Gr. *ἄρ-θ-ρο-ν* 'joint, limb': *ἄρ-θ-μός-ς* 'joining, connexion'; *βα-θ-ρο-ν* 'step, threshold, seat, foundation': *βα-θ-μός-ς* 'step'; *σκ-ε-θ-ρός-ς* 'exact, precise, careful': *σχ-ε-θ-έμεν* 'to hold, have' (*σχ-ε-θ-* for the normal *σκ-ε-θ-* is due to association with *ἔ-σχ-ο-ν* and similar forms, cp. I § 496 p. 364 f.); *κῆλθ-θ-ρο-ν* 'magic drug': *κῆλθ-θ-μός-ς* 'enchantment'; *κῆλθ-θ-ρο-ν* 'winnowing fan': *κῆλθ-θ-μός-ς* 'movement'; Lat. *sta-b-ulū-m*, Czech. *stá-dlo* Lower Sorb. *sta-dlo* 'herd, drove': Gr. *στα-θ-μός-ς* 'standing place', O.C.Sl. Pol. *sta-d-o* Czech *stádo* 'herd'; Lat. *fa-b-er*: Gr. *τε-θ-μός-ς* *θε-θ-μός-ς* 'statute' (for the initial *τ-* *θ-* cp. *σκεθρός-ς* *σχεθέμεν*); Italian (Tusc.) *pevera* 'a wooden funnel' = Lat. *\*plē-b-ra* (beside Lat. *\*plē-tra* implied in Milanese *pidria* 'wooden funnel' and other forms, cp. Lat. *palpe-bra* beside *palpe-tra*): Gr. *πλή-θ-ω* 'I am full'<sup>2)</sup> and many similar examples. With the forms having *ε*, *α* Lat. *e* after the root syllable, as Gr. *σκ-ε-θ-ρός-ς*, *ἔδ-ε-θλο-ν*, *μέλ-α-θρο-ν*, *κρεμ-ύ-θρα*, Lat. *illec-e-bra mand-i-bulū-m* *condūc-i-bili-s* should be compared (besides *σχ-ε-θ-έμεν* mentioned above) *γηθείω* for *\*γᾱf-ε-θέω* = Lat. *gaudeō* for *\*gāw-e-deō*, *γλεγ-έ-θω*, *νεμ-έ-θομαι*, *ἐργ-ά-θω*, *διωκ-ά-θω* etc.

1) Cp. Ascoli's essay cited in footnote 1 on p. 118; and Fr. Hanssen, *Die Aktivbedeutung der Adjectiva auf bilis im archaischen Latein*, Philologus N. F. I 274 ff.

2) Add here Gr. *πλήθρο-ν* *είδος*; *μέτρον* in Hesychius, if the reading is right.

The great majority of the nouns that belong to this class are certainly later formations which arose independently in the course of the separate growth of the various families of language. Isolated examples may date from older times, cp. Lat. *sū-bula*, *in-sūbulu-m*, Czech *ši-dlo* Pol. *szy-dlo* O.C.Sl. *ši-lo* 'punch, awl', common ground-form *\*sǐū-dhlo-* *-dhla-*; Gr. Hom. *λί-θρο-* 'contamination', Lat. *dē-lū-bru-m* *pol-lū-bru-m*, common ground-form *\*lǔ-dhro-*; Lat. *sta-bulu-m* (*\*sta-*), Czech *stá-dlo* (*\*stā-*).

In consequence of their equivalent functions and similar sound *-dhro*, *-dhlo-* were in many cases confused with *-tro-*, *-tlo-*. On this point see § 62 p. 121 f. In Slavonic the older *t*-suffix was completely ousted by the *dh*-suffix; the substitution of the *dh* for *t* is especially clear in the word for 'plough' O.C.Sl. *ralo oralo* Czech. *rádlo* Pol. *radlo*, where all the other languages, even Lithuanian, show *-tro-* *-tlo-*.

Remark. Some have wished to derive this suffix from *-thro-*, *-thlo-*. To this hypothesis, it must be confessed, no phonetic objections can be raised (I p. 407 footnote). But its only object is to re-establish the theory of the original identity of this suffix with *-tro*, *-tlo-*, and I do not see how any probable ground can be given for assuming that the latter had split into double forms at so early a period. In other forms the aspirated tenuis appears for the tenuis in Aryan only (cp. I § 475 p. 350 f., § 553 p. 405 ff.), and hence we may at least demand evidence for the existence of an Aryan suffix *-thra-* = *-tra-*.

To the examples given above a few may be added from the separate groups of languages.

Greek. *ὄλε-θρο-ς* 'destruction', *λάλη-θρο-ς* 'talkative', *μύλω-θρό-ς* 'miller', *τέρ-θρο-ν* 'end, point', *πλ-ί-θρο-ν* *πέλ-ε-θρο-ν* 'acre, hide of land' (cp. *πτ-ε-ρό-ν*: Skr. *pat-a-rā-* p. 182), *ῥέ(ι)ε-θρο-ν* *ῥεῖθρο-ν* 'stream', *μέλπη-θρο-ν* 'delight', *κόρη-θρο-ν* 'besom', *ἐπι-βά-θρα* 'means of climbing, ladder', *κοιμή-θρα* 'sleeping-place', *ἀλινδῆ-θρα* 'place to roll in, place of exercise (for horses)' *ῥ-θλο-ς* 'cant, empty talk' (from *ῥεῖ* 'it rains'), *ἐσ-θλό-ς* 'excellent', *θέμε-θλο-ν* 'foundation', *γένε-θλο-ν* and *γενέ-θλη* 'descent, family, offspring'. Where *λ* precedes, the form *-θρο-* may sometimes have arisen from *-θλο-* by dissimilation, cp. I § 266 p. 215.

Italic. In proethnic Italic *-dhro-* *-dhlo-* became *-fro-*, *-flo-*. These remained in Umbro-Samnitic, while in Latin they passed into *-bro-*, *-blo-*. See I § 370 p. 281. For the anaptyxis in Lat. *-bulo-*, *-bili-* see I § 269 p. 218. Pr. Ital. *\*sta-flo-*: Lat. *sta-bulu-m sta-bili-s*, Umbr. *sta-flarem* 'stabularem' Pelign. *pri-stafalacirix* 'antistita for *\*-stafla-crīx* = Lat. *\*prae-stabula-trix*.

Lat. *crī-bru-m*, *flā-bru-m*, *ventila-bru-m*. *dolā-bra*, *verte-bra*, *tere-bra* and *ē-lece-bra* ('enticer', fem.). *crē-ber* (from *crē-scō*), *candēla-ber* (beside *candēla-bru-m*), *Mulci-ber* (gen. *-berī*, a new formation instead of *\*-brī*); occasionally the forms have been transferred to the *i*-declension, as *anclā-bri-s*, *ale-bri-s* (beside *ali-bili-s*). *trī-bulu-m*, *pā-bulu-m*, *vocā-bulu-m*, *medicā-bulu-m*, *lati-bulu-m*, *mandi-bulu-m* and *mandi-bula*, *fā-bula*. Once or twice we find *-i-bulu-m* as a secondary suffix; for example *sessibulu-m* (*sessu-s sessili-s*), *tūribulum* (*tūs*). From this suffix are formed a large number of adjectives which have passed into the *i*-declension, as *sta-bili-s*, *nō-bili-s*, *mō-bili-s*, *flē-bili-s*, *dē-lē-bili-s*, *sānā-bili-s*, *ad-mīrā-bili-s*, *sepeli-bili-s*, *volū-bili-s*, *intel-ligi-bili-s*, *in-vendi-bili-s*. In a few cases *-i-bili-s* is a secondary suffix; e. g. *odibili-s* (*odiu-m*), *illūtibili-s* (*il-lūtu-s*), *flexibili-s* (*flexu-s*), *persuāsibili-s* (*per-suāsu-m*).

Just as *-clo-* became *-cro-* by dissimilation in *lucru-m* (for *\*lu-clo-m*) and in other words (I § 269 p. 217), so it may sometimes have happened that after a preceding *l*, *-blo-*, *-bli-* became *-bro-*, *-bri-*.

Germanic. The proethnic Germanic forms *-dāra-*, *-dla-*, e. g. in O.H.G. *hri-ttara* f. 'riddle, sieve', may represent Idg. *-tro-*, *-tlo-* quite as well as Idg. *-dhro-* *-dhlo-*; cp. § 62 p. 121. O.H.G. *hri-ttara* may be compared equally well with Lat. *crī-bru-m* 'sieve' (which contains Idg. *-dhro-*) or with O.Ir. *criathar* 'sieve' (Idg. *-tro-*). I know of no case where the *dh*-suffix could be identified with any degree of certainty.

Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *želo* 'point, sting' Pol. *żą-dło*. Czech *by-dlo* Upper Sorb. *by-dło* 'dwelling' Pol. *by-dło* 'cattle, property, means'. O.C.Sl. *črǫpalo* 'scoop' Pol. *czerpa-dło*. O.C.Sl. *klepalo*



'sounding-board (of an instrument), bell' Pol. *klepa-dlo*. O.C.Sl. *čedilo* 'strainer, filter' Pol. *cedzi-dlo*. O.C.Sl. *bělilo* 'means for whitening, white paint'.

§ 78. The Suffix *-bho-* *-bhā-*.

This suffix was confined to a small area, and it is only in Balto-Slavonic (and possibly Germanic) that it shows any degree of fertility. As a secondary suffix it was no doubt used even in the proethnic period of Indo-Germanic, to form names of animals. To judge from Sanskrit, in this usage it was generally or always accented.

Indo-Germanic. Skr. *ṛṣā-bhā-s* 'bull' points to an Idg. *\*ṛsq̥-bhó-s* (*\*ersq̥-bhó-s*) 'bull' beside Avest. *aršan-* 'male, man' Gr. *ἄρσῃν ἄρσῃν* 'male'), and we could at once accept the form as really proethnic, if the suggested connexion of Gr. *Εἰραφ-ιώτης* Lesb. *Ἐρραφειώτης*, a title of Dionysus, with Skr. *ṛṣābhā-s* is correct. It does not seem to me, however, that Wackernagel (followed by Solmsen, see Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXIX 126 ff. 352 ff.) has satisfactorily removed the difficulty of assuming an assimilation of *rs* to *ṛṣ* in proethnic Greek.

Aryan. Here the suffix is almost confined to names of animals. In Sanskrit besides *ṛṣā-bhā-s* we have with similar meaning *ṛṣā-bhā-s*, beside *ṛṣān-* 'male, man, bull'. *śarabhā-s* a fabulous creature with eight legs, enemy of the lion and elephant, suggests Gr. *κίραφος* 'fox', *κόραφος* a bird, in Hesych. (compare no doubt *κορώνη*, so that the bird must have belonged to the raven family), *κάλαφος ἀσκάλαφος* a kind of owl. *śērabha-* name of a snake. *rāsabha-s* 'ass' (the only Skr. form with the accent upon the root), from *ras-* 'shriek, roar, bray'.

*sthūla-bhā-* beside *sthūlā-* 'large, massive'.

Greek. *Εἰραφιώτης*, *κίραφος*, *κάλαφος ἀσκάλαφος*, see above. *ἐλαφος* 'stag' ground-form *\*elq̥-bho-s*, beside *ἐλλός* for *\*ēln-o-s*, O.C.Sl. *jelen-* (gen. *jelen-e*) 'stag', Lith. *ėln-i-s* 'stag, elk' (cp. § 114). Thus *κόραφος* too (see above) no doubt stands for *\*korp̥-bho-*, cp. Lat. *corn-īx*. *κιδάφη σκιδάφη* 'fox'. *ἐριφος* 'kid', with which Stokes would connect O.Ir. *heirp erb* (pl. *herbind*) 'capra, damma'; this word however cannot have lost

a vowel between *r* and *b* (*p*) (for the *p* cp. I § 524 p. 380).  
*κόσσυφο-ς* Att. *κότυφο-ς* 'thrush'.

*κόλαφο-ς* 'blow with the fist, box on the ear'. *κρόταφο-ς* 'temple' (of the forehead) beside *κρότος* *κροτέω*, (named from the pulsation?). Denomin. *ψηλαφάω* 'I grope'. *κέραφο-ς* *σκέραφο-ς* 'abuse, calumny'. *φλήναφο-ς* 'chattering', subst. 'chatter'. *ἔδαφος* n. 'base upon which a thing rests', no doubt transferred to the *es*-stems by assimilation to *ἔδος* n. *κορυφή* 'peak', cp. *κόρυθ-* 'helmet' *κόρυθο-ς* 'tufted lark'. *ἄργυφο-ς* 'gleaming like silver'.

Other examples of this kind are given in Lobeck *Proleg.* p. 291 ff.

Italic. Perhaps we should class here Lat. *mor-bu-s*, beside *mor-ior*, cp. Lith. *dār-ba-s* and the like (see below).

Old Irish. Perhaps *heirp erb* 'capra, damma'; see above.

Germanic. From this suffix are no doubt derived the Gothic adverbs in *-ba*, as *ubilaba* 'badly, wickedly' *báitraba* 'bitterly', *agluba* 'hardly, scarcely', *ana-láugniba* 'secretly'.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *anksztý-ba-s* 'of an early kind, appearing early', beside *anksztì* adv. 'early', and, modelled on this word, *velýba-s* 'of a late kind' beside *velaĩ* adv. 'late'. Further, numerous abstract substantives in *-y-b-ė*, derived from adjectives, as *auksztýbė* 'height, highness' from *áukszta-s* 'high', *jaunybė* 'youth' from *jáuana-s* 'young', *bailýbė* 'timorousness' from *bailù-s* 'timorous', *kantrýbė* 'patience' from *kantrù-s* 'patient'; Lettish has preserved the older unextended *-ība*, as *áugstība*, *jáunība*. Again we have primary *nomina actionis* in *-yba -ybė*, as *dalybos* pl. 'division of an inheritance' beside *dalyti*, 'to divide', *tikyba tikybė* 'faith' beside *tikėti* 'to believe'; cp. Lett. *tizzība* 'faith', *mázība* 'teaching, instruction' (*mázīt* 'to teach'). Lastly there are a few substantives in which we have the suffix added immediately to the root: *dār-ba-s* 'work', hence *darbù-s* 'diligent' and *dārbu* 'I work', beside *daryti* 'to do'; *gar-ba* (Szyrwid) and *garbė* 'honour', hence *garbù-s* 'honourable' and *gerbiù* 'I honour', beside *giriù* 'I praise'; similarly Lett. *schķir-ba* 'a split, rift', beside *schķir-t* (Lith. *skīr-ti*) 'to split, part, divide'.

In Slavonic the suffix appears in substantives in *-ba*. O.C.Sl. *qtro-ba* 'intestines, belly' beside *ję-tro* 'liver', see § 75 p. 189. 197 f. *zūlo-ba* 'wickedness' from *zūlū* 'wicked'. Serv. *rugō-ba* 'disgraceful character' beside *rug* O.C.Sl. *raqū* 'disgrace', *grdo-ba* 'indecenty' beside O.C.Sl. *grīdū* 'proud, arrogant'. O.C.Sl. *tatī-ba* 'thievery, theft' from *t atī* 'thief', *gostī-ba* 'entertainment, cheer' from *gostī* 'guest'. Starting from forms like these *-ība* became an independent ending, e. g. *družība* 'companionship, friendship', from *drugū* 'companion, friend', *sūlība* 'embassy' from *sūlū* 'ambassador'. Cp. *tatī-stvo*, giving rise to *sūl-īstvo* § 61 p. 117. The use of *-ība* was extended by the fact that the form became associated with verbs in *-i-ti* (like *gosti-ti družī-ti*); after this connexion had been established, abstract substantives in *-ība* were made directly from these verbs (cp. Miklosisch, *Vergl. Gr.* II 213 ff.). A few nouns in *-ība* were formed from the participle in *-tū (-to-)*, as *ženit-ība* 'wooing, marriage, wedding' (also *ženit-īstvo*), *gostit-ība* 'hospitality', *orat-ība* 'tillage', *sēt-ība* 'sowing'; this group of forms arose during the time when the part. pass. was still formed with *-to-* in these verbs.

#### § 79. The Suffix -to- -tā-

This suffix was both primary and secondary in the proethnic and later periods. We may classify its usage under four headings.

1. *-to- -tā-* as a primary suffix in participial adjectives and substantives connected with them<sup>1)</sup>.

The suffix was used to form a participial noun immediately from the root, e. g. *\*klā-tó-* 'heard' from *kley-* 'hear'. This formation must have been very common in the Indo-Germanic period.

The root (in the strict sense, cp. § 8 Rem. 1 p. 20) might, generally speaking, be replaced by any element or combination of elements which acted as a verbal stem; hence forms like *\*yemā-to* 'vomited' Skr. *vami-ta-* Gr. *ἐμε-τό-ς* (ἐμε-το-ς) Lat.

1) Bordellé, *De linguae Latinae adjectivis suffixo to a nominibus derivatis*, Düsseldorf 1873. Birt, *De participiis Latinis quae dicuntur perfecti passivi*, Index lect. Marburg. 1883--84 (cp. with this treatise Osthoff, *Zur Gesch. d. Perf.* 550 ff.).

*vomi-tu-s*, or like *\*dorki-to-* 'brought to sight', Skr. *darśi-tā-* Goth. *ga-tarhi-p-s*, partic. of *\*durkeiō*, causal of  $\sqrt{\text{derk-}}$  'see', and those developed in the separate languages like *ἀγανη-τό-ς* (*ἀγανάω*) Lat. *piscā-tu-s* (*piscāri*) Goth. *fiskō-p-s* (*fiskō-n*).

The addition of *-to-* to thematic present stems was no doubt a later process, even though it may have begun in the proethnic period; cp. e. g. Skr. *darś-a-tā-s* 'visible, worth seeing' Gr. *ἐρπ-ε-τό-ν* 'creeping thing', Gall. *nem-e-to-n* O.Ir. *nemed* n. 'sanctuary' (properly 'what is revered'). Cp. *-e-ti-* § 100. *-o-to-* also may be a proethnic form: Gr. *βίο-το-ς* *βιο-τή* 'life, livelihood', O.Ir. *biad* n. 'livelihood', Lith. *gyva-tà* 'life, livelihood' O.C.Sl. *živo-tŭ* 'life, living thing'.

The meaning of these participial forms was generally passive, and with the exception of the last group (*darśa-tā-s* etc.), that of a perfect participle passive. But the passive sense can hardly have been originally attached to the suffix itself. Numerous forms occur with an active-intransitive sense which dates from the earliest period, such as *\*bhū-tó-* 'become, grow', *\*stā-tó-* 'having a position, standing', *\*sru-tó-* 'having a flow, flowing'. The idea of completion or being complete, and hence of being in a particular condition seems to have been the essential element in the meaning of the forms derived from the verbal stem. Hence we have also active *to*-participles from active verbs, such as O.H.G. *wīs* 'skilful, wise' Gr. *ἄ-ιστο-ς* 'unskilful', Gr. *τλήτο-ς* 'enduring' *ὑπ-οντο-ς* 'entertaining suspicion', Lat. *cōn-sīderātu-s* 'considerate, thoughtful' *cēnātu-s* 'who has dined' (cp. Mod.H.G. *ein gelernter schlosser* 'a trained locksmith' lit. 'who has learnt', *ein erfahrener mann* 'an experienced man', *ein ehrvergessener mensch* 'a dishonourable fellow', lit. 'one who has forgotten honour' etc.<sup>1)</sup>)

1) It need hardly be assumed that this sense was first introduced into the participles when they were compounded with other words and the meaning of the compound was epithetised (*mutatum*, § 50); e. g. Gr. *ἄ-ιστο-*; 'being without anything known, without knowledge', Lat. *in-cōnsiderātu-s* 'being without anything considered, without consideration'; and that it was only on the model of this group of words that the signification was extended to some of the participles when uncompounded.

At the same time, I do not suppose that the use of the *to*-participles is original in Latin deponents, where they share all the constructions of the present *nt*-participle and the finite verb, e. g. *omnia cōfessus* like *omnia cōnfītēns* and *omnia cōnfiteor*. This usage arose only after compound tenses like *cōfessus sum* had become part of the system of the finite verb.

The idea of completion and of being brought to an end is often replaced by one of capacity or possibility, as in Gr. *λν-τό-ς* 'capable of being freed'. This change of meaning is no doubt proethnic in Idg. \**morto-s* 'mortal' (Skr. *mārta-* Gr. *βροτό-ς*). But we find that in the separate languages this usage is seldom or never found except in participles compounded with the privative particle, or in some other form of negative expression. Compare, for examples of the first kind, Skr. *á-marta-s a-mṛta-s* Gr. *ἄμβροτο-ς* 'immortal', Skr. *a-tárta-s* 'unsurpassable', *á-jīta-s* 'unfading', *á-dadbha-s* 'invulnerable, infallible', *á-parīta-s* 'unconquerable', Gr. *ἄλντο-ς* 'indissoluble', *ἄμεμπτο-ς* 'blameless', *ἀν-ἐκπληκτο-ς* 'not to be confounded, or terrified', Lat. *in-victu-s* 'invincible' *in-fectu-s* 'not to be done, impossible', *in-numerāfu-s* 'innumerable', Goth. *un-saht-s* 'incontestable', *un-atgāht-s* 'unapproachable', cp. also O.Ir. *dī-brithe* 'importabilis'; and of the second, οὐκ ἀνεκτό-ς 'not to be borne', οὐκ ὀνομαστό-ς 'not to be named' in Homer. Hence we may infer that this meaning first arose in negative expressions. It spread most widely in Greek; further examples are *νοητό-ς* 'comprehensible', *θαυμαστό-ς* 'wonderful', *βατό-ς* 'passable, practicable (of roads)'.

In every language we meet with a number of forms in *-to*-which stand in no actual connexion with any verbal system, and are therefore simply adjectives, as Skr. *śī-tá-* 'cold', Lat. *al-tu-s* 'high', Goth. *raiht-s* 'right'. Some of these may date from a period of the proethnic language in which the adjectives formed with *-to-* had not yet been associated with the verb, and thus may never have been participles at all.

Even in the Indo-Germanic period these *to*-formations were often used as substantives, partly to denote living beings (masc.,

fem.) and concrete material things (neut.), partly as abstract substantives (§ 158). In the latter usage this suffix, like *-o-*, is often found in the masculine. The feminine *-tā-*, forming abstract substantives, had even then become secondary. This point will be further discussed in the next section.

The *to*-stems formed immediately from the root usually have the weak grade of ablaut in the root-syllable, e. g. *\*klu-tó-* *\*klū-tó-*. Beside this, however, we often find the forms of the strong grade, especially in substantival uses. With this is generally united a difference of accent. Cp. e. g. *\*kléy-to-m* 'hearing' beside *\*klū-tó-s* 'heard', *mór-to-s* 'mortal' beside *\*mṛ-tó-s* 'dead'<sup>1)</sup>. Here too it is not clear how the different grades were originally distributed. Compare the relations of the different grades in *tī*-stems, § 99.

Remark 1. Analogy often gave rise to mixed forms. For example, Germ. *\*múr-ḡa-n* n. 'murder' beside Skr. *mṛ-tó-m* has the accent of *\*mér-to-* or *\*mór-to-* (Skr. *már-ta-*), Germ. *\*zúl-ḡa-n* n. 'gold' that of *\*ǵhél-to-* (Lett. *fe'l-t-s*) or *\*ǵhól-to-* (O.C.Sl. *zlato*), and *vice versa*, Gr. *μοε-τό-ς* (Hesych., — if the word is rightly accented) beside Skr. *már-ta-s* has the accent of *mṛ-tó-* (Skr. *mṛ-tá-s*); Gr. *βερό-ς* is a confusion of *\*βεατό-ς* (= *\*mṛ-tó-s*) and *\*μóre-το-ς*. There are many other instances.

So far as I can see, we are not warranted in referring forms like Gr. *μοετό-ς* *φόετο-ς*, O.H.G. *hal-d* = pr. Germ. *\*hál-ḡa-z*, O.C.Sl. *zlato* = pr. Slav. *\*zol-to*, to ground-forms with *ǵ*, *ǵ* (*\*mṛ-to-s* etc.), though it would be phonetically possible (see I § 306 p. 241 ff.). Cp. Gr. *κοί-το-ς* *καί-τη* beside *κί-ται*, *οί-το-ς* beside *εἰ-μι*, *νόσ-το-ς* beside *νόσμαι*, *βρον-τή* beside *βρέμω* Lith. *bras-tà* beside *brėdũ*, and so forth.

Where participles of this kind have strong-grade vocalism, we can hardly help suspecting in many cases that it is due to the analogy of other forms of the verbal system; e. g. Gr. *δεικ-τό-ς* beside *ἰδειζα* etc. contrasted with Skr. *diṣ-tá-s* (from *√deik-*).

Indo-Germanic. *\*klū-tó-* 'heard, famous', *√kley-*: Skr. *śrutá-s* (Avest. *srūta-*), Gr. *κλυτό-ς*, Lat. *in-clutu-s*, O.Ir. *cloth* (O.Bret. *clot* 'glory'; perhaps f.), O.H.G. *Hlot-hari* Lothair (*\*Kλυτόστρωτος* would have the same meaning) *hlūt* ('loud');

1) The use of strong-grade forms as substantives no doubt indicates that originally the Noun had but one set of forms for both its adjectival and its substantival meaning. Isolation from the adjective in use brought with it isolation in form. Cp. § 158.

\**klēu-to-m* 'hearing': Avest. *srao-te-m*, Goth. *hliu-p*, and no doubt Mod.Slov. *slu-t* 'suspicion' Serv. *slu-ta* 'who surmises'.  
 \**sru-tó* 'flowing', √ *sreū-*: Skr. *sru-tá-s*, Gr. *ὄν-τό-ς*; Skr. *sru-tá-m* 'a flowing, flood' Lith. *sru-tà* f. 'filthy liquid'; Lith. *srau-ta-s* 'stream, torrent', compare Skr. *srōtas-* n. 'stream', extended by *-es-*.  
 \**ās-tó* 'burnt', √ *ey-*: Skr. *uṣ-ṭá-s*, Lat. *ūs-tu-s*.  
 \**i-tó* 'gone', √ *ei-*: Skr. *atīta-* from *ati+ita-* 'disappeared, fled away', Gr. *ἀμαξ-ιτό-ς* f. (scil. *ὁδό-ς*) 'road passable for waggons', Lat. *i-tu-m* (*est*), *ad-itu-s*; Skr. *ē-ta-s* 'hastening', Gr. *ὀ-τό-ς* 'fate'.  
 \**qi-tó*, √ *qeī-* 'pile, range, count, pay': Skr. *citá-s* 'arranged, piled' Gr. *τι-τό-ς* 'requited' (in Homer also with *ι*, *ἄ-τιτο-ς*); Skr. *ci-tā* 'layer' O.C.Sl. *čī-tū* 'number' *po-čūtū* 'enumeration'.  
 \**uit-tó*, √ *ueīd-* 'see, observe, know': Skr. *vittá-s* 'found, perceived, known' (Avest. *vīsta-* 'found'), Gr. *ἄ-ιστο-ς* 'unknown, unskilful', O.Ir. *ro fess* 'scitum est', Goth. *un-vis* (stem *un-vissa-*) 'uncertain'; Lat. *vīsu-s*, Goth. *un-veis* 'unwise, unskilful' O.H.G. *wīs* 'wise' for Idg. \**uīt-to-* or \**ueīt-to-* (O.C.Sl. *věstū* 'known, clear' is for \**uoīt-to-*); and also O.H.G. *wisa* f. 'way, kind'.  
 \**mṛ-tó* \**mor-tó*, √ *mer-* 'die': Skr. *mṛ-tá-* 'having died, dead' *a-mṛta-* 'immortal' *már-ta-* 'mortal, man', Armen. *mar-d* 'man' (= \**mṛ-tó*, see I § 291 p. 232 f.), Gr. *μορ-τό-ς* *βρο-τό-ς* 'mortal, man' *ἄ-μβροτο-ς* 'immortal', Lat. *Mor-ta* goddess of death, one of the Parcae; Skr. *mṛtá-m* 'death' O.H.G. *mord* n. 'murder': cp. Rem. 1 p. 221.  
 \**stṛ-tó* \**stṛ-tó* 'spread out, stretched out': Skr. *stṛ-tá-* Avest. *star-ta-*, Gr. *στρω-τό-ς*, Lat. *strā-tu-s*, O.C.Sl. *-strī-tū*; Gr. *στρα-τό-ς* 'camp, host'.  
 \**uṛ-tó* 'versus', √ *uert-*: Skr. *vyttá-s*, Lat. *vorsu-s* *versu-s*; Skr. *vyttá-m* n. O.C.Sl. *vřsta* f. 'condition, state, position, stage', Lith. *var̃sta-s* 'a furrow-length'.  
 \**mḷk-tó* 'milked', √ *melḡ-*: Lat. *mulc-tu-s*, Lith. *mīlsz-ta-s*: Mid.Ir. *mlicht blicht* m. 'milk'.  
 \**gm-tó*, √ *gem-* 'go': Skr. *ga-tá-* 'gone, gone out, come' *á-gata-s* 'untrodden', Gr. *βα-τό-ς* 'trodden, passable', *ἄ-βατο-ς* 'untrodden, impassable' *δύσ-βατο-ς* 'hard to pass over', Lat. *circum-ventu-s*, and no doubt Lith. *pri-gimta-s* 'inborn' (cp. I § 249 p. 204).  
 \**mṇ-tó* 'thought, meant', √ *men-*: Skr. *ma-tá-*, Lat. *com-mentu-s*, Goth. *mun-d-s*, Lith. *miñ-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *mę-tū*; Skr. *ma-tá-m* 'meaning, opinion, purpose' Gr. *αἰ-ρό-ματο-ς* 'of one's

own design, willingly', Lat. *com-mentu-m* 'idea, invention, plan', O.Ir. *der-met* n. 'forgetting'. \**g̃u-tó-* \**g̃u-tó-* 'begotten, born' ✓ *g̃en-*: Skr. *jā-tá-* 'born, son', Lat. *gnā-tu-s* *nā-tu-s* 'born, son', Gall. *Cintu-gnātu-s* ('first-born'), Goth. *qina-kund-s* 'born of woman' O.Sax. *god-cund* 'born of God, divine' O.Icel. *kun-d-r* 'son'; Skr. *jā-tā-m* 'birth, origin, race'; O.H.G. *kin-d* n. 'child', ground-form \**g̃én-to-m*. \**k̃ys-tó-*, ✓ *k̃ens-* 'to mention, praise' (Gr. *κόμος* indicates that this belongs to the *e*-series of ablaut; see Solmsen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 123. 329): Skr. *śas-tá-* 'spoken, praised', Osc. *an-censto* nom. sing. fem. 'incensa' *censtom-en* 'in censum' (Lat. *cēnsu-s* instead of \**censtu-s*, Rem. 2 p. 231). \**set'tó-* 'seated', ✓ *sed-*: Skr. *sattá-*, Lat. *ob-sessu-s*; Avest. *pasu-šasta-* m. 'cow-pen' A.S. O.Icel. *sess* m. 'seat', Lat. *sub-sessa* 'ambuscade'. \**peq-tó-s* 'cooked', ✓ *peq-*: Skr. *paṭ-tá-* Gr. *πεν-τός* Lat. *coctu-s* for \**c̃uec-to-s* (I § 172, 3 p. 152, § 431 a p. 319 f.). \**dh̃a-tó-* \**dh̃ē-to-* 'set, placed, laid', ✓ *dh̃ē-*: Skr. *-dhitá-* *hi-tá-*, Gr. *θε-τός*, Lat. *crēditu-s* for \**crēdato-s* (cp. Skr. *śrād-dhita-m* neut. 'trusted, believed'), Lith. *dē-ta-s* 'laid'. \**d̃a-tó-*, \**t̃-to-* (i. e. \**-d+to-*) and \**d̃ō-to-* 'given', ✓ *d̃ō-*: Skr. *vy-ā-dita-s* 'separated, opened', *dēvā-tta-* 'god-given' Gr. *δο-ρός*, Lat. *da-tu-s*; Skr. *tvā-dāta-* 'given by thee' Avest. *dā-ta-* 'given', Lith. *dū-ta-s* 'given'. Skr. *ā-kūta-m* 'intention', Lat. *cav-tu-s*, beside Skr. *ā-kupaṭē* 'he intends' *kav-ti-ṣ* 'seer, sage', Lat. *cav-eō*. Skr. *ap-tā-* reached, attained, adapted, fit', Lat. *ap-tu-s* *ad-eptu-s*, beside Skr. *ap-nō-ti* 'he reaches' Lat. *apīscor*. \**siū-tó-* 'sewn', beside Skr. *siv-yā-mi* 'I sew': Skr. *syū-tá-* Gr. *νο-νάπτω-ρος* ('newly soled'), Lat. *sū-tu-s*, Lith. *siū-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *ši-tū*; Skr. *syū-ta-s* 'sack' Mid.H.G. *siu-t* *sā-t* m. 'seam'. \**uē-to-* \**uē-tā-* 'blowing, wind': Skr. *vā-ta-s*, Gr. *ἀή-της* f. *ἀή-της* m., Lith. denomin. *vē-tau* 'I winnow, fan'. \**plē-tó-* 'filled', *plē-* 'fill': Skr. *prā-tā-* Lat. *im-plētu-s*. \**gn̄-tó-* 'known, recognised', *gn̄-* 'know': Skr. *jñā-tā-*, Gr. *γνω-τός*, Lat. *nō-tu-s*, O.Ir. *gnā-th* ('known, accustomed'), Skr. *ā-jñāta-* Gr. *ἄ-γνωτο-ς* Lat. *īgnōtu-s*.

\**uema-tó-* 'vomited', beside Skr. *vāmi-mi* Gr. *ἐμέ-ω* 'vomit': Skr. *vami-ta-* Gr. *ἐμε-τός* Lat. *vomi-tu-s*; Gr. *ἐμε-τος* 'vomiting' (subst.). \**g̃ena-to-* 'begotten', ✓ *g̃en-*: Lat. *geni-tu-s*; Gr.



γενε-της 'birth, origin', made masculine γενέ-της 'begetter, offspring' (cp. under Greek p. 229). With respect to the vowel-gradation of the stem these forms stand on a level with such others as Gr. γενε-τός, while such forms as Gr. κμη-τός (beside χάμα-τος) no doubt correspond to the Skr. *bhṛ-tā-*.

Causative and Denominative formations: \**dorki-tó-* from \**dorkéiō* 'I bring to sight, show', √ *derk-* 'see': Skr. *darśi-tā-* 'shown' (*darśáyāmi*), Goth. *ga-tarhi-þ-s* 'blameworthy, notorious' (*ga-tarhja* 'I point out, blame'). \**uosi-tó-*, from \**uoséiō* 'to make put on, clothe', √ *ues* 'put on something': Skr. *vāsi-tā-* 'clothed' (*vāśáyāmi*), Goth. *vasi-þ-s* 'clothed' (*vasja*). \**moni-tó-*, from \**monéiō*, √ *men-* 'think, intend': Skr. *mānitā-* 'honoured' (*mānáyāmi*), Lat. *moni-tu-s* 'made aware, reminded, taught' (*moneō*); Skr. *mānita-m* 'a showing honour to'. The character of the formations in the several languages is so different, that it is somewhat doubtful whether *to*-participles were formed from true denominatives in Indo-Germanic; cp. e. g. Skr. *mantri-ta-* 'advised, discussed' (*mantráyāmi*, *māntra-s*), Gr. δωρη-τός 'presented with, given' (*δωρέω*, *δῶρο-ν*).

In the separate languages these participles served as the model for a number of adjectives in *-to-* derived immediately from substantives or adjectives, and meaning 'furnished with, made into' and the like; e. g. Skr. *aṅkuritā-* 'with young shoots' from *aṅkura-* 'young shoot', *arunīta-* 'reddened' from *arunī-* 'red', Gr. θύσαντός 'tasselled' from θύσανο-ς 'tassel', Lat. *cordātu-s* from *cor* (*cord-*), *atrātu-s* from *ater*, Goth. *un-qēniþ-s* 'unmarried', from *qēn-s* 'woman', Lith. *kalnāta-s* 'mountainous' from *kálna-s* 'mountain', *bradatū* 'bearded' from *brada* 'beard'.

In Aryan, Greek and Italic *-to-* is used also as a secondary suffix, and added immediately to the noun-stem, just as if this were a verb-stem. In Aryan this only occurs in compounds, so that here *-to-* has the same function as *-iō-* in adjectival compounds (see § 63 p. 126); e. g. Skr. *án-ap-ta-* 'not watery' from *ap-* 'water' Avest. *hu-patar-ta-* 'well-winged' from a form \**patara-* 'wing' (§ 74 p. 182); cp. Lat. *auro-clāvātu-s*,

Eng. *hare-hearted*, *lily-livered*, and the like (see under Germ. p. 234). Similarly Gr. *ἀ-γέρας-το-ς* 'unhonoured by gifts, unrewarded' from *γέρας* 'gift of honour', *ἀ-χείμαν-το-ς* 'without storms, without cold' from *χείμα χειμών* 'storm, winter's cold'; but along with these we have *γέλασ-τό-ς* from *γέλαω*, a denom. verb from \**γελας-* 'laugh' (Solmsen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 109), *ἀκεσ-τό-ς* from *ἀκίομαι*, denom. from *ἄκος* n. 'remedy', and the like. Lat. *liber-tu-s* (Falisc. *lofer-ta* 'liberta'), from Lat. *liber*, *sceles-tu-s* from *scelus -er-is*. We may conjecture that the participial *-to-* was added immediately to noun-stems in the class of Indo-Germanic substantives in *-mṛ-to-* and *-mṛ-to-*, which will be discussed separately in § 82 p. 249. This group of words undoubtedly belongs to the proethnic period.

Examples of *-e-to-* *-o-to-* are given above, p. 219, and under the separate languages below.

Aryan. Skr. *cyu-tā-* Avest. *šū-ta-* 'driven, shaken': Gr. *ἐπί-σποντο-ς* 'pressing forward', ground-form \**qiu-tó-*. Skr. *hu-tā-hā-tā-* Avest. *zū-ta-* 'called upon, invoked': Goth. *gu-þ* n. 'God' pr. Germ. \**zu-đā-n* n. 'a being that is called upon'. Skr. *stu-tā-* Avest. *stu-ta-* 'praised, lauded'; Skr. *stutā-* n. 'praise' Avest. *stuta-* m. 'praise, prayer'. Skr. *ūḍhá-* 'carried', for pr. Ar. \**uždhá-* i. e. \**uḡh + to-*, Lat. *vec-tu-s*, Lith. *vėsztā-s* 'carried' ✓ *ueḡh-*. Skr. *drugdhā-m* 'insult' Avest. *druxtā-* O.Pers. *dūrāxta-* 'betrayed, deceived' (cp. I § 482 Rem. 1 p. 356), ✓ *dhreugh-*. Skr. *-i-ta-* Avest. O.Pers. *i-ta-* 'gone': Gr. *ἀμαξ-ιρό-ς* etc., see p. 222. Skr. *si-tā-* 'bound' Avest. *hi-ta-* 'bound, seamed'. Skr. *pri-tā-* 'beloved, dear, glad' Avest. *fri-ta-* 'beloved, kindly': A.S. *frī-d* O.Icel. *frī-ð-r* 'lovely, beautiful'. Skr. *piś-tā-* 'adorned, equipped' O.Pers. *ni-piš-ta-* 'written': Lat. *pīc-tu-s*, ✓ *peik-*. Skr. (pr. Ar.) *kṛ-tā-* Avest. *ker-ta-* O.Pers. *kar-ta-* 'made', ✓ *qer-*. Skr. *ḍṛbḍhá-* 'fastened, wound' Avest. *der-wōda-* 'a twist, braid', ✓ *derbh-*. Skr. *śūr-tā-* 'destroyed', Avest. *a-sar-ta-* 'unhurt', ground-form \**kṛ-tó-*. Skr. *ha-tā-* Avest. O.Pers. *ja-ta-* 'smitten, slain' (cp. I § 454 Rem. p. 335): Gr. *φα-τό-ς* 'killed', common ground-form \**ghṛ-tó-*, A.S. *zūð* f. 'battle' pr. 'Germ. \**zún-þō*, ✓ *ghen-*. Skr. *bhaddā-* Avest. O.Pers. *basta-* 'bound' (cp. I § 482

Rem. 1 p. 356), ground-form *\*bhṛdh + to-*, √ *bhendh-*. Skr. *spaṣ-ṭa-* 'visible, clear' Avest. *avi-spašta-* 'watched for, beset by foes': Lat. *ad-spectu-s*, common ground-form *\*spek-tó-*, √ *spek-*. Skr. *śiṣ-ṭā-* 'instructed, commanded', Avest. *sās-ta-* 'made known', beside Skr. *śās-ti-* 'he instructs, commands'. Skr. *di-tā-* 'bound': Gr. *σῖν-δετο-ς* 'bound together', √ *dē-*. Skr. *sthi-tā-* Avest. *stā-ta-* 'standing': Gr. *στα-τό-ς* Lat. *sta-tu-s* 'standing' *prae-stātu-s* beside *prae-stitu-s*, Goth. pret. *stō-þ* 'I stood' (developed from the partic.), O.C.Sl. *sq-po-statŭ* 'adversarius, foe', √ *stā-*. Skr. Avest. O.Pers. *pā-ta-* 'secured, defended'. Skr. *śrā-tā-* 'cooked' Gr. *ἄ-κρᾶτο-ς* 'unmixed'. Avest. *\*rvāta-* n. 'determination, command' for *\*vrā-ta-* (I § 157 p. 141): Gr. *φεη-ρό-ς* 'determined'.

In Sanskrit the use of *-to-* was restricted by that of the parallel suffix *-no-*, which had a similar meaning; see § 66, 1 p. 139 ff.

Skr. *-i-ta-* = *-a-to-* occurs not only in *vami-ta-* (p. 223) but also e. g. in *vani-ta-* 'loved' (aor. *vani-ṣiṣ-ṭa-*), *dhāmi-tā-* 'kindled' (fut. *dhāmi-ṣya-ti*), *cari-tā-m* 'course' (inf. *cāri-tum*).

*-i-ta-* in Causatives and Denominatives. Skr. *vēditā-* 'informed', beside *vēdayati* 'gives to understand, informs'. Avest. *raoiḍita-* 'great', from *rud-* 'grow'. Formed directly from the noun: Skr. *anakuṣita-* 'stung' from *anakuṣā-* 'sting, hook', *karna-kitā-* 'having side-branches' from *kārṇaka-s* 'side-branch', *kar-būrita-* 'speckled' from *karburā-* 'speckled', Avest. *masita-* 'great' from *mas-ah-* *mas-an-* n. 'size' (the connexion of *asita-* 'quick' with *as-u-* 'quick' is uncertain); perhaps also Skr. *hārita-* Avest. *zairita-* 'yellowish' Skr. *palitā-* 'gray' *rōhita-* *lōhita-* 'red' and so forth. Like Skr. *ān-ap-ta-* (see above p. 224) we have also *ā-manyu-ta-* 'harbouring no enmity', from *manyú-ṣ* 'enmity'.

Idg. *-e-to-*. Skr. *darś-a-tā-* Avest. *dar's-a-ta-* 'worth seeing', √ *derk-* 'see'. Skr. *yaj-a-tā-* Avest. *yaz-a-ta-* 'worthy of honour', √ *iaḡ-* 'honour'. Skr. *pac-a-ti-* 'cooked', √ *peq-* 'cook'. *har-ya-tā-* 'wished for, desired', beside *hār-ya-ti* 'he desires, takes pleasure in a thing'. Cp. Skr. *drś-a-ti-ṣ* and the like, § 100.

Many *-to-* participles have quite the character of adjectives. A few examples may be given. Skr. *dṛdhá-* 'firm' (Lat. *forti-s forti-s*, transferred to the *i*-decl.,  $\sqrt{dhergh-}$ ), *śyē-tā-* 'white', *śī-tā-* 'cold', *sūr-ta-* 'clear', *tṛṣ-tā-* 'rough', *tig-itā-* 'sharp', redupl. *vā-vā-ta-* 'dear'. Avest. *sar<sup>e</sup>-ta-* 'cold, cool': Lith. *szāl-ta-s* 'cold'.

Further examples of the substantival value in these forms are: Skr. *dū-tā-* Avest. *dū-ta-* m. 'messenger' ('one gone into the distance'); Skr. *su-tā-s* 'soma-juice' ('that which has been pressed out'); Skr. *ghāta-s* 'blow, killing'; Skr. *gār-ta-s* 'high chair'; Avest. *ka-ta-* m. 'grave': Skr. *kha-tā-m* 'grave'. Skr. *bhak-tā-m* 'food, nourishment' ('that which has been allotted'); Skr. *ghṛ-tā-m* 'fat'; Skr. *ṛ-tā-m* 'right'; Skr. *ās-ta-m* 'home'; Skr. *jīvi-tā-m* 'life'; Skr. *vr-a-tā-m* 'will'; Avest. *taš-te-m* 'the implements of sacrifice'; Avest. *fra-dāte-m* 'help, prosperity'. Skr. *sī-ta* 'furrow': O.H.G. *sī-ta* O.Icel. *sī-ḍa* f. 'side' ('bounding line, boundary'); Skr. *ak-tā* 'night' (*añj-* 'anoint, adorn'); Avest. *cista* 'wisdom': Skr. *cittā-m* 'thought, spirit'; Avest. *dī-tā-* 'look': Skr. *dhī-tā-m* 'thought'.

Armenian. *mar-d* 'man' ground-form *\*mṛ-tó-*: Skr. *mṛ-tā-* etc., see above p. 222. *has-t* 'firm': O.Sax. *fas-t* 'firm', root-form Idg. *pas-* or *pəs-*. A doubtful form is *dr-and* 'door-post, threshold': Skr. *ā-ta* 'setting, framework of a door' Lat. *an-ta* four-cornered door-pillar, pilaster' (cp. I § 253 p. 206 f.).

In extended formations: *ard-ar* 'upright': Skr. *ṛ-tā-* 'right, properly made'. *erd-nu-m* 'I swear': Osset. *ar-d ar-t* 'oath', O.C.Sl. *ro-ta* f. 'oath'.

Greek. Here the *to-* participles were less closely connected with the other forms of the verbal system than in Aryan, Italic and elsewhere. They were restricted to the attributive use.

*λυ-τό-ς* 'that can be loosed' *βου-λντό-ς* 'time when the oxen are unyoked': Lat. *so-lū-tu-s*, O.Icel. *lū-ḍ-r* 'crushed to powder, exhausted'. *ἄ-γνωτο-ς* 'unknown, ignorant': Skr. *buddhā-* 'awakened, enlightened, made acquainted, known',  $\sqrt{bheydh-}$ . *ζυγ-τό-ς* 'yoked, put to': Skr. *yuk-tā-* 'yoked', Lat. *jūnc-tu-s*

(with *n* from *jungo*), O.H.G. *gi-joht* 'yoked'. *τυκ-τός* 'prepared' *νέο-τευκτο-ς* 'newly prepared'. *φυκ-τός* *φευκ-τός* 'that can be escaped'. *φθι-τός* 'disappeared, dead': Skr. *kṣi-tā-* 'exhausted, decayed'. *πιστός* 'trustworthy, true, trustful, trusting' *εὖ-πειστο-ς* 'easy to persuade': Lat. *fīsu-s*, √ *bheīdh-*. *δρα-τός* *δαρ-τός* 'skinned, flayed': Avest. *der<sup>o</sup>-ta-* 'cut, mown', Lith. *nu-dirta-s* 'skinned'. *φερ-τός* 'bearable, φόρ-το-ς 'burden': Skr. *bhṛ-tā-s* 'carried, sustained, hired', O.Ir. *ed-bart ed-part* f. 'oblatio'. *κλασ-τός* 'shattered' (*κλαδ-*, aor. Hom. *κλάσσαι*): Lat. *per-culsu-s*, common ground-form *\*kʷl<sup>h</sup>tó-*, i. e. *\*kʷl<sup>h</sup>d+to-*. *τα-τός* 'ductile': Skr. *ta-tā-s* 'stretched, extended', Lat. *ten-tu-s*, common ground-form *\*tṛ<sup>h</sup>-tó-s*, √ *ten-*. *άν-εκτός* 'tolerable': Skr. *saḍhá-* 'overcome' for pr. Ar. *\*saḍdhá-* (I § 404, 2 p. 299), √ *segh-*. *ζεσ-τός* 'boiled': Skr. *prá-yasta-s* 'boiling over', √ *jes-*. *σεπ-τός* 'before which one recedes, honoured with reverence, holy': Skr. *tyak-tā-* 'forsaken'. *άν-ετο-ς* 'loosened, let go': Lat. *sa-tu-s*, O.C.Sl. *na-sētū* 'sown', √ *sē-* 'throw, cast, sow'. *ά-ατο-ς* 'insatiable': Goth. *sa-þ-s* 'sated', Lith. *so-ta-s* 'repletion', √ *sā-*. *έμ-πληκτο-ς* 'struck, amazed' *πλήκ-τη-ς* 'striker': Lat. *planc-tu-s* with the nasal of the present (*plangō*) inserted, Lith. *plāk-ta-s* 'struck with the rod', √ *plaq-* *plāg-*. *\*πακ-το-* in *πακτώω* 'I make fast' *πηκ-τός* 'fast joined' *πηκ-τή* 'net fixed in its place': Lat. *pac-tu-s*, (*com-pectu-s*) and *pāc-tu-s* (? Osthoff, Zur Gesch. d. Perf. 178 f.), √ *pāk-* *pāg-*. *έπ-ακτός* 'brought in': Lat. *āc-tu-s*, Gall. *amb-actu-s* orig. 'he who is sent about, messenger' (cp. O.Ir. *imm-agim* 'I drive about'), √ *aḡ-*. *έύ-ννητο-ς* 'well spun, woven': Lat. *nē-tu-s*, common ground-form *\*snē-to-s*. *βλη-τός* 'thrown, struck', cp. Skr. part. *glā-na-* 'exhausted, ill', Idg. *glē-*. *πλω-τός* 'swimming, navigating, navigable', cp. Goth. *flō-du-s* 'flood' (suffix *-tu-*).

*ά-δάμα-το-ς* 'unsubdued' beside *δμη-τός* 'subdued': Skr. *dam-i-tā-* 'tamed'. *κάμα-το-ς* 'toil' beside *πολύ-κμητο-ς* 'wrought with toil'. *θάνα-το-ς* 'death' *ά-θάνατο-ς* 'immortal' beside *θνη-τός* 'mortal'. *ά-δάμα-το-ς*: *δμη-τός* = *φερ-τός*: Skr. *bhṛ-tā-s*, see p. 224 above.

*άγαπη-τός* Dor. *άγαπā-τός* 'beloved' from *άγαπάω*. *κοσμη-τός* 'set in order' *κοσμή-της* 'orderer' from *κοσμέω*. *χολω-τός*

'enraged' from *χολόω*. *μηνί-της* 'wrathful man' from *μηνίω*. *ἀρτυ-τό-ς* 'prepared, seasoned' (of meats) from *ἀρτύω*. *πορευ-τό-ς* 'wandering' from *πορεύω*. *ἄκεσ-τό-ς* 'curable' from *ἀκέομαι* for \**ἄκεσ-μο-μαι*. *ἱμερ-τό-ς* 'longed after, lovely' from *ἱμεῖρω*. *ὑφαν-τό-ς* 'woven' *ὑφάν-της* 'weaver' from *ὑφαίνω*. *ληϊστό-ς* 'captured' from *ληΐζομαι*. *ὀνομαστό-ς* 'that can be named' from *ὀνομάζω*. Examples of words formed directly from nouns are: *κοντιωτό-ς* 'furnished with punting poles' (*κοντό-ς*) *καρνωτό-ς* 'shaped like a nut (*κάροσ-ν*)'; words like these gave the type from which *σαλπυγγ-ωτό-ς* 'shaped like a trumpet' (*σάλπιγγ-*) and others of the same kind were formed; further, *ἀ-γέραςτο-ς* 'without gifts of honour' (*γέρας*), *ἀτριβαστο-ς* 'not worn, unharmed' (beside *ἀτριβής*), and other words.

Idg. *-e-to-* (cp. *-e-ti-* § 100). *ἐλε-τό-ς* 'that can be grasped'. *εὔρε-τό-ς* 'to be found', *εἰρε-τή-ς* 'inventor'. Denominative forms: *ναιε-τάω* 'dwell', *ἀρι-δείκτο-ς* 'worth seeing, remarkable'. *δακε-τό-ν* 'biting creature'. Cp. also *ἀν-ήντο-ς* 'that cannot be completed' beside *ἀ-νύ-ω* (Skr. *sa-nḍ-mi*), *πινυ-τό-ς* 'wise' for \**πν-νυ-το-* I § 48 p. 41 (cp. Skr. *pu-nā-mi* 'I purify, clear up'); these words therefore contain the *-νεμ- -nu-* which is used in forming the present stem. With *-o-to-*: *βίο-το-ς* *βιο-τή* 'life, livelihood': O.Ir. *biad* etc., see above, p. 219.

Further examples of substantives formed with this suffix are: *νόσ-το-ς* 'return home': Skr. *ás-ta-m* Avest. *as-te-m* 'home' for \**ḡs-to-m* (Bartholomae, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 483), O.H.G. *nes-t* n. 'provision for the way, support'. *βλασ-τό-ς* *βλάσ-τη* 'bud, shoot', *κοῖ-το-ς* *κοί-τη* 'couch', *ἄμη-το-ς* 'mowing, harvest', *ἄω-το-ς* 'wool, flock (of wool)', *ἀλαλη-τό-ς* 'battle-cry', *κακῦ-τό-ς* 'wail', *ἔμε-το-ς* 'vomiting', *θε-τό-ς* 'rain'. *φυ-τό-ν* 'growth', *σπάρ-το-ν* *σπάρ-τη* 'rope', *πο-τό-ν* 'drink'. *κίσ-τη* 'chest, box', *εἰρκτή* *ἐρκτή* 'cage, prison', *βρον-τή* 'thunder', *ἐν-ετή* 'brooch', *ἀκ-τή* 'rugged coast', *ἀή-τη* 'blast, wind', *αὐ-τή* 'shout', *τελευ-τή* 'ending', *ἀρε-τή* 'virtue', *γαμε-τή* 'wife', *πινυ-τή* 'understanding'. Abstract *tā-* stems were employed to denote persons of the masculine gender (§ 149. 157); hence came the large class of masculines in *-tā-ς*, like *γενέ-της* act. 'begetter', pass. 'he that is begotten' beside *γενε-τή* 'origin, birth',

and *κριτής* 'judge', *δέκτης* 'receiver', *προφητής* 'interpreter of oracles, soothsayer', *ποιητής* 'maker, poet', *ἐδνωτής* 'bride's father', *ἰκέτης* 'suppliant'; cp. § 80 p. 239 f.

Italic. In this group of languages the *to-* participles filled a larger and more important place than in any other.

Lat. *i-tu-m i-tāre*, Umbr. *etato* 'itate': Skr. *-i-ta-* etc., see p. 222 above. Lat. *scrip-tu-s*, Umbr. *screihtor* pl. 'scripti' Osc. *scriptas* pl. 'scriptae'. Lat. *fīsu-s*, cp. Umbr. *Fisiu Fissiu* (a derivative in *-iō-*) abl. 'Fisio': Gr. *πιστός*, *√bhejdh-*. Lat. *mulsu-s* part., *molta multa* 'punishment', Umb. *motar* gen. 'multae', Osc. *moltam* 'multam' pr. Ital. *\*molk-tā-*: Skr. *mṛṣ-tā-* part. of *mṛṣāmi* 'I take hold of, touch'. Lat. *or-tu-s*, Umbr. *ortom* 'ortum' ground-form *\*r-to-*: Gr. *νέ(φ)-οπρός* 'newly arisen' *κονι-οπρός* 'raising of dust, cloud of dust', ground-form *\*r-tō-*, cp. Skr. *tr-ṇa-*. Lat. *cēnsu-s*, Osc. *an-censto* fem. 'incensa': Skr. *śas-tā-*, see p. 223 above. Lat. *ēm-p-tus*, Umbr. *emps* 'emptus' *da-etom* 'demptum', for the *p* see I § 207 p. 174. Lith. *isz-iñta-s* 'taken out'. Lat. *ūsus*, Pelign. *oisa* abl. 'usa, consumpta', beside the pres. Lat. *oetor ūtor*. Lat. *sanc-tu-s*, Umbr. *sahta sahatam* 'sanctam', Osc. *saahtúm* 'sanctum'. Lat. *sta-tu-s prae-stātu-s*, Umbr. *Prestotar* (*o = ā*, see I § 105 p. 98) gen. 'Praestatae' Osc. *statúm* 'statum, statutum' Staatiis 'Status': Skr. *sthi-tā-* Avest. *stā-ta-* etc., see p. 226 above. Lat. *piā-tu-s*, Umbr. *pihaz pihos* 'piatus'. Lat. *lēgā-tu-s*, Osc. *līgatúis* 'legatis'. Lat. *finī-tu-s*; Umbr. *stati-ta* pl. 'statuta'; Osc. *καπίδιτωμ* i. e. *kapid-i-to-m* 'ollarium' (beside Lat. *capis -idis*). Lat. *geni-tu-s*, Osc. *Genetaí* 'Genetrici': Gr. *γενετής* 'origin, birth'. Lat. *taci-tu-s*, Umbr. *tašez* 'tacitus' *tasetur* pl. 'taciti'.

Lat. *ex-ūtus*: Lith. *isz-aūta-s* 'stripped' *aū-ta-s* 'rags for the feet'. *ci-tu-s* Skr. *śi-tā-s* 'excited, put in motion'. *in-certu-s*: Gr. *ἄκριτος* 'undistinguished' (cp. I § 33 p. 33 f.). *re-lictu-s*: Skr. *rik-tā-s rik-ta-s* 'cleared, empty', Gr. *ἀδιάλειπτος* 'uninterrupted', Lith. *pri-likta-s* 'allowed by fate, allotted'. *tortu-s* for *\*torc-tu-s*: Gr. *τρέπ-τός* 'that can be turned, moved round'. *pulsu-s* from *pellō*. *tinctu-s*: Gr. *τεγχ-τός* 'wetted, softened'. *lēc-tu-s*: Gr. *λεχ-τός* 'collected, that can be spoken'. *ēsu-s*: O.H.G.

as n. 'food for animals', Lith. *su-ėsta-s* 'eaten up' O.C.Sl. *jas-to* 'food', ✓*ed-*. *ca-tu-s*: Skr. *śi-tā-s* 'whetted, sharpened'. *unctu-s*: Skr. *ak-ta-s* 'anointed'. *scissu-s* Gr. *σχιστός* 'split'. *quiē-tu-s*: Avest. *šata-* 'happy' i. e. \**šyāta-* for \**cyā-ta-* (cp. *šāiti* = O.Pers. *šiyāti-* and I § 448 p. 333). *frē-tu-s*, *con-flātu-s*.

Remark 2. The ending -so-s, which had a regular phonetic origin in *scissu-s visu-s ēsu-s morsu-s per-culsu-s* and similar forms, spread beyond its proper sphere; e. g. *lapsu-s*, *fixu-s*, *sparsu-s*, *mulsu-s* (beside *multu-s*), *cēnsu-s*, *hausu-s* (beside *haustu-s*). This was furthered by the analogy of the s-perfect. The parallelism of *con-cussu-s*: *con-cussi*, *laesu-s*: *laesi*, *sēnsu-s*: *sēnsi* gave rise to *fixu-s* beside *fixi*, *sparsu-s* beside *sparsi*, etc. On the analogy of *pendō*: *pēnsu-s*, we find *in-tēnsu-s* formed beside *ten-tu-s* (pres. *tendō*), cp. p. 161 footnote 2. Conversely we have *com-ēstu-s* instead of *com-ēsu-s* on the analogy of *haus-tu-s ges-tu-s*.

In Latin the terminations -s-to- -i-to- -e-to- became indistinguishable. *molī-tu-s* (*molere*), *ali-tu-s* beside *al-tu-s* (*alere*), *pī(n)si-tu-s* beside *pī(n)su-s* (*pīnsere*), O.Lat. *ad-gretu-s* for \*-*gred(i)-to-s* (I § 501 Rem. 2 p. 368) beside *ad-gressu-s* (*ad-gredi*); *moni-tu-s* (*monēre*); *habi-tu-s* (*habēre*); *domi-tu-s* (*domare*), *veti-tu-s* beside *vetā-tu-s* (*vetare*), *im-plicitu-s* beside *im-plicātu-s* (*im-plicare*). Cp. the abstract nouns in -itiō § 100.

*privā-tu-sa mā-tu-s* etc. *olētū-m* 'ordure', *monē-ta*. *vestī-tu-s*, *finī-tu-s* etc. *statū-tu-s*, *tribū-tu-s* etc. Participles were formed directly from nouns more frequently in Italic than in the other groups of languages: *ānsā-tu-s* from *ānsa*, *barbā-tu-s* from *barba*, *ātrā-tu-s* from *āter*, *aurī-tu-s* from *auri-s*, *cīnctū-tu-s* from *cīnctu-s* (gen. *cīnctūs*) and, by a further transference of ending, e. g. *gradatū-s* from *gradu-s* (gen. *gradūs*), *arcuatū-s* from *arcu-s* (gen. *arcūs*), *dentatū-s* from *dēns* (gen. *dent-is*), *galērītū-s* from *galēru-s*, *patrītū-s* from *pater*, *nāsūtū-s* from *nāsu-s*. An isolated example has -ōtu-s: *aegrōtu-s* from *aeger* (stem *aegro-*). -to- is also added immediately to the stem as a secondary suffix; e. g. *liber-tu-s* Falisc. *loferta* 'liberta', *jās-tu-s*, *sceles-tu-s*, Umbr. *mersto* 'iustum' = \**mers-(e)s-to* \**med-(e)s-to* from *meṛ-s mers* 'ius', Lat. *onūs-tu-s*, *vetus-tu-s*, *über-tu-s*, *senec-tu-s*; often to denote places which contain anything, as *arbus-tu-m*, *cārec-tu-m*, *virgul-tu-m*. Hence come also the



adjectives in *-ōnsu-s -ōsu-s*, as *formō(n)su-s vīrōsu-s*, for *-ouensso-* i. e. *-o-unt + to-* (see I § 238 p. 199 f., § 501 p. 368, II § 127): cp. Avest. *ašavasta-* 'pure, upright' (n. 'purity, uprightness' from *aša-vant-* 'possessed of purity, pure, upright').

Adjectives. Lat. *sanctu-s* Umbr. *sahta* Osc. *saahtúm*, see p. 230 above. Lat. *citu-s*, *catu-s*, *curtus*, *slātu-s lātu-s* 'outspread, wide' (for *\*stf-to-*, cp. O.C.Sl. *stelja* 'sterno'), *ex-celsu-s*, *pēnsu-s*, *at-tentu-s*, *altu-s*, *beātu-s argātu-s*, and other examples.

Substantives. Lat. *lēgātu-s* Osc. *līgatúis* 'legatis'; Lat. *hortu-s* Osc. *húrtúm*: Gr. *χόρ-ρο-s* 'grass, place for grazing, courtyard', O.Ir. *gor-t* 'seges' *lub-gort* 'vegetable garden' (cp. I § 389 p. 291); Lat. *lectu-s lectu-m* 'lying-place', *lutu-s lutu-m*, *cubitu-s*, *palātu-s palatu-m*. Lat. *dictu-m*, *jussu-m*, *strātu-m*, *tēctu-m*, *in-cestu-m*, *olētu-m*. Lat. *multa* Umb. *motar* Osc. *moltam*, see p. 230 above, Lat. *Vesta*, *of-fēnsa*, *im-pēnsa*, *re-pulsa*, *sub-sessa*, *secta*, *fossa*; Umbr. *totam* 'civitatem'. Osc. *torto τωfro* 'civitas' pr. Ital. *\*toyta-*: O.Ir. *tuath* f. 'people', Goth. *þiuda* 'people', ground-form *\*teytā-*,  $\sqrt{tey-}$  'tumere'.

Old Irish. The participial *-to-* still survives as a verbal suffix, in the preterite passive, a periphrastic formation which is only found in the 3. sing. and 3 pl. (the verb substantive has been dropped). *ro alt* 'educatus est' (*alim* 'educō'): Lat. *al-tu-s*. *ro chēt* 'cantus est' (*canim* 'cano'): Lat. *can-tu-s*. *do-breth* Mid.Ir. 'datum est' (*do-biur* 'I bring, give'): Skr. *bhy-tā* etc. *ro fess* 'scitum est': Skr. *vittā* etc. *ro both* 'one was': Gr. *φυ-ρό-ν* 'growth' Lith. *bū-ta-s* 'dwelling, house' Skr. *bhū-tā* 'become'. *ro chloss* 'auditum est',  $\sqrt{kley-s-}$ . *ro erbad* 'commisum, creditum est' beside pres. 3. sing. *erbaid* 'credit'. This group of forms no doubt sprang from the impersonal use of the neuter.

In some words the old participial form has a purely adjectival value. *necht* 'pure': Skr. *nik-tā* 'washed', Gr. *ἄ-νυτο-ς* 'unwashed'. *cloth* 'famed': Skr. *śru-tā* etc., see p. 221 *nochť* 'naked': Goth. *nuqaþ-s*. *gnāth* 'known, accustomed': Skr. *jñā-tā* etc., see p. 221. Generally the participles which were used as adjectives were not also used as the pret. pass., cp. *cloth* beside *ro chloss*.

The participial meaning still survives in *-the*, an extension of the suffix by *-iō-* (cp. Gr. ἀμφοπόσιος: ἄμφοπορος, Skr. *mārtiya-*: *mārta-*, O.H.G. *wīsi* 'wise' Mid.H.G. *sīhte* 'shallow'). *brithe brethe* 'brought': Skr. *bhṛ-tā-*. *cēte* 'cantus'. *er-ite* 'susceptus' beside 3. sing. pres. conj. *-air-ema* 'suscipiat': Lat. *ēm-p-tu-s*. *tuicse* 'electus' beside *to-gu* 'choice', from *-gus-t-iō-*: Skr. *juṣ-tā- jūṣ-ta-* 'beloved, desired', Gr. γευσ-τός 'tasted, to be tasted', A.S. *ze-cost* 'valuable' ✓ *geys-*. Sometimes the idea of capacity, possibility is implied, as in *rithe* 'vendible' (also 'sold, given up') beside *re-nim* 'I give up, sell', *dī-brithe* 'importabilis'. There is certainly a connexion between the use of *-the*-forms as participles, and the conversion of the predicative *-to*-participle into a preterite passive. Preference was given to the existing *-tīō*-forms in order to make a distinction in form answering to the distinction in sense; and then new *-tīō*-forms were made at will and used as participles. The same thing happened in Cymric; only the suffix employed there for the participles was not *-t-iō-*, but *-(e)tic* which came from *-t-īco-* (Zeuss-Ebel, Gr. C. p. 532).

On the other hand, we have the simple *-to- -tā-* in partec. used as substantives. *gor-t* m. 'seges': Gr. ῥόγ-τος, see p. 232 above. *mlicht blicht* m. (Mid.Ir.) 'milk': Lat. *mulcto-* etc., see above p. 222. *der-met* n. 'a forgetting': Skr. *ma-tā-m*, see p. 222 above. *nemed* (Gall. *neme-to-n*) n. 'sacred thing' ('something honoured'), ✓ *nem-*. *dliged* n. 'law'. *biad* n. 'means of livelihood': Gr. βίω-τος βίω-τή 'life, livelihood' etc., see p. 219 above. *both* f. 'dwelling-place, hut'; cp. above *ro both*. *loth* f. 'filth': Lat. *lu-tu-s lu-tu-m*. *breth* f. 'judgement, sentence'. *im-thecht* f. 'going round, change'. *ed-bart ed-part* f. 'oblatio'.

Cp. Gall. *amb-actu-s* 'bondman, servant' orig. 'one sent about, messenger' (see p. 228), *Celtu-s Crestu-s Ate-gnatu-s Ate-gnata*, Γαισάροι pl. ('pilati'), *Senatu-s Cirata*, and many similar forms.

Germanic. *-to-* was a living participial suffix in derivative verbs (Causative and Denominative), e. g. Goth. *nasīþ-s* O.H.G. *gi-nerit* 'saved' from *nasjan nerien* 'to save'; Goth. *ga-tarhiþ-s* 'blame-worthy, notorious' from *ga-tarhjan* 'to mark out, blame': Skr. *darśitā-* 'shown'; *ṣaúrīþ-s* 'thirsty' from *ṣaúrseīþ mik* 'I am

thirsty', lit. 'it thirsts me': Skr. *trṣitā-* 'thirsty'; Goth. *salbōp-s* O.H.G. *gi-salbōt* 'anointed' from *salbōn* 'to anoint'; Goth. *habāip-s* O.H.G. *gi-habēt* 'had' from *haban habēn* 'to have'. Further in Gothic, we have such partic. attached to the preterite-presents, e. g. *mund-s* 'meant, thought' beside *man* 'I think, mean': Skr. *matā-* etc., *skuld-s* 'owed' beside *skal* 'I ought, *maht-s* 'able, possible', beside *mag* 'I can'. Lastly they occur in certain strong verbs which have preterites in *-ta*, e. g. Goth. *vaúrht-s* O.H.G. *gi-worht -worht* beside Goth. *vaúrkjan* O.H.G. *wurchen* 'work': Avest. *varšta-* 'worked, done' Gr. ἄρρηκτο-ς 'undone' ✓ *uer-g-*, Goth. *\*pūht-s* O.H.G. *gi-daht* (pr. Germ. *\*puraχ-ta-*, I § 214 p. 181) beside *þugkjan dunken* 'to seem', Goth. *\*braht-s* O.H.G. *braht* (pr. Germ. *\*branχ-ta-*) beside *briggan bringan* 'to bring'. In all other cases *-eno-* *-ono-* was the participial suffix in use (§ 67 p. 149 ff.), and in O.H.G. it appears also in preterite-presents (*gi-wizzan* from *weiz* 'I know', *gi-torran* from *gi-tar* 'I dare', and occasionally in the strong verbs with *t*-preterites (*brungan*, side by side with *braht*).

The suffix also formed participles directly from nouns. Goth. *un-qēniþ-s* 'not having a wife', from *qēn-s* 'woman'. O.H.G. *gestirnōt* 'having a brow or front' from *gistirni gestirne* n. 'brow', Mid.H.G. *ge-jāret* 'aged' lit. 'be-yearred'. O.Icel. *hærd-r* 'covered with hair'. In the development of Anglo-Saxon and Norse there appears a special group of adjectival compounds derived in this way, e. g. Engl. *hare-hearted*, *hare-lipped*, *bare-footed*, *bare-headed*, O.Icel. *bjart-litað-r* 'bright-coloured', *sex-hofðað-r* 'six-headed', *gull-bitlað-r* 'with golden bridle': cp. Skr. *án-aptā-* 'not watery' Lat. *auro-clavatu-s* p. 224.

Idg. *-e-to-* is no doubt to be traced in O.H.G. *hulid* n. 'velamentum', *egida* f. 'harrow' (: Mod.Cymr. *oged* O.Corn. *ocet* 'harrow') and other words. *-o-to-* in Goth. *naqap-s* beside O.Icel. *nekkevð-r* *nekkvíð-r* O.Ir. *nocht* 'naked' (cp. Skr. *nag-na-* with the participial suffix *-no-*), Goth. *liuhaþ* n., side by side with O.H.G. *lioht* n. 'light'.

It is common in adjectives. Further examples are: Goth. *vun-d-s* O.H.G. *wunt* 'wounded': Gr. *ἴατο-* in *Ἰατάλου*. *οὐλαί*

(Hesych.). Goth. *bi-ūht-s* 'accustomed': Lith. *j-ūnkta-s* 'accustomed' (cp. Osthoff, Paul-Br. Beitr. VIII 269). O.H.G. *zorah-t* O.Sax. *torht toroht* 'clear, bright': Skr. *dr̥ṣṭā-s* 'seen', common ground-form *\*dṛk̑-tō-*. Goth. *faúrht-t-s* O.Sax. *forht* 'timid'. O.H.G. *zar-t* 'dear, fine, beautiful' beside Skr. *ā-dṛta-s* 'considerate, treated with consideration, honoured'? Goth. *kal-d-s* O.H.G. *kalt* 'cold': cp. Lat. *gelu*, O.C.Sl. *gol-otŭ* 'ice'¹). Goth. *raih-t-s* O.H.G. *reht* 'right': O.Pers. *rāsta* 'upright, just' (for *\*rāšta-* 'on the analogy of forms with *raz-*'), Gr. *ῥεκτό-ς* 'extended, outstretched', Lat. *rectu-s*, ground-form *\*rēk̑-to-*, √ *reġ-*. Goth. *baírh-t-s* O.H.G. *beraht* 'bright'. O.H.G. *lioh-t* 'beaming'. Goth. *dáu-þ-s* O.H.G. *tō-t* 'dead', from O.H.G. *touwen* 'to die'. Goth. *haft-t-s* O.H.G. *haft* 'captured, fettered': Lat. *cap-tu-s*.

Substantives. Goth. *mō-þ-s* (stem *mō-da-*) 'anger' O.H.G. *muot* m. 'spirit, mind, courage', beside O.C.Sl. *sū-mě-ti* 'to dare'. A.S. *ðroh-t* m. 'work' O.Icel. *þrött-r* 'strength', cp. O.H.G. *drucchen* 'to press'. O.H.G. *haf-t* m. n. A.S. *haeft* m. O.Icel. *hapt* n. 'bond, fetter', cp. Goth. *haft-s* 'captus'. O.H.G. O.Sax. *fros-t* A.S. *forst* m. O.Icel. *frost* n. 'frost', beside O.H.G. *friosan* 'to freeze'. O.H.G. *gi-waht* m. 'mention, fame', beside *gi-wuog* 'he made mention of': Skr. *uk-tá-* 'spoken', √ *ueq-*. O.H.G. *mor-d* n. O.Icel. *morð* n. 'murder, killing': Skr. *mṛ-tá-m-* 'death'. Goth. *gul-þ* O.H.G. *gold* n. 'gold': Lett. *se'l-t-s* O.C.Sl. *zla-to* 'gold', √ *ghel-* 'to shine with a yellow gleam'. O.H.G. *pro-d* n. O.Icel. *broð* n. 'broth': Lat. *dē-fru-tum -frūtu-m*. Goth. *þiu-þ* O.Icel. *þjóð* n. 'good' (subst.). Goth. *hliu-þ* 'listening to, attention, silence' O.Icel. *hljóð* n. 'hearing, sound': Avest. *srao-te-m*, see p. 221 f. O.H.G. *ferid* n. 'navigium' *zimbrid* n. 'building'. Goth. *skanda* O.H.G. *scanta* f. 'shame' beside the adj. O.H.G. *scan-t* 'ashamed' (cp. O.H.G. *scama* 'shame'). O.H.G. *wun-ta* 'wound', beside *wunt* 'wounded', *scar-ta* 'notch, wound', beside *scart* 'injured, mutilated', *forah-ta* 'fear', beside Goth. *faúrht-s*

1) Do the last two words, *zart* and *kalt*, come from Idg. *\*dṛ-to-* *\*gl̑-to-* or *\*dor-to-* *\*gol-to-*? There is the same doubt as to O.H.G. *scar-t* 'injured, mutilated'.

'fearful, timid'. Goth. *ras-ta* 'a length of road' O.H.G. *rasta* 'rest, repose, a length of road'. O.H.G. *slah-ta* 'killing, slaughter'. A.S. *zūd* f. 'battle' pr. Germ. \**gún-pō*: Skr. *ha-tā-* 'slain'. Goth. *us-fartō* f. (*n*-decl.) 'a going out' (*usfarþōn gatáuþan us skipa* i. e. 'to suffer shipwreck'). Goth. *þiu-da* O.H.G. *diota* 'people': Osc. *tocto* etc., see p. 232 above.

#### Balto-Slavonic.

In Lithuanian the *to*-participle is still in regular use with a passive sense in verbs of all classes. *gīr-ta-s* 'famed': Skr. *gūr-ta-s* 'approved, welcome, pleasant', ground-form \**gṛ-to-* and \**gṛ-to-*. *pil-ta-s* 'poured, shed': Skr. *pūr-tā-* 'filled', ground-form \**pl̥-to-* and \**pl̥-to-*. *kiṛsta-s* 'hewn' (pres. *kert-ù*): Skr. *kytta-s* 'cut off, split', ground-form \**qṛt̥-tó-*, √ *qert-*. *sūk-ta-s* 'turned' (pres. *suk-ù*). *at-sēkta-s* 'traced out, found out': Lat. *sec-ta sectārī*. *dē-ta-s* 'laid' (pres. *dedū*): Skr. *-dhi-ta-* etc., see p. 223 above. *jěszkó-ta-s* 'sought' (pres. *jěszkau*). *pa-veizdēta-s* 'examined, revised' (pres. *pa-vėizdmi*). *táiky-ta-s* ('properly united' (pres. *táikau*). *áuksin-ta-s* 'gilded' (pres. *áuksinu*). *balnū-ta-s* 'saddled' (pres. *balnū'ju*). Also act.-intrans., but only rarely, as *bū-ta* neutr. 'been', e. g. *czion yrà būta* 'people have been here' <sup>1)</sup>: Skr. *bhū-tā-* 'become': *važiū-ta-s* 'riding (in a carriage)' (pres. *važiū'ju* 'I ride').

Partec. in *-ē-ta-s* and *-ū-ta-s* are often formed directly from nouns. *dūlkēta-s* 'dusty' from *dūlkės* pl. 'dust'. *skylēta-s* 'perforated' from *skylė* 'hole'. *kašnū-ta-s* 'mauntainous, full of mountains' from *kāl̥na-s* 'mountain', *gaurū-ta-s* 'with delicate hair' from *gaurā* pl. 'delicate hair'. *qsū-ta-s* 'with a handle' from *qsā* 'handle', *lūpāta-s* 'lipped' from *lūpa* 'lip'.

In Old Church Slavonic *-to-* was but little used as a participial suffix. It occurs regularly in forms from roots ending in a nasal, e. g. *žę-tū* 'hewn, mown': Lith. *giñ-ta-s* 'hunted, driven' (used of cattle), Skr. *há-ta-s* etc., see p. 225 above; *pę-tū* 'stretched, hung': Lith. *pin-ta-s* 'twisted'; *ję-tū* 'taken':

1) *Jis rādo svētimo būta* 'he found that there was a stranger' properly 'the existing of a stranger', with the same nominal construction as the passive participles have.

Lith. *iñ-ta-s* 'taken'. Besides these, it occurs in certain roots with *rĭ*, *i*, *ĕ* before the suffix, e. g. *pro-strĭtũ* 'outstretched': Skr. *str-tā-s* etc., see p. 222 above; *vi-tũ* 'wounded': Lith. *vỹ-ta-s* 'twisted' (of cords); *pě-tũ* 'sung'. Elsewhere *-eno-* (*-no-*) was the usual form, see § 67 p. 151 and p. 154 f.

Partcc. in *-a-tũ*, from nouns, are common. *bradatũ* 'bearded' from *brada* 'beard': Lat. *barbātu-s*, cp. also Lith. *barzdũta-s*. *rogatũ* 'horned' from *rogũ* 'horn': cp. Lith. *ragũta-s*. *ženatũ* 'having a wife' from *žena* 'woman'. *maq̃zata* 'maritata' from *maq̃zi* 'man'.

*-e-to-* *-o-to-* in Balto-Slavonic. The former is sometimes found in Slavonic, as O.C.Sl. *trep-etũ* 'tremor' Little-Russ. *trep-eta* 'aspen'; O.C.Sl. *kreč-etũ* 'cicala'. *-o-to-*: Lith. *gyvatà* 'life, livelihood'. O.C.Sl. *životũ* 'life, living being': Gr. *βίο-το-ς* etc., see p. 219 above; Lett. *luppata-s* 'patch, shred' (*lup-t* Lith. *lũp-ti* 'to pare, flay'); Lith. *sũkata* 'giddy sickness (of sheep)' *sũk-ti* 'to turn'), *adatũ* Lett. *addata* 'needle' (Lith. *ad-ỹti* 'to stitch'); O.C.Sl. *klokotũ* 'bubbling' (subst.), *klopotũ* 'noise' Pol. *kłopot* 'unrest', Czech *blekot* 'yelping' (subst.) (O.C.Sl. *blekotati* 'to bleat' Russ. *blekotat* 'to stammer'), *dusot* 'roar', *sikot* 'hiss', *lakota* 'eager desire'.

In Adjectives it is common. Lith. *spĩsta-s* 'pressed, thick' (beside *spintũ spĩsti* 'to fly out in swarms', of bees): Lat. *spissu-s*. Lith. *skỹs-ta-s* 'with a thin stream', dialectically also 'pure, clear' of liquids, *skáis-ta-s* 'clear, shining', O.C.Sl. *čis-tũ* 'pure, holy', beside Lith. *skėdžiu* 'I part, separate, rarefy'. Lith. *geĩ-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *žlũ-tũ* (pr. slav. *\*gũl-tũ*) 'yellowish'. Lith. *szál-ta-s* 'cold': Avest. *sar-ē-ta-* 'cold'. *tṽtr-ta-s* 'firm'. *driũ-ta-s* 'firm, lasting', cp. no doubt O.H.G. *trũ-t* 'beloved, dear' and *trũen* 'to trust, believe'. *pĩk-ta-s* 'angry'. *bál-ta-s* 'white'. *rũksz-ta-s* 'sour'. *kársz-ta-s* 'hot'. *áuksz-ta-s* 'high'. O.C.Sl. *tlũs-tũ* 'fat'. *žestũ žestokũ* 'hard', no doubt orig. 'burnt', for *\*gek-s-to-* beside *žegq̃* 'I burn' (cp. I § 545 p. 400). *is-tũ* 'certain, true'. *lju-tũ* 'violent, grim, terrible'. *čes-tũ* 'thick': Lith. part. *kiĩmsz-ta-s* 'stuffed', (*kemszũ* 'I stuff'). *otũ-vrĩstũ* 'opened, open' (*otũ-vrĩzq̃* 'I let loose, open'). *u-vęs-tũ* 'wreathed, crowned' (*u-vęzq̃* 'I wreath, crown').

In substantives. Lith. *pir̃sz-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *pr̃is-tū* 'finger' ground-form *\*přk-to-s*, cp. no doubt Skr. *spřṣ-ṭā-s* 'touched'. Pruss. *gei-t-s* acc. *gei-ta-n* 'bread' O.C.Sl. *ži-to* 'fruit, corn', common ground-form *\*gei-to-*: A.S. *cī-ð* m. O.Sax. *kī-th* m. or n. Mid.H.G. *kī-t* n. 'offspring' pr. Germ. *kī-þa-*, √ *gei-* 'live, come to life'. Lith. *sẽ-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *si-to* 'sieve'. Lith. *var̃-tai* pl., O.C.Sl. *vra-ta* (pr. Slav. *\*vor-tā*) n. pl. 'door', beside Lith. *vér-ti* O.C.Sl. *vr̃eti* 'to shut'. Lith. *gūsz-ta-s* *gūsz-tà* 'nest of fowls and geese': Skr. *gūḍhā-s* 'hidden', common ground-form *\*ghūgh + to-*, or the Skr. word may come from *\*ghuḡh + to-*. *tīl-ta-s* 'bridge'. *mīl-tai* pl. 'meal'. *tvár-ta-s* 'enclosure'. *smars-ta-s* 'stench' (*smard-*). *spar-ta-s* 'bond'. *žlaūk-tai* pl. 'husks'. *lėp-ta-s* 'footway', *laip-ta-s* 'scaffolding, gangway'. *maisz-ta-s* *mais-ta* 'uproar': Gr. *μῑx-ρό-ς* 'mixed'. *sósta-s* 'seat' beside *sėdmi*. *gel-tà* 'yellowness', beside *geļ-ta-s* 'yellow'. *bank-tos* pl. fem. 'violence, tempest', beside *bank-ta-s* 'violent' (*hangà* 'wave'). *sru-tà* 'filthy liquid': Skr. *sru-tā-s* 'flowing'. *nasz-tà* 'burden'. *vasz-tà* 'cart'. *bras-tà*. 'wading through, ford' (*brėdū*). O.C.Sl. *podū-jetū* 'grasp, support' beside partic. *jetū*. *lis-tū* 'leaf'. *otū-rētū* 'answer', cp. Pruss. *way-te* 'parley, conference'. *mos-tū* 'bridge'. *mlatū* 'hammer' (pr. Slav. *\*mol-tū*). *sū-vito* 'linen' beside partic. *vi-tū*. *jas-to* 'food': Lat. *ēsu-s* etc., see p. 230 f. *lē-to* 'summer, year' orig. 'rainy season', cp. Lith. *lė-tu-s* *ly-tū-s* 'rain'. *pā-to* 'fetter', beside the partic. *pę-tū*. *vr̃ista* 'position, stage, age': Skr. *vr̃ttā-m*, see p. 222 above. *krasta* (pr. Slav. *\*kors-tā-*) 'itch, scab': Lith. *kařsz-ta-s* 'combed, curried'. *pę-ta* 'heel'.

§ 80. 2. *-tā-* as a secondary suffix, forming abstract substantives<sup>1)</sup>.

The suffix *-tā-* which, as we have seen, formed primary abstract substantives in the proethnic and later periods, as Avest. *cis-tā-* 'wisdom', Gr. *ἀρετή* 'virtue', Lat. *multa* 'punishment', O.Ir. *ed-bart* f. 'oblatio', Goth. *skan-da* 'shame', Lith. *gel-ta* 'yellowness', O.C.Sl. *vr̃is-ta* 'position, stage', (see § 79), had also begun to

1) G. Bühler, Das Griechische Secundärsuffix *της*, Göttingen 1858. H. Ebel, Die Masculina auf. *-της*, Kuhn's Ztschr. IV 155 ff. Brandstaeter, Die paronymis Graecis in *-της*, Danzig 1852.

be used in the proethnic period as a secondary suffix, and formed abstract substantives from substantives and adjectives alike. It seems to have been even then extended to *-tāt-tati-* (§ 102), and in some languages it was partly or wholly superseded by this suffix or by *-tūt-(i)-* (see loc. cit.).

*-tā-* was fertile in Aryan, Greek, Germanic, and Slavonic.

Indo-Germanic. Lat. *juven-ta*, Goth. *junda* 'youth' pr. Germ. *\*iunun-dō*, ground-form *\*iunun-tā*, beside Skr. *yūvan-* 'young, young man' Lat. *juven-*; cp. *\*iunun-ti-s*, § 101. Before *-tā-*, *o*-stems had either *-o-* or *-e-*; the difference was doubtless connected with a difference in accent (cp. especially Germ. *-ē-pō-* and *-e-dō-*). Skr. *pūrṇa-tā-* 'a being full, fullness', O.H.G. *fulli-da* O.Sax. *fulli-tha* O.C.Sl. *plūno-ta* 'fulness', beside Skr. *pūrṇá-s* Goth. *full-s* O.C.Sl. *plūnū* 'full'; Skr. *ghōra-tā-* 'awfulness', Goth. *gáuri-tha* 'trouble, beside *ghōrá-s* 'awful' *gáur-s* 'troubled'; Skr. *kṛṣṇa-tā-* O.C.Sl. *črīno-ta* 'blackness', beside *kṛṣṇá-s*, *črīnū* 'black'; Skr. *dīrgha-tā-* O.C.Sl. *dlūgo-ta* 'length', beside *dīrghá-s*, *dlūgū* 'long'.

Aryan. Skr. *dēvā-tā-* 'divinty' from *dēvā-s* 'god'. *nagnā-tā-* 'nakedness' from *nagnā-s* 'naked', cp. O.C.Sl. *nago-ta* 'nakedness'. *avīra-tā-* 'want of sons, or children' from *a-vīra-s* 'without sons, or children'. Avest. *yēsnya-tā-* 'adorableness' from *yēsnya-* 'adorable'. Skr. *bandhū-tā-* 'relationship' from *bāndhu-ṣ* 'relative, relationship'. *agō-tā* 'want of cattle' from *á-gō-* 'without cattle', cp. Gr. *πολυβούτης* 'one rich in cattle'. *aprajās-tā-* 'want of offspring' from *á-pra-jas-* 'without offspring'.

Greek. Here these abstract substantives were used of persons (cp. Skr. *dēvā-tā-* 'divinity' then 'deity, god', O.C.Sl. *juno-ta* 'young man', orig. 'youthfulness'); and they were altered to look like masculines by a change of form in the nom. and gen. sing., just as *γενετή* became *γενετή-ς* (see § 79 p. 229 f.). It is now impossible to distinguish the forms in which this change first took place and which then served as models for the rest. The feminines in *-tā* in their abstract meaning fell out of use in prehistoric times, replaced no doubt by forms in *-tāt-*; compare e. g. *βαρύ-της* *-τη-ος* 'weight' with Skr. *guru-tā-*



'weight', Goth. *kaúriþa* 'burden', *βραδύ-της -τη-ος* (also *-τής τῆτος*) 'slowness' with Skr. *mṛdu-tā-* 'softness'. The following are examples of this change to the masculine gender: —

*ἀγρό-της* 'dweller in the country' from *ἀγρός*, *δημό-της* 'fellow demesman' from *δῆμος*, *ἵππό-τα* 'charioteer' (*-τα* is the vocative form, which was also used as nominative, see the Author Morph. Unt. II 199 f. Fleckeisen's Jahrbh. 1880 p. 660, G. Meyer Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> 318) from *ἵππος*, *οἰκέ-της* 'member of one's household' from *οἶκος*, which served as the type for *εὐνέ-της* 'sharer of one's bed, husband', beside *εὐνή* and the like. *πολύ-βού-της* 'one rich in cattle' from *βούς*. *ναύ-της* 'sailor' from *ναῦς*.

The primary and secondary formations had two points of contact. First, e. g. *οἰκέ-της* and *γενέ-της* had the same ending *-έτης*; and secondly certain of them could be regarded equally well as denominative or as participial formations, e. g. *κορυσ-τής* 'helmed, armed man, warrior' *κεράσ-της* 'horned creature, ram' *αἰχμη-τής* 'javelin-thrower'.

Italic. Examples are rare. *juven-ta* (see above, p. 239) and its opposite *senec-ta*, *Mājes-ta* Vulcan's consort. It is clear that *-tat(i)-* and *-tūt(i)-* have spread at the expense of *-tā-*.

Latin perhaps, as well as Greek, may have had masculines in *-tā-*: *eques equitis* like *ἵππό-τα* and the like. See on this point § 123 Rem. 1.

Germanic. All the forms excepting Goth. *jun-da* (see above, p. 239) had *-iþō-* or *-iðō-*. (the latter is rare, e. g. Goth. *áupida* 'wilderness' from *áup-s* 'waste, desolate'). *-i-* represents the Idg. *-e-* of the *o*-stems; but here and there Idg. *-i-* may have been the original sound, as in O.H.G. *gi-meini-da* 'community' beside Goth. *ga-máini-* 'common, communis'. Even in proethnic Germanic *-iþō-* (*-iðō-*) was transferred to other classes of stems, e. g. to those in *-u-*; the word *jun-da* escaped this change merely because the stem from which it was derived (= Skr. *yúvan-*) had fallen out of independent use.

These abstract substantives were far more frequently derived from adjectives than from substantives.

Goth. *vargiþa* 'damnation' from \**varga-* m. O.H.G. *warg* m. 'outlawed criminal, banished evildoer'. Goth. *veitvōdiþa* 'evidence' from *veitvōþ-s* 'witness'. A.S. *ðýfð* O.Icel. *þýfð* 'theft' from *ðeóf þjōf-r* 'thief'. Goth. *háuhþa* O.H.G. *hōhida* 'height' from *háuh-s hōh* 'high'. O.H.G. *heilida* O.Icel. *heilð* 'health' from O.H.G. *heil* O.Icel. *heill* 'healthy'. Goth. *niujiþa* 'newness' from *niuji-s* 'new'. *fairniþa* 'age' from *fairnei-s* 'old'. *tulgþa* 'safety, fortification', from *tulgu-s* 'firm'.

In West-Germanic and Norse *-iþō-* was associated with the verbs in *-jan*, since verbs of this kind were often connected with the nouns from which the *-iþō-* forms were derived and *-i-* was a characteristic mark of their conjugation, cp. e. g. O.H.G. *hōhida* beside *hōhen* (Goth. *hauhjan*) 'to exalt'. Hence arose analogical primary formations, which were most common in High German, as O.H.G. *gi-hōrida* 'hearing' formed from *gi-hōren* (Goth. *ga-hausjan*) 'to hear', *ir-lōsida* 'release' (subst.) from *ir-lōsen* (Goth. *us-lausjan*) 'to release'. Later on these were formed from other verbs than those in *-jan*; as O.H.G. *far-manida* 'contempt' from *far-manōn*, *gi-habida* 'bearing, behaviour' from *gi-habēn*, *ant-findida* 'feeling' from *ant-findan*.

#### Balto-Slavonic.

In Lithuanian *-tā-* is quite rare in this use, e. g. *sveika-tā* 'health' from *sveika-s* 'healthy'. Possibly *-tā* was not pure Lithuanian, but borrowed from Slavonic; cp. *nogatā* (*nūgatā*) 'nakedness' from Pol. *nagota*, *siratā* 'orphan' from Pol. *sierota* Little-Russ. *syrota*.

Old Church Slavonic. *rabota* 'servitude' from *rabū* 'servant', *gnusota* 'dirtiness' from *gnusū* 'dirt', *sramota* 'shame' from *sramū* 'shame'. *dobrota* 'goodness' from *dobrū* 'good', *pīstrotā* 'motley colouring' from *pīstrū* 'motley', *bēlota* 'whiteness' from *bēlū* 'white', *žestota* 'hardness' from *žestū* 'hard'. Some have become 'concrete: *sirota* f. 'orphan', orig. 'bereavement', from *sirū* 'bereaved, orbus' and *junota* m. 'young man', orig. 'youth' from *junū* 'young'. Cp. above, p. 239, Gr. ἀρρό-της etc., and § 157.

§ 81. 3. -to- as a Suffix of Comparison. This class includes the -to- of the ordinal numerals, and the superlative -is-to- which is an extension of the primary comparative-suffix -ies- (§ 135).

An extension of -to- by -mo- forms the superlative-suffix -tymo-, which was discussed in § 73 p. 177 ff.

Indo-Germanic. The numerals in this period had sometimes -mo- (§ 72, 2 p. 166 ff.), sometimes -to-, sometimes perhaps both forms, e. g. \**dekmō*- and \**dekmto*- 'tenth'. The latter form was the original of Gr. *δέκα-το-ς*, Goth. *taihun-da*, Lith. *deszīm-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *desę-tū*. Skr. *cathur-thā-s*, Gr. *τέτρα-το-ς* *τέτρα-ρο-ς*, Lat. *quar-tu-s* for \**ctvar-to-s*, O.H.G. *fior-do* (*n*-stem), Lith. *ketvīr-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *četrŕi-tū* 'fourth'. Skr. *šaṣ-ṭhā-s*, Gr. *ἕκ-το-ς*, Lat. *sex-tu-s*, Goth. *saihs-ta* (*n*-stem), Lith. *szės-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *šes-tū* 'sixth', cp. I § 589 Rem. 2 p. 446. Gr. *εἰκοσ-τό-ς* Boeot. *ἑικασ-τό-ς* 'twentieth' contrasted with Avest. *vīśas-tema*- Lat. *vicensimu-s*, see above, p. 177.

Remark 1. \**dekm* 'ten' has the parallel form \**dekm̥t* (Skr. *daśát-* f. 'decade', Goth. *taihun*, Lith. *dėszimt*, pl. *dėszimi-s*, O.C.Sl. pl. *desęt-e*, see I § 244 p. 202, § 664, 2 p. 522, II § 123); this naturally suggests the comparison, \**dekmto-s*:\**dekm̥t* = \**dekmō-s*:\**dekm̥t*. Cp. p. 167 Rem. And it can hardly be denied that this -to- and the -to- of the cardinal numeral \**kmtō-m* 'hundred' (Skr. *śatā-m* etc.) are identical. I should have more confidence in suggesting this view of \**dekmto*-, but that the -to- of the ordinal numerals may also be the participial suffix; the *tenth* might be, so to speak, the *be-ten-ed* (cp. Skr. *án-ap-tu-* etc. p. 224), i. e. 'he to whom the number ten has been assigned in an enumeration'.

With the numerals proper is connected Skr. *kati-thā-s* 'which (in a series)?' beside *kāti* Avest. *caiti* 'how many?', Lat. *cottī-diē* for \**cŷet(i)-tej-* (loc.) 'on a day of whatsoever number, on which day soever, every day' beside *quo-t* for \**quo-ti* (I § 655, 1 p. 501). Cp. I § 501 Rem. 2 p. 368 § 633 p. 474. It is formed in the same way as Skr. *vīśati-tamā-s* 'twentieth'.

-is-to-, in the proethnic language, was the usual superlative ending where the comparative was formed in -ies-. \**lǝghisto-s*: Skr. *lāghīṣṭha-s* 'nimblest, smallest', Gr. *ἐλάχιστο-ς* 'smallest'. Skr. *svādd-iṣṭha-s* Gr. *ῥῑδ-ιστο-ς* Goth. *sut-ist-s* 'suavissimus'. \**plējsto-s* 'plurimus' i. e. \**plē+isto-*: Gr. *πλειστο-ς*; as regards Avest. *fraṣṭa-*

O.Icel. *flestr* see p. 244. 247 f. The root-syllable had originally the weak form of Ablaut, and -to- was accented; this is shewn on the one hand by Gr. *κράτ-ιστο-ς* beside *κρείσσων* *κρείσσω*, *ὀλίγ-ιστο-ς* beside *ὀλιζων* and the like, on the other hand by Skr. *jyēṣṭhā-s* *kaniṣṭhā-s* and O.Fries. *lērest*, with *r* for pr. Germ. *z*, beside *lēssa* and the like (see Kluge, Paul-Braune's Beitr. VIII 519 ff., Wheeler, Der griech. Nominalacc. 40 f.); cp. also the accentuation of -to- in numerals like Skr. *catur-thā-s* Gr. *εἰκοσ-τό-ς* O.H.G. *sibun-to* (pr. Germ. \*-dō). In the separate branches of language, both the vocalism and the accentuation of these superlatives were influenced more or less strongly by the comparative forms, themselves at the same time reacting upon the latter.

The new suffix -isto- was primary to start with, like the comparative -ies-. But in all the different branches in which it was fertile, i. e. in Aryan, Greek and Germanic, it was very soon used along with -ies- as a denominative (cp. § 58 p. 106 f.).

Aryan. In Sanskrit we find -tha- and -ta-, and (always with the aspirate) -iṣṭha-. In Avest. -tha- is represented by *pux-đa-* 'fifth' (cp. Skr. *pañca-thā-*) and *hapta-ḥa-* 'seventh' (Skr. *saptā-thā-*). -tha- therefore certainly dates from proethnic Aryan. Cp. I § 475 p. 350 f.

Remark 2. I cannot follow those who would infer from this another proethnic suffix -tho-, so long as no undoubted example of the aspirate has been found in the European branch. Whence comes the aspirate in Gr. *λοισθο-ς*; 'last'? — The question of the Indo-Germanic Tenuis Aspiratae is not decided even by Moulton's essay, ingenious as it is, in the American Journal of Philology VIII 207 ff., since he is only concerned with the evidence in Greek. What, for instance, do we gain by deriving Gr. *τέταρτο-ς* from \**tetar-θo-ς* and thus reconciling it with Skr. *catur-thā-s*, if all the while Lat. *quar-tu-s* is left out of consideration? (Moulton p. 208.) Why is not the Latin word \**quarbus*, with *b* for pr. Ital. *p*?

-ta- occurs e. g. in Skr. *tr-t-īya-* Avest. *pri-t-ya-* O.Pers. *ši-t-īya-* 'third'; beside which we have also Skr. *tri-tā-s* (on which *tr-t-īya-* is based), the name of a divinity to which another, *dvitā-s*, was created as a contrast (cp. the Italic forms), Skr. *ṣaṣ-ṭā-* 'sixtieth', *sapta-tā-* 'seventieth' and the like; cp. also Skr. *pañcāt-* f. 'a group of five' *daśāt-* f. 'a group of ten'.

With Skr. *kati-thá-* (see above, p. 242) are connected *tāvathita-* 'such and such a one (in a series)' *bahutithá-* 'manifold'.

-isto-. Skr. *máh-iṣṭha-* Avest. *maz-išta-* 'greatest': Gr. μέγ-ιστο-ς. Skr. *ḍś-iṣṭha-* Avest. *ās-išta-* 'quickest': Gr. ὄξ-ιστο-ς. O.Pers. *maṣ-išta-* 'greatest', beside Avest. *mas-yah-* 'greater': Gr. μῆξ-ιστο-ς 'longest, greatest'. Skr. *vás-iṣṭha-* Avest. *vah-išta-* 'best'. Skr. *yáv-iṣṭha-* 'youngest', compar. *yáv-īyas-*, pos. *yúvan-gar-iṣṭha-* 'heaviest', compar. *gár-īyas-*, pos. *gurú-*. *sthéṣṭha-* 'most constant', beside *sthi-rá-* (O.H.G. *stara-blint* 'stone-blind'), for pr. Ar. *\*sthaiṣhta-* Idg. *\*stə-īs-to-* (just as the optative stem Skr. *sthū-* is for *\*stə-i-*, see I § 116 p. 108); similarly *sphéṣṭha* 'richest, fattest' beside *sphi-rá-* (O.C.Sl. *sporū* 'rich'), for *\*spə-isto-*; the *ē* spread to the comparative, and *sthēyas-* and *sphēyas-* took the place of *\*sthā-yas-* and *\*sphā-yas-* (we can hardly assume a form *\*sthā-īyas-* or *\*sthā-iyas-*). On the other hand the analogy of *śré-yas-* and *pré-yas-* gave rise to the superlative forms *śréṣṭha-* 'fairest' *préṣṭha-* 'dearest' (which Avest. *sraēšta-* shows to be as old as protoethnic Aryan): in the Veda occur the regular *śray-iṣṭha-* or *śriy-iṣṭha-* (pos. *śrī-rá-* Avest. *sri-ra-*) and *pray-iṣṭha-* or *priy-iṣṭha-* (pos. *priy-á-*).<sup>1)</sup> It is also possible that Skr. *jyéṣṭha-* 'mightiest' (comp. *jyā-yas-*) and Avest. *fraēšta-* 'plurimus' (comp. *frā-yah-* Skr. *prā-yas-*) was formed on the analogy of *sthéṣṭha-*; for the Gr. *πλεῖστο-ς* points to an Idg. *\*plē-isto-*, and the character of these stems, as we know it, in other words, justifies us in restoring this form.<sup>2)</sup> It cannot be shewn that pr. Ar. *ai* (*\*jiāiṣtha-* *\*prāiṣtha-*) became *ai* by any regular phonetic change. The words *dhéṣṭha-* 'most generous' and *yéṣṭha-* 'swiftest', to be read in Veda as trisyllables, I should perhaps regard as written for *dhāyiṣṭha* *yāyiṣṭha-* (or perhaps *dhēyiṣṭha-* *yēyiṣṭha-*, the original *a* being replaced by *ē*), cp. *bhāyiṣṭha-*.

1) One of the two forms must be inferred for metrical reasons. In the passages of the Rigveda which concern us the forms of the later language, *śréṣṭha-* and *préṣṭha-*, are the traditional reading.

2) Osthoff now takes a different view (Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 443); however, he supposes an Idg. *\*pla-istó-s*. On O.Icel. *flesir* see below, p. 247 f.

A few noun stems form superlatives in the same way, with *-iṣṭha-* in place of *-tama-*. Skr. *brāhm-iṣṭha-* 'a Brahman in the highest degree' from *brāh-man-* (similarly compar. *brāhm-īyas-*). *drāḍh-iṣṭha-* 'firmest' (instead of *dārhiṣṭha-*) from *dyḍhā-* ground-form *\*dhyḡh+to-* (similarly compar. *drāḍh-īyas-*); this formation was modelled on such forms as *kraṣiṣṭha-*: *kṛśā-* 'lean', *bhraṣiṣṭha-*: *bhṛśa-* 'strong, violent'.

Greek. *ἔνν-το-ς* 'ninth' for *\*ἐννα-το-ς*: Goth. *niun-da*, Lith. *deviñ-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *devę-tŭ-* (cp. I § 152 p. 138). The analogy of *εἰκοσ-τό-ς* 'twentieth', *τριᾶκοσ-τό-ς* 'thirtieth' gave rise to such forms as *ἑκατοστό-ς* 'hundredth', *διᾶκοσιοστό-ς* 'two-hundredth', *χίλιοστό-ς* 'thousandth'; and also, *πόστο-ς* 'which (in a series)?', *πολλοστό-ς* 'one of many, multesimus' *ὀλιγοστό-ς* 'one of few'.

The *-ατο-ς* of *ἐνατο-ς* *δέκατο-ς* spread considerably by analogy: *\*πρω-ατο-ς* (Att. etc. *πρῶτο-ς* Dor. *πρᾶτο-ς*) 'first' instead of *\*πρω-φο-ς* (I § 306 p. 242 II § 64 p. 134), *τρίτ-ατο-ς* 'third', *ἑβδόμ-ατο-ς* 'seventh', *ὀγδό-ατο-ς* 'eighth'; *ὑπ-ατο-ς* 'uppermost', *ἔσχ-ατο-ς* 'outermost', *μέσσο-ατο-ς* 'midmost', *νέ-ατο-ς* 'novissimus'; *βέλτ-ατο-ς* 'best' (for its etymology see Wackernagel Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 301 f.), *γέροτ-ατο-ς* 'most eminent'. The *-τατο-* of *τρίτατο-ς* *βέλτατο-ς* etc. was regarded as a simple suffix and taken into general use as the common superlative suffix for stems whose comparative was formed in *-τερο-* (cp. § 75 p. 193); e. g. *ὠμό-τατο-ς*, *σοφιώ-τατο-ς*, *παλαι-τατο-ς*, *ἐνδαιμον-έστατο-ς*, *κύν-τατο-ς*. A further accumulation of superlative elements is seen e. g. in *ἐσχα-ατώ-τατο-ς*, *κυντότατο-ς*, which looks like an attempt at *\*κυν-τατώ-τατο-ς* (cp. *κυν-τερώ-τερο-ς*) *καλλ-ιστό-τατο-ς*, *ἐγγ-ιστό-τατα*, and conversely *πρώτ-ιστο-ς*. Cp. Ascoli Curtius' Stud. IX 339 ff.

Remark 3. Bezenberger (Beitr. V 94 ff.) attempts a different explanation of *-τατο-*; but I am convinced that it is untenable (see Morph. Unt. III 68 f.).

*-isto-*. *ῥᾱκ-ιστο-ς* 'quickest': Skr. *ḍś-iṣṭha-s*. *βάρδ-ιστο-ς* *βραδ-ιστο-ς* 'slowest': Skr. *mrad-iṣṭha-s* (a later formation for *\*mṛd-iṣṭha-s*). *τάχ-ιστο-ς* 'quickest'. *μάλ-ιστα* 'most' (adv.) *πλεῖστο-ς*

ground-form \**plē-isto-s*; see pp. 242, 244 above. Later on, analogical formations were made from noun stems: *κάλλ-ιστο-ς* 'fairest' from τὸ κάλλος, *ἄλπν-ιστο-ς* 'loveliest, most agreeable' beside ἔπ-αλπνο-ς, *τέρπν-ιστο-ς* 'most delightful' from *τερπ-νό-ς*, *πρόσβ-ιστο-ς* 'oldest, most honourable' from *πρόσβν-ς*. Here -ιστο- took the place of -τάτο-, as was also the case in *ἐγγ-ιστα* beside *ἐγγί-τατα* 'nearest', *πέρσ-ιστα* beside *πορρω-τάτω* *πορρώ-τατα* 'furthest forward'.

Italic. Lat. *sex-tu-s*, Umbr. *sestentasiaru sextentariarum* Osc. *Σέστες* 'sextius': Skr. *ṣaṣ-ṭhá-s* etc., see p. 242 above. Lat. *quīntu-s* *Quīnctiu-s*, Osc. *Πομπτιες* 'Quinctius': Avest. *pux-ḍa-* (the *u* is remarkable), Gr. *πέμπ-το-ς* Goth. *fimfta-* (in our records found only in composition), Lith. *peñk-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *pę-tŭ*. Lat. *ter-tiu-s*, Umbr. *tertiām-a* 'ad tertiam', by the side of which stands Lat. *trit-avo-s* (if this and not *strit-avo-s* was the true form of the word), for the first part of which either \**trito-s* or \**tritio-s* may be assumed as the earliest form (see § 34 p. 59): Skr. *tri-tá-s* *tyt-ṭya-s* (p. 243), Gr. *τρι-το-ς* Lesb. *τίρ-το-ς*, Goth. *pri-dja* Lith. *trėczia-s* O.C.Sl. *trętyŕ*. In any case the forms \**ter-to-* \**ty-to-*, which are connected by ablaut are older than \**tr-i-to-*, which was derived directly from the cardinal (*tr-i-tr-ēi-*), though there would be nothing in the least irregular in its formation, if the -to- of the ordinals is really the participial suffix, as was suggested in Rem. 1 (p. 242). We have it extended by -io- in *ter-tiu-s* etc. as in Skr. *dvi-t-ṭya-* 'second' and *túr-ya-* *tur-ṭya-* 'fourth' (§ 63 p. 133). Side by side with *cottī-diē* (see above, p. 242), we have *quo-tu-s to-tu-s quo-tumu-s* (§ 73 p. 178). In Latin the superlative suffix -isto- gave place to the new formation -issimo-; contrast e. g. *ōc-issimu-s* (comp. *ōc-iōr*) with Skr. *ḍś-iṣṭha-* (*ḍś-ṭyas-*) Gr. *ὠκ-ιστο-ς* (*ὠκ-ιστ-*). It is not clear in what way this substitution took place, see § 73 Rem. p. 179.

Remark 4. It must be left an open question whether -isto- is still preserved in proper names, whether e. g. *Nostiū-s* stands for \**Novist-iu-s* and is to be compared with Skr. *nāc-iṣṭha-s*, as Pauli (Altital. Stud. II 140 f.) assumes.

Old Irish. *cōiced* O.Cymr. *pimphet* 'fifth': cp. Skr. *pañca-thā-s*. Similarly *sessel* Mod.Cymr. *chweched* 'sixth'; as to the cause of this new formation see Zimmer, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 214. We frequently find the termination *-mad*, which arose from an extension of older forms in *-mmo-*; as *sechtmad* Mod.-Cymr. *seithuet* 'seventh' (cp. Lat. *septimu-s*), *dechmad* Mod.Cymr. *decuet* 'tenth' (cp. Lat. *decimu-s*), *cētmad* Bret. *kandred* 'hundredth', see § 72, 2 p. 168. In protoethnic Celtic *-eto-s* was the termination of all these words, and the difference of vocalism between O.Ir. *cōiced* (with *e*) and *\*sechtmad* (with *a*) depends upon the kind of sound in the preceding syllable: *sechtmad* is due to the older form *\*sechtamet(os)*. *tress-* 'third' in comp. no doubt stands for *\*tris-to-*, i. e. *\*tris* (= Skr. *trī-ś* Gr. *τρί-ς*) + *-to-* (beside it in Mod.Cymr. we find the form *trydydd* from *\*tri-tijo-s*) cp. Lat. *trīnī* for *\*tris-no-* § 66 p. 146 and O.H.G. *dris-ki* 'ternus' *zweis-ki* 'twofold'.

*-isto-* in Keltic gave place to *-mo-* (*-is-mmo*), see § 72, 2 p. 169, cp. e. g. O.Ir. *lugem* 'smallest' (compar. *laigiū*) as contrasted with Skr. *lāgh-iṣṭha-s* Gr. *ελάχιστο-ς*.

Germanic. The numerals passed into the *n*-declension. Goth. *saihta* O.H.G. *sehto* O.Icel. *sette setti* 'sixth': Skr. *ṣaṣ-ṭhā-* etc., see p. 242 above. Goth. *niunda* O.H.G. *niunto* O.Icel. *nūnde nīundi* 'ninth', pr. Germ. *\*niyun-dā-n-* (I § 179 p. 156): cp. Gr. *ἐνάτο-ς*. In Goth. *ahtu-da* O.H.G. *ahtodo* 'eighth', we have a formation peculiar to Germanic, cp. Gr. *ὀγδο(ς)ή-κοντα* Vulgar Lat. *octuā-ginta*.

*-isto-*. In the oldest West-Germanic the inflexion of the superlative was almost exclusively weak (*n*-declension); in Gothic and Norse it was both strong and weak. Goth. *sut-ist-s* O.H.G. *suaz-isto* 'sweetest': Skr. *svād-iṣṭha-*. Goth. *hauh-ist-s* O.H.G. *hōh-isto* 'highest'. Goth. *māist-s* O.H.G. *meisto* 'most' (compar. *māiza mēro*), cp. Umbr. *mestru* fem. 'maior', common ground-form *\*ma-isto-* beside the pos. O.Ir. *mā-r* Goth. *-mēr-s* 'great'. The O.Icel. *flest-r* 'plurimus', together with the compar. *fleire*, which cannot be referred to *\*plēis-* (Osthoff, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 444), I suppose to have been altered on the analogy of



*mest-r meire*; cp. pp. 242 f. 244 and § 135. We often find new formations from noun-stems: Goth. *\*jūh-ist-s* (inferred from *jūhiza*) O.H.G. *jung-isto* O.Icel. *ǽrst-r* (for *\*ǽst-r*, *r* being inserted from the compar. *ǽre*) and *yngst-r* 'youngest', from Goth. *jugg-s* etc. = pr. Germ. *\*iununa-gá-s* Skr. *yuva-śá-s*; this new form took the place of another which answered to the Skr. *yáv-iṣṭha-s*; this must have been before Verner's law came into operation, as the word has *-h-* instead of *-g-*, which shews that in the noun from which it was formed (*\*iūwaxá-*) the breathed spirant had not yet become voiced (I § 530 p. 386 f.). Goth. *\*alp-ist-s* (inferred from *alpiza*) O.H.G. *altisto* 'oldest' beside Goth. *al-pei-s* O.H.G. *al-t* 'old'. Accumulated endings of comparison are seen in e. g. Goth. *af-tum-ist-s* A.S. *æf-tem-est* 'hindmost, last' beside Goth. *af-tuma*, O.H.G. *af-tr-isto* 'last' beside *af-tro-* *af-tero*.

Since *-ista-* and *-iz-en-* became denominative so early in protoethnic Germanic, it is not surprising that before that period ended they were added to *ō-*, the adverbial termination of the *o*-stems, just as was the Gr. *-τατο-* *-τερο-* in *σωπαί-τερο-ς* *ἀνω-τερο-* etc. (§ 75). Thus arose forms like Goth. *sniumundōs* 'more hastily', from *sniumundō* 'hastily', *frōdōza* 'more shrewd' *frōdōst-s* 'most shrewd', from *frōp-s* 'prudent', O.H.G. *blintōro blintōst* from *blint* 'blind' (*aftr-ōsto* beside *aftr-isto* (see above) and the like), O.Icel. *spakare spakast-r* from *spak-r* 'intelligent'. In Gothic this formation was always strictly confined to *o*-stems; in Old High German was occasionally extended to other adjectival stems. Pr. Germ. *-ō-izō-* *-ō-ista-z* became *-ōzō-* *-ōsta-z*, cp. I § 142 p. 127. Slavonic has a similar group of comparatives, the forms in *-ě-jě*; see § 135.

Remark 5. This explanation of the comparative suffix in Germanic has not been universally accepted. (Johansson, *De derivatis contractis*, p. 182). But it is certainly not disproved by the forms *māiza div-s* (for *\*māis- aīwo-*). It is quite possible that *āi* had here become *āi* (see I § 614 p. 464) before this new method of forming comparatives had been adopted in protoethnic Germanic. Each period has its own phonetic laws.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *desziñ-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *desę-tŭ* 'tenth': Gr. *δέξα-ρο-ς* etc.; see above, p. 242.

*-isto-* in Lithuanian gave place to *-iáus-ia-* which (in spite of

J. Schmidt's objections, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 378) is no doubt connected with Slav. *-uchŭ -iuchŭ* (Miklosich Vergl. Gramm. II 289 ff.); whilst in Slavonic the comparative displaced the superlative formation.

§ 82. 4. The Suffixes *-mṣ-to-*, *-uṣ-to-*<sup>1)</sup>.

In proethnic Indo-Germanic there were a certain number of formations in *-to-* which were extensions of stems in *-men-* and *-uen-*. *\*kley-mṣ-to-*: Skr. *śrō-mata-m* 'renown' O.H.G. *hliumunt* m. 'report, reputation' beside Avest. *srao-man-* n. Goth. *hliu-ma* m. 'hearing', √ *kley-* 'to hear'. Gr. *ὀνόματα* pl. 'names' Lat. *cōgnō-mentu-m*, beside Skr. *nā-man-* n. 'name' Lat. *nō-men* n. etc. Gr. *κασσύματα* pl. 'something stitched together, soles; contrivances, plots' (prep. *κάτ*), Lat. *as-sū-mentu-m* 'patch put on', Skr. beside *syā-man-* n. 'band, strip, row', Gr. *ὀμῶν -έρως* 'skin, sinew'. *\*per-uṣ-to-*: Skr. *pār-vata-s* 'mountain, rock' Gr. *πεῖρατα* Lesb. *πέρατα* pl. 'extremes, boundaries', for *\*περ-φατα* (I § 166 p. 146 f.), beside Skr. *pār-van-* n. 'knot, joint, break, section' Gr. *ἄ-πείρων* 'boundless' for *\*ἄ-περ-φαν*.

Probably this use of *-to-* is to be connected with that discussed p. 224, where we saw that the participial *-to-* could be added directly to noun-stems. From *\*kley-men-* was first formed *\*kley-mṣ-tó-* (*hliumunt* indicates that *-to-* was accented) 'called, famed' (cp. Gr. *θανματό-ς* beside *θάνμα*, orig. stem *\*θαν-μεν-*); the neuter, used substantivally, had the meaning 'a being called, renown', and then in High German the gender of the word was altered to match that of *ruof*, *ruom*. Gr. *\*ὄνοματο-ν* orig. 'the being named, having a name'; Lat. *cōgnōmentu-m* 'the having a surname', beside *cōgnōminātu-s*, like *sceles-tu-s* beside *scelerātu-s*, *liber-tu-s* beside *liberātu-s*. Skr. *pār-vata-s* is easily explained as an epithet of *giri-ś* 'mountain'.

Remark. The following formations are akin to those just discussed: Skr. *sī-mān-ta-s* 'crown of the head, boundary' beside *sī-mān-* m. 'parting of the hair, crown of the head' f. 'boundary', Gr. *ἰ-μάντ-* (f) 'strap' beside *ἰ-μον-ιά* 'rope of a draw-well' O.Sax. *sī-mo* 'band, rope' (*ἰ-μάντ-* instead of *\*ἰ-μάντο-* see p. 250 f.); Skr. *hē-man-tā-s* 'winter' beside *hē-man* loc. 'in

1) The Author, Morph. Unters. II 220 ff.

winter'; *aś-man-ta-m* 'fire place' beside *dā-man-* m. 'stone'. In the first word the Idg. ending was perhaps *-mḡ-to-*, see I § 230 p. 196; the accent was shifted from *-to-* to *-mḡ-* doubtless through the influence of *\*si-mi'n-*, the stem from which the word was formed, just as in Sanskrit the accent of *\*śrō-man-* n. changed *\*śrōmatā-m* to *śrōmatam*. On the other hand, *hēmantā-s* and *aśmantā-m* may be later analogical forms dating from the period after the separation of the languages and based on the strong form of the parent stem, as in *cf̥san-tama-* and the like. Or has *hēmantā-s* any immediate connexion with the Gr. *α-χέ(μ)αρτο-*; mentioned on p. 223?

In most languages these combined suffixes, even when they did not die out, survived only in a few old forms and were no longer in living use; in Germanic besides *hlumunt* the only other example is Goth. *sniu-mundō* 'hastily' (from *\*sneṡ-men-* 'haste') which presupposes an adj. *\*sniu-munda-* cp. Gr. *θανμα-τός-*. But in Italic *-mḡ-to-*, and in Greek *-mḡ-to-* and *-uḡ-to-* became exceedingly fertile.

Greek. Forms like *ὀνόματα* are: *εἶ-ματα* 'clothes' (cp. *εὖ-εἶμων* 'well clothed' Skr. *vās-man-* n. 'covering'), *δέρ-ματα* 'hides, skins', *ὑπο-δήματα* 'sandals', *μνή-ματα* 'memorials', *καλύμ-ματα* 'veils', *νοή-ματα* 'thoughts', *ὀρημή-ματα* 'longings'. Like *\*περ-φατα* we have *εἶδατα* 'food' in Hom., i. e. *ἔδ-φατα* or (with assimilation) *ἔδδατα* (cp. I § 166 p. 147), *φρήατα φρεῖατα* 'wells' (for *\*φρή-φατα*), *στῆατα* 'lumps of fat' (for *\*στᾶ-φατα*, *√stā-* 'to stand'). Stems in *-men-* and *-uen-* were regularly extended in this way; and *-to-* also attached itself to neuter stems in *-en-*: e. g. *ἥπ-ατα* 'livers' (Skr. *yakan-* Lat. *jecin-*), *οὔθ-ατα* 'udders' (Skr. *ūdh-an-*), *κεῖατα κέρηατα* 'heads' for *\*κεῖα-ατα* *\*κεῖρα-ατα* (Skr. *śīrṣ-an-*); to which *κρήνη* Lesb. *κράννᾱ* and *κέρηνο-ν* (for *\*κεῖα-ν-ᾱ* *\*κεῖρα-ν-ᾱ*) are related in the same way as *ρώννυρ-ος-* to *ὀνόματα*. The nom. and acc. sing., e. g. *ὄνο-μα*, and the loc. pl., e. g. *ὀνό-μασι*, must be forms of the original *n*-declension without *-to-*. But along with these there were in use such case-forms as *ὀρομα-τα*, *ὀρομά-των*, and *ὀνόμα-τος* (= Skr. adverbial ablative *nāma-tas*); and as though these were really to be divided *ὀρόματ-α* *ὀνομάτ-ων* *ὀνόματ-ος*, a new form was made for the locative, *ὀνόματι*. Thus the *το*-stem passed over to the *τ*-declension. In the same way *ί-μαρτ-* (see

p. 250 Rem.) was no doubt developed from \**í-μάρ-τος*, cp. Skr. *sīma-tās*.

*Italic.* Lat. *testā-mentu-m*, Osc. *trístaamentud* abl. 'testamento'. In Latin we sometimes find only the original form in *-men*, as *agmen*, *crīmen*, *certāmen*; sometimes *-mento-* as well, e. g. *augmen* and *augmentu-m*, *suf-fīmentu-m*, *regimen* and *regimentu-m*, *fundāmen* and *fundāmentu-m*; sometimes only *-mento-*, as *armentu-m*, *caementu-m*, *dēlectāmentu-m*, *argūmentu-m*, *vestīmentu-m*. Further, *unguen-tu-m* was formed from *unguen* as *-mentu-m* from *-men-*, just as in Greek *ῥήματα* arose on the model of *ὀνόματα*, \**περ-φατα-* etc.

§ 83. The Suffix *-ko-* *-kã-*. This is shewn to be pro-ethnic by the word \**iuuṇ-kó-s* or \**juuṇ-kó-s* 'youthful, young', beside Skr. *yúv-an-* Lat. *juv-en-* (for the initial sound see I § 117 p. 109 f. § 598 p. 452 f.): Skr. *yuva-śá-s*, Lat. *juven-cu-s*, O.Ir. *ḡac ḡc*, Goth. *jugg-s*<sup>1)</sup>. Compare also *lōpa-śá-s* 'fox, jackal', Armen. *aluēs* 'fox', Gr. *ἀλώπηξ*-*-τις* and (in the Iambic writer Ananios) *-ηξ*-*ος* 'fox', with *-x-* for *-xo-*, with the same change of inflexion as in *μεῖρα-ξ*: Skr. *marya-ká-s* etc. (§ 84. 129), beside Skr. *lōpa-ka-s* 'fox' (*-ka-* had originally a diminutive force), Gr. *ἀλωπό-χρους* 'fox-coloured' *ἀλωπό-ς* 'sly', Lith. *lūpė* 'fox'; in some of the languages, no doubt, the word may have been borrowed and naturalised, nor can we be certain that the suffix of Gr. *ἀλώπηξ* is not *-go-*, and so identical with the *-ka-* of Skr. *lōpa-ka-*.

Beyond these words a few examples from Aryan are all that can be ascribed with certainty to the suffix *-ko-*.

*Aryan.* In Skr. *arva-śá-s* *árva-śa-s* 'hasty, travelling quickly' from *árvan-* (same meaning); *éta-śa-s* 'hasty', from *éta-s* (the same); *babhru-śá-s* *babhlu-śá-s* 'brownish' from *babhru-ṣ*

1) Here perhaps *érix-ιρθο-*; also should be classed (for the diminutive force of *-ιρθο-* see A. Döhring, Programm des Friedrichs-Collegiums, Königsberg 1885 p. 15). The youth Hyacinthus and his early death represent the life of the physical world, where maturity is at once followed by decay. If this etymology is correct, it proves the existence of an Indo-Germanic stem \**iuuṇ-* with an initial *í* (not *j*), see I § 598 p. 452.

'brown'; *rōma-śá-s lōma-śá-s* 'hairy', from *rōman- lōman-* n. 'hair of the head'; *aŋku-śá-s* 'hook' beside *aŋku-rá-s* (p. 199).

Armenian. *alušs* 'fox', see above.

Greek. *άλυπτης* 'fox', see above.

Italic. Lat. *juven-cu-s*, Umbr. *ivengar* pl. 'iuvencae', see above.

Old Irish. *ḡac ḡc* 'young', Mod.Cymr. *ieuanc* O.Corn. *iouenc* Bret. *iaouank*, see above.

Germanic. Goth. *jugg-s* O.H.G. O.Sax. *jung* O.Icel. *ung-r* 'young', pr. Germ. *\*iunwə-gá-s* (I § 179 p. 156), see above. For Goth. *jūhiza* O.Icel. *ōre* 'younger' see I § 530 p. 387, II § 81 p. 248.

Balto-Slavonic. We can scarcely place in this group Lith. *pálsza-s* 'tawny' O.C.Sl. *pelesŭ* 'dark grey' beside Lith. *paĩ-va-s* O.C.Sl. *pla-rŭ* 'tawny'. These forms no doubt arose (as we may infer from the Russ. *pelesyj* 'variegated' *polosa* 'stripe, streak') through a confusion of  $\sqrt{pel-}$  with  $\sqrt{perk-}$  (Gr. *πέλεκος* *πελεκνό-ς*).

§ 84. The Suffixes *-qo-* *-qā-*, *-iqo-* *-iqā-*, *-īqo-* *-īqā-*, *-ūqo-* *-ūqā-*, and *-aqo-* *-aqā-*<sup>1)</sup>.

The velar character of the *k-* sound in the suffixes which we are now to discuss appears regularly and unmistakeably in Aryan, Armenian and Balto-Slavonic (see I § 417 ff. p. 305 ff.). In Greek, Italic, Keltic and Germanic it can be identified with certainty only in the comparatively rare cases where we find the *k*-sound labialised (*ku*), as in Lat. *antī-quo-s*, Mod.Cymr. *hys-p* 'dry'. The remaining examples in this group of languages have only *k* without any following *u*; yet it is clear that these forms, except of course such as we have already seen reason

1) J. Budenz, Das Suffix *κός* (*κός*, *ακός*, *υκός*) im Griechischen, Gött. 1858. C. von Paucker, Die [lat.] Deminutiva mit dem Suffix *-culus*, *a*, *um*, Ztschr. f. österr. Gymn. 1876 p. 595 ff. L. Meyer, Das Suffix *ka* im Gotischen, Kuhn's Ztschr. VI 1 ff. Id., Die deutsche Abstractbildung auf *ung*, Bezzenb. Beitr. III 151 f. Fr. Kauffmann, Die innere Stammform der Adjectiva auf *-ko* im Germanischen, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XII 201 ff. A. Bezzenberger, Die lett. Gradationsformen auf *-āks*, in his Beitr. V 97 ff.

to refer to the suffix *-ko-* (§ 83), did originally contain *q* not *k*, because a large number of them correspond exactly to forms in the Eastern group which vouch for *-go-*; thus examples like Lat. *mus-culu-s*: Skr. *muṣ-kā*- Armen. *mukn* prove that the Latin diminutival suffix *-culo-* is derived from *-go-*. It must be confessed, however, that no real difference of meaning can be found between the suffixes *-ko-* and *-go-*, and it is therefore quite possible that amongst the examples of *-ko-* in the Western languages which are given in this section, there may be some few forms which are really derived from *-ko-*.

*-go-* is used both as a primary and as a denominative suffix. No general definition can be given of its original function in its primary use. In derivatives *-go-* and *-igo-* were used to form adjectives (and substantives based upon adjectives) meaning 'related, or belonging to' the thing or person denoted by the original word, which was generally either an adverb or some case of a noun. Further, *-go-* was added to substantives, without altering their substantival or adjectival character, but to give a slight modification of meaning; the derivative signified 'a thing tantamount to' or 'that which merely resembles' the original. Hence it was often used to form diminutives. This modification of meaning again, was often lost, so that the derivative was simply equivalent to the original word. As to the functions of *-igo-*, *-ūgo-* and *-āgo-*, see below.

Analogical changes of many kinds, affecting the final sound of the stem to which *-go-* was added, arose even in proethnic Indo-Germanic, and still more freely after the separation of the languages, but we can seldom trace the course of their development in early times. The facts are exceedingly confused, and the classification which follows must be regarded simply as an attempt to reduce them to some kind of order.

In Greek, Italic and Keltic *-go-* was often transferred to the consonantal declension, e. g. Gr. *μειρα-ξ*: Skr. *marya-kā-s*. Cp. Gr. *ἀλώπηξ* § 83 p. 251 and § 129.

§ 85. 1. -go- as an original primary suffix. On the whole it is not common.

Indo-Germanic. None of the forms to be mentioned here are found in more than a few languages. Skr. *dhā-kā-s* 'receptacle', Gr. *θῦ-κῆ* 'receptacle', √ *dhē-* 'τίθεμαι'. Skr. *pīva-sphākā-s* 'swelling with fat', Lett. *spē-k-s* 'strength', (beside *spē-t* 'to be able'), √ *spē-* 'extend, become rich'. It is no doubt also primary in Lat. *siccu-s* O.Ir. *ses-c* 'unfruitful' Mod.Cymr. *hys-p* 'dry' pr. Kelt. *\*siskyo-s*, common ground-form *\*sit-go-s*, cp. Lat. *sit-i-s* (I § 419 p. 307).

Aryan. Skr. *śuṣ-kā- śuṣ-ka-* Avest. *huṣ-ka-* O.Pers. *uš-ka-* 'dry' √ *saṣ-* (I § 557, 4 p. 413). Skr. *āt-ka-*. Avest. *a-ḥka-* m. 'garment, covering'. Skr. *stū-kā-* 'tress'. Avest. *sao-ke-m* 'advantage'.

Armenian. *bok* 'barefoot' ground-form *\*bhos-go-* (I § 561 p. 417), cp. O.H.G. *bar* 'naked, bare' O.C.Sl. *bosŭ* 'barefoot'. Or is -go- here a secondary suffix?

Greek. *θῦ-κῆ* 'receptacle': Skr. *dhā-kā-s*, see above.

Italic. Lat. *siccu-s*, see above. Beside it we have also *tesquo-s*, for *\*ters-quo-* (I § 269 p. 217), √ *ters-* 'to become dry, arid'. *cas-cu-s* beside *cānu-s* for *\*cas-no-s* (cp. Osc. *casnar* 'senex'); for the function of the suffix cp. *prīs-cu-s* § 88. A stem *\*fa-co-* is implied in *-fex* (*arti-fex* etc.), hence *fa-c-iō*. *fācundus* and *fēcundus* imply *\*fā-co-*, *\*fē-co-*, see § 69 p. 161. *tru-c-s* beside *truare* is no doubt another example, see O. Ribbeck Archiv f. lat. Lexicogr. II 122 f.

Old Irish. *ses-c*, Mod.Cymr. *hys-p*, see above. *bris-c* Bret. *bres-k* 'brittle' no doubt from √ *bherdh-* (Gr. *πιθω*); the ground-form will then be *\*bhydh+go-*, see I § 298 p. 236. For Celt. *-sk-* coming from *-tk-* see I § 516 p. 376.

Germanic. O.Icel. *lqs-k-r* 'soft, lazy', pr. Germ. *\*lat-kya-z*, beside Goth. *lētan* 'to let, permit', *lat-s* 'lazy, idle', √ *lēd-* *lād-*. O.H.G. *ras-c* and *ros-ch* 'quick, clever, strong' O.Icel. *rǫsk-r* 'bold, brave', pr. Germ. *\*raskya-z* and *\*ruskya-z*, ground-form *\*rot-go-* and *\*rt-go-*, √ *ret-* (O.H.G. *rado* 'quickly' Goth. *rap-s* 'easy'). O.H.G. A.S. *horsc* 'quick, cutting, clever' O.Icel. *horsk-r*

'clever', Goth. *and-hruskdiþ* 'he investigates', ground-form probably *\*kʏt-go-*, cp. Goth. *hard-u-s* 'hard' Gr. *κατ-ύ-s* 'strong'; cp. also Mid.Eng. and Dan. *harsk* 'rough, hard' with another grade of vocalism. O.Icel. *beis-k-r* 'sharp', beside Goth. *bait-r-s* 'biting, bitter', *✓ bheǵd-*. For *-sk-* from *-tk-* see I § 527 p. 383. Here should also be classed O.Icel. *þrosk-r-* 'bold' *vask-r-* 'bold' O.H.G. *frisc* 'brisk, lively, alert' and other similar words (Kluge Nom. Stammb. p. 89), though only, perhaps, as later formations with a suffix *-sk(y)o-* abstracted from the older forms with *sk* = *tk* (cp. p. 18 f.).

O.Icel. *lau-g* f. 'bath' from pr. Germ. *\*lau-ǵō-*, cp. O.Icel. *lauð-r* 'soap' Lat. *lav-ere*.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *pl̃l-ka-s* 'grey' beside *pelēti* 'to grow mouldy' *pelē* 'mouse', cp. also *pelēka-s* 'mouse-grey'. Lith. *plūs-k-i-s* 'one that has ruined himself, spendthrift'. Lett. *plus-ka* 'slovenly vagabond, scamp' *plus-kas* f. pl. 'sluice', beside Lith. *plūs-ti* 'to begin to swim, run over'. Lett. *rusch-ka* 'filthy fellow' *pe'lmū-ruschk-i-s* 'Cinderella'. properly 'ash-stirrer' (Lith. *pelen-rūsà* and *-rūsi-s*), beside Lith. *rūsinti* 'to rummage, stir'. Lett. *lišchk-i-s* 'flatterer' properly 'licker' *krēima-laischk-i-s* 'cream-licker', a name of the fore-finger. Lett. *spē-k-s* 'strength': Skr. *ṣṭva-sphaká-s*; see above, p. 254. O.C.Sl. *zna-kū* 'token'. *bra-kū* 'marriage, wedding', which we may perhaps derive from *berq bīrati* *✓ bher-*.

§ 86. 2. -go- as a secondary suffix forming adjectives (and substantives based upon adjectives) from adverbs and inflected nouns with the meaning 'related, or belonging to' what is denoted by the original word, where the nature of the relationship or connexion may vary very widely.

#### a. From Adverbs.

Indo-Germanic. Skr. *anti-ká-s* 'coming to an end with or at something, near' (*ánti* 'over against, in sight of, near'), Lat. *anti-quo-s* *anti-cu-s* 'preceding in space or time or order, more important, earlier, old' (*ante* for *\*anti*). Skr. *ánt-ka-m* 'that which is turned towards one, the side turned to one, front, face, point' Avest. *ainika-* m. 'front', Gr. *ἐν-πῆ* 'attack,



rebuke' (Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 223). Skr. *nī-ca-* low, going downwards', Gr. *νῆ-κάω* ('bring low, fight down') 'conquer' (hence *νί-κη* with the meaning 'victory', like Lat. *pūgna* from *pūgnāre*, H.G. *handel* m. from *handeln*, *opfer* n. from *opfern*), Lith. denom. *ny-k-stū* 'I disappear, pass away' (*auksztỹ-naika* adv. 'backwards' and others, with non-original ablaut) O.C.Sl. *ni-čĭ* 'pronus' for *\*nī-k-jŕ*.

Aryan. Skr. *ucca-s* Avest. *uska-* adj. 'on high, high' Skr. *útkā-s* 'longing for something' ground-form *\*ud + go-* *\*ud + ge-*, beside Skr. *úd* 'up'. Skr. *ábhi-ka-s* *ábhi-ka-s* 'coming after a thing, lustful' beside *abhi abhi*. Skr. *ánu-ka-s* 'coming after a thing, desirous, dependent' *ána-ka-m* 'backbone', beside *ánu*.

Such forms as these in *-ika-* *-ūka-* were in Sanskrit associated with compounds in *-y-añc-* *-v-añc-* (*-añc-* 'directed towards something', cp. § 163), and this led to a number of new formations. See Osthoff loc. cit. 249 ff.

Greek. *πέρι-ξ* adv. 'around', *περισσό-ς περιτό-ς* 'superfluous, extraordinary, superabundant' for *\*περι-κ-λο-ς*, beside *πέρι*. As in the case of the adverbs *μουνάξ* and *όδάξ* from *\*μουννα-χο-*, *\*όδατ-χο-* (§ 88), a nom. in *-κ-ς* instead of *-χο-ς* was first formed, *πέρι-ξ* instead of *\*περι-χο-ς* (cp. *μείρα-ξ* § 84 p. 253, § 88 pp. 263. 265), and then on the analogy of adverbs like *παρ-έξ* *ὑπ-έξ* *ἄν* etc. it came to be regarded and used as an adverb.

From a stem *\*πρᾶ-χο-* (cp. *πέρᾱ* 'beyond' *πίρᾱ-ν* 'on that side') arose *πράσσω*, the oldest meaning of which was 'press through, go through' (Hom. *ἄλα πρήσσοντες*), see Leo Meyer, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXII 61 ff.

Italic. Lat. *reci-procu-s* orig. 'directed backwards and forwards' from *\*re-co-* and *\*pro-co-*, cp. O.C.Sl. *pro-kŭ*. *procul* is an extension of the stem *\*proco-* by *-lo-* cp. *simul*<sup>1)</sup>.

Germanic. O.H.G. *abu-h* *aba-h* O.Sax. *abhu-h* 'turned away, perverse, wicked', (the neut. is used substantivally, 'per-

1) Detailed arguments in support of this explanation of *reciprocus* and *procul* will be found in Rhein. Mus. XLIII 402 ff., where, unfortunately, I overlooked the fact that the same derivation had already been suggested by Corssen, Krit. Nachtr. 136 f.

verseness, wickedness') O.Icel. *qfu-g-r* 'turned away, perverse', beside *af* 'from, away': cp. O.C.Sl. *opako opaky opače* adv. retrorsum, contrarium' *pače* 'contra, potius' *paky* 'iterum' (*opače*: *pače* = Gr. *ἄνο* : O.H.G. *fo-na*, a regular example of proethnic ablaut); cp. also Skr. *ápāka-s* 'lying behind, remote', which need not necessarily be regarded as a compound of *-añc-* (cp. p. 256 under Aryan).

Balto-Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *pro-kū* 'remaining over', from *pro. prē-kū* 'transversus' for *\*per-kū*, from *prē*.

b. From Nouns. The terminations *-o-go-* *-e-go-* which arose when the suffix was added to *o*-stems were in Aryan and Slavonic also used as primary suffixes.

Indo-Germanic. Skr. *dvi-ka-* 'consisting of two' (beside this *dva-ká-* 'two by two, joined in pairs'), A.S. *twi-3* O.H.G. *zwī-g* and *zwī* gen. *zwīes*, pr. Germ. *\*tūī-3wá-* 'twig' (cp. O.C.Sl. *roz-ga* 'twig' from *rozū razū* 'dis-'), O.H.G. *zweho zwīfo* 'doubt', pr. Germ. *\*tūī-χwo-n-* *\*tūī-χwo-n-* (I § 444 p. 329); to which no doubt we should refer Gr. *δισός-ς διττός-ς* 'twofold', for *\*δφι-κ-λο-ς*. Similarly Skr. *tri-ká-* 'three by three, threefold' and Gr. *τρισός-ς τριτός-ς* 'threefold'. The Ion. *διξός-ς τριξός-ς* are perhaps to be explained as standing for *\*δφι-κ-τλο-ς* *\*τρι-κ-τλο-ς*. Lat. *ūni-cu-s*, Goth. *aina-h-s* O.H.G. *eina-g* 'single', O.C.Sl. *ino-kū* 'solus'.

Aryan. Skr. *sūct-ka-s* adj., 'stinging', subst. 'stinging vermin', from *sūct-* f. 'needle', *anta-ka-s* 'making an end, he that makes an end', from *án-ta-s* 'end'. *uroāru-ká-m* 'that which belongs to the gourd-plant (*uroāru-ś*), or comes from it, fruit of the gourd'. *sindhu-ka-s* 'coming from the Indus (*sindhu-ś*)'. *rūpa-ka-s* 'in (an assumed) form', from *rūpá-m* 'form'. Avest. *kasvi-ka-* 'rather small, rather poor', from *kasvi-ś* 'smallness, dwarfish stature'. Skr. *māma-ka-s* 'my', *asmāka-s* Avest. *ahmāka-* 'our' (is the termination of this word Idg. *-o-go-* or the suffix *-ago-*?). Hence Ar. *-ka-*, so frequent in Sanskrit in adjectival (epithetised) compounds as Skr. *vigata-śrī-ka-s* 'whose beauty is past' (cp. Avest. *dūrae-srī-ka-* 'beautiful at a distance') *a-bhrātṛ-ka-s* 'brotherless', *a-rētās-ka-s* 'without seed', *sa-patnī-ka-s* 'with one's wife'; cp. also Avest. *hu-mayā-ka-* 'possessing good wisdom'

(*hu-mayā-*). These compounds however may also be classed under § 88 p. 264.

From *ánta-ka-s* and similar forms arose a primary suffix *-aka-*, as Skr. *sáyaka-s* 'meant for throwing' neut. 'missile', *náyaka-s* 'guide', *pācaka-s* 'cooking, cook', *pṛchaka-s* 'who asks'. Cp. Slav. *-okŭ*, p. 260.

To these no doubt should be added *vartaka-s vártika* 'quail': Gr. ὄρνις (gen. ὄρνιθος and ὄρνυς, cp. Osthoff, Zur Gesch. d. Perf. 620) 'quail', with *ν* on the analogy of κόκκυς, ἵβυς and the like.

Greek. δι-σός-ς τρι-σός-ς p. 257 above. Λιβυ-κό-ς 'Libyan', from Λιβυ-ς; θηλυ-κό-ς 'feminine', from θηλυ-ς, as the opposite of ἀρσεν-ικό-ς; in ἀλυκό-ς adj. 'salt' from ἄλ-ς (ἄλι- ἄλο-) the *-ν* is surprising. φνσι-κό-ς 'natural', from φύσι-ς, μαντι-κό-ς 'belonging to a seer', from μάντι-ς; cp. Idg. *-igo-* in ἱππ-ικό-ς etc., § 87. ὄστα-κο-ς 'lobster' no doubt for \**osth-go-s*, cp. Skr. *asthán-* 'bone'. The termination *-ιακό-ς* in ἡλιακό-ς 'belonging to the sun' (ἥλιος), σκιακό-ς 'shady' (σκιά) and the like has not been explained: are the forms based on *-en-* stems (such as, say, \*ἡλιεν-), or should we compare Umbr. *corn-ac-o* 'cornicem'?<sup>1)</sup>

Italic. Lat. *amni-cu-s*, from *amni-s*, *cīvi-cu-s*, from *cīvi-s*, *aedīli-c-iu-s*, from *aedīli-s*. Cp. Idg. *-igo-* in *bell-icu-s*, *patr-icu-s*, *patr-ic-iu-s* and the like, § 87.

The following forms appear to be connected with the same suffix: Umbr. *Kastrušiie* 'Castricii (beside *kastruvuf* 'fundos') Osc. *castrovs* gen. 'fundi') and Osc. *Iúvkifúí* '\*Jovicio', beside Osc. *Viínikiis* 'Vinicius'.

Old Irish. *súile-ch* 'oculus' for \**sūli-co-s*, from *sūil* n. 'oculus', O.Kelt. *are-mori-cī* 'those who dwell before the sea' (O.Ir. *muir* n., Lat. *mare* for \**marī*). Cp. Idg. *-igo-* in *cuimn-ech* 'mindful of' and the like, § 87.

Germanic. Goth. *stáina-h-s* (stem *stáina-ha-*) O.H.G. *steina-g* 'stony', from Goth. *stáina-* m. 'stone', Goth. *vaúrda-h-s*

1) Mahlow, Die langen Vocale 102, assumes that *-iakó-ς* with Lat. *-icu-s* Goth. *-eig-s* represents an Idg. *-iako-*, an inference which I cannot accept.

'verbal' from *vairda-* n. 'word', *mōda-g-s* (stem *mōda-ga-*) 'wrathful' O.Sax. *mōda-g* 'excited, spirited', from Goth. *mōda-* m. 'courage, wrath'. The forms *-a-ha-* *-a-za-* alternate according to the place of the accent, by the rule given in § 530 p. 386, cp. Skr. *asmāka-āṇḍika-* on the one hand, and *ēkakā-urvārukā-* on the other. The termination *-a-za-* was transferred to other classes of stems, e. g. O.H.G. *nōtag* beside Germanic *naudī- nauþi-* 'need', O.Sax. *craftag* beside *krafti-* 'strength'.

Goth. *handu-g-s* 'wise' (O.H.G. *hantag* 'sharp') from *handu-s* 'hand', though it is quite possible that the two words are not connected historically but merely by popular etymology (see Kluge, Nom. Stammb. 86, Kauffmann, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XII 202)<sup>1</sup>).

*Chēruscī* is explained by Bremer (Paul-Braune's Beitr. XI 3) as coming from *\*χērus-ka-* 'hairy', cp. O.H.G. *hār* pl. *hārir* 'hair'. For *-us-* cp. O.H.G. *angus-t* § 101.

In protoethnic and later Germanic we find adjectives in *-īza-* regularly corresponding to *-i-*stems, as Goth. *mahteig-s* O.H.G. *mahtīg* 'mighty' from *mahti-*, O.H.G. *creftīg* 'strong' from *krafti-*. But the same termination appears also in adjectives derived from other classes of stems and equally dating from the oldest period of Germanic, as Goth. *vāurstveig-s* 'active' from *vāurstva-* n. 'work, activity', O.H.G. *jārīg* 'yearly' from *jāra-* n. 'year'; and it must therefore be referred to the Idg. suffix *-īgo-* (§ 89); there is no need to suppose an original *-eī-go-* (*\*maxti- \*maxteī-*), nor can any argument for such a form be based on the obscure Gothic word *ūhtiug* 'seasonable'. We conclude then that in protoethnic Germanic *-i-za-* from *i-*stems was replaced by *-īza-*, just as in Gothic we have also the older form *gabig-s* altered to *gabeig-s* (§ 87). The influence of other derivatives with *ī* in actual use (e. g. Goth. *vāurstvei* f.) was a factor in the change.

Balto-Slavonic. In the Baltic languages the suffix hardly occurs at all in this use; Lith. *pelēka-s* Lett. *pelēk-s* 'mouse-grey' (Lith. *pelė* Lett. *pele* 'mouse') was no doubt formed on the analogy

<sup>1</sup>) Osthoff's last suggestion as to *handugs* (Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 419) does not commend itself to me.

of adjectives like *jūdōka-s* (from *jū'da-s* 'black', § 89 c). In Slavonic we have *-okū* as a primary suffix, e. g. O.C.Sl. *sŭvĕdokū* 'privy to something, witness', Russ. *chodók* 'goer, foot-messenger', *ĕdók* 'eater'; it probably began in derivatives from noun-stems in *o* (cp. Russ. *chod* 'way, path' beside *chodok*), cp. Skr. *-aka-* p. 258.

§ 87. 3. *-igo-*, a by-form of the Suffix *-go-* (§ 86). This suffix forms adjectives from nouns in Aryan, Greek, Italic and Celtic, and it is so common that it can hardly have arisen independently in the separate languages from the ending of such forms as Gr. *φυσι-κό-ς* (*φύσι-ς*). Further in Germanic and Balto-Slavonic, as well as in Sanskrit and Latin, *-igo-* is a primary suffix, and this usage must have been derived from its denominative use; so that clearly it had become a single independent suffix in proethnic Indo-Germanic. But of course there is nothing to prevent our supposing that it did originally spring from noun-stems in *-i-*.

Aryan. Skr. *paryāy-ikā-s* 'strophic' from *paryāyā-s* 'rotation, strophe'. It occurs most frequently after the vriddhi-strengthening, which serves also to form adjectives without the addition of any suffix (see § 60 p. 112 f.; cp. *māma-kā-s*, 'my' beside *māma-ka-s*, § 86 b p. 257), as *vāsant-ika-* 'belonging to spring' (*vasantā-s*), *vārṣ-ika-s* 'belonging to the rainy season' (*varṣā-m*), *āhn-ika-s* 'daily' from *āhan-* n. 'day'. But *-ika-* was not adopted in general use as an adjectival suffix, cp. *rūpa-ka-urvāru-kā-* etc., § 86 b p. 257.

It is primary in Skr. *vjśc-ika-s* 'scorpion, tarantula', from *vjścāmi* 'I split, cut asunder'.

Greek. *ἵππ-ικό-ς* 'belonging to horses' from *ἵππο-ς*, *παρθεν-ικό-ς* 'maidenly' from *παρθένο-ς*, *νυμφ-ικό-ς* 'bridal' from *νύμφη*, *ἀστ-ικό-ς* 'of the city' from *ἄστυ*, *ἐθν-ικό-ς* 'national' from *ἔθνος* n., *ἀγων-ικό-ς* 'belonging to contests' from *ἀγών*, *ἀνδρ-ικό-ς* 'manly' from *ἀνήρ* gen. *ἀνδρ-ός*. From participial stems in *-to-* there arose a new suffix *-τικο-*; e. g. *κριτικό-ς*, *μαθητικό-ς*, cp. Lat. *-tico-* p. 261.

By the side of *-ικό-ς* we find, though only rarely, *-κό-ς*, as *Αἰβυ-κό-ς*; see § 86 b.

Italic. Lat. *mod-icu-s* from *modu-s*, *bell-icu-s* from *bellu-m*, *fabr-ica* from *faber* (stem *fabro-*), *gent-icu-s* from *gēns* (stem *gent-*), *histriōn-icu-s* from *histriō* (stem *histriōn-*), *patr-icu-s* from *pater* (stem *patr-*); participial stems in *-to-* gave rise to *-tico-* as an independent suffix, e. g. *cēnaticu-s*, *herbaticu-s*, *volaticu-s*, *rūsticu-s*, *domesticu-s*, cp. Gr. *-τιχο-* above. Similarly *-ic-iu-s* in *caement-iciu-s*, *sūtōr-iciu-s*, *patr-iciu-s* etc.

The Umbro-Samnite dialects shew that *-ico-* was proethnic in Italic, so that (say) *modicu-s* was not developed in Latin out of *\*modo-co-s*: Osc. *túvtíks* 'publicus' *tóvtico* nom. fem. 'publica', Volsc. *toticu* abl. 'publico', Umbr. *totcor* pl. 'urbici' from *\*tótico-*, a derivative of *toyā-* 'civitas, urbs'; Umbr. *fratreks* *fratrexs* 'fratricus, fratrum magister' *fratreca* 'fratrica' (e from i, see I § 33 p. 34). Cp. also Osc. *Viínikiís* 'Vini-cius' and *múíníkad* abl. fem. 'communi', *múltasíkad* abl. fem. 'multaticia'. But we also find Umbr. *Kastrúsiie* and Osc. *Iúvkiíuí* (§ 86b p. 258), which are hard to explain with certainty.

*-igo-* is a primary suffix in Lat. *mord-icu-s* *mord-ex*, *med-icu-s*, *vert-ex*; and no doubt also in *pōdex* for *\*poz-d-ex* ✓ *pez-d-* 'pedere' (I § 594 p. 450). Compare the root-vowel of this word with Goth. *gabigs* (*pōdex*: *pēdere* = *gabigs*: *giban*).

Old Irish. As in Latin, *-ico-* is a general derivative suffix, i. e. it forms derivatives from all manner of stems. *cuimn-ech* 'mindful of' from *cuman* 'thought, remembrance', *cretm-ech* 'fidelis' from *cretem* 'fides'; feminines in *-iche* = Lat. *-ic-ia*, as *tairismiche* 'immobility' from *tairism-ech* 'immovable' (*tairissem* 'a standing fast'). It is possible however that some of the words in *-ech -iche* (Zeuss<sup>2</sup> 810 sq.) contain *-iāco-* or *-āco-*.

Germanic. The fertility of *-iza-* was limited on the one hand by the use of *-a-χα-* *-a-za-* (§ 86), on the other by that of *-iza-* (§ 89 a). In Gothic it does not occur as a secondary suffix, but it does in Old High German; e. g. *wuot-ig* beside *wuota-g* 'furious'. It is primary e. g. in Goth. *gab-ig-s* 'rich' beside *giban gaf* 'to give', cp. Lat. *pōd-ex*), O.H.G. *heb-ig* 'at which one must strain or heave, heavy' (beside Goth. *hafjan*).

But here too other suffixes encroached upon its use, cp. Goth. *gabeig-s* beside *gabig-s*, O.Icel. *gofug-r* *hofug-r*.

On the other hand, *-iza-* is sometimes found where *-za-* must no doubt have been original (§ 88); O.H.G. *entrig* 'strange' (pr. Germ. *\*andr-izá-*) from *ander* 'other'; possibly however *-iza-* may here represent Idg. *-e-go-* (§ 88 p. 268).

Balto-Slavonic. Here it is not uncommon as a primary suffix. In Lithuanian the root has the vowel of the preterite (cp. Lat. *pōdex*, Goth. *gabigs*). Lith. *szér-ika-s* 'one who gives fodder' from *szeriū* 'I give fodder' pret. *szėrian*, *kirt-ika-s* 'hewer' from *kertū* 'I hew' pret. *kirtaū*, *skund-ika-s* 'who loves to lament', *tup-ika-s* 'squatter'. Lett. *jum-ik-i-s* 'tile-setter' from *ju'mt* 'to cover', *glūn-ik-i-s* 'spy' from *glūnēt* 'to lurk', *u'rb-ik-i-s* 'borer' from *u'rbt* 'to bore'. O.C.Sl. *žez-ikū* 'burning' from *žega* 'I burn' (trans.), *tež-ikū* 'burdensome, heavy' from *težiti* 'to burden', *skač-ikū* 'grasshopper' ('springer'), *meč-ikū* 'bear' ('growler'), *smýč-ikū* 'fiddler'; more frequently we have *-iči*, as *yad-iči* 'eater' *pis-iči* 'writer' *šiv-iči* 'cobbler', *žir-iči* 'offerer, priest'.

There is a class of substantives derived from adjectives which may contain this Idg. *-igo-*, though I do not feel certain that it is so, such as Lith. *jaunik-i-s* 'betrothed husband' (*jáuna-s* 'young'), Lett. *melnik-i-s* 'black horse' (*meln-s* 'black'), O.C.Sl. *rožanīčī* 'bow' (*rožanū* 'of horn') *bradatīčī* 'bearded man' (*bradatū* 'bearded') *junīčī* 'young bull' (*junū* 'young').

§ 88. 4. *-go-* is added to substantives and adjectives without altering their substantival or adjectival character; the meaning of the new word bears to the old much the same relation as Mod.H.G. *schwärzlich* to *schwarz*, [Eng. *blackish* to *black*], i. e. it denotes something 'tantamount to' or something which is merely 'like' the original. From this a diminutival sense was often developed, and hence *-go-* was used in forming familiar and pet names. Yet this modification of meaning frequently died out, so that the new word meant simply the same as the old.

The boundary between this class of words and those given under 2 *b* and 3 (§ 86 and 87) fluctuates considerably. It is

often doubtful whether any particular word belongs to one or the other category.

The diminutival *-go-* is often combined with other diminutival elements, e. g. Lat. *-culo-* = *-go-* + *-lo-*.

Indo-Germanic. Skr. *muṣ-ká-s* 'testicle' *mūṣaka-s* *mūṣika* 'mouse, rat' (*mūṣ-* *mūṣa-s* *mūṣā* 'mouse'), Armen. *mu-k-n*, gen. *mkan*, 'mouse, muscle', Lat. *mus-culu-s* (*mūs*), O.C.Sl. *mysica* 'arm'. \**sū-go-* from \**sū-* 'sow': Skr. *sū-karā-s* 'pig, boar' (popularly derived from *kar-* 'to make' as 'that which makes the noise *sā*'), Lat. *su-culu-s* *su-cula*, O.Cymr. *hu-cc* 'sus' Corn. *ho-ch* 'porcus', A.S. *su-zu* f. 'sow' (unless we accept Bugge's derivation of this A.S. word from Idg. \**suu-*, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 509 f.). Lat. *bā-cula*, Mid.Cymr. *bu-ch* 'cow'. Armen. *ju-k-n*, gen. *jkan*, 'fish', Pruss. *suckans* i. e. *zu-ka-ns* acc. 'fishes', Lith. *žū-k-mistra-s* 'fish-master', beside Gr. *ἰχθῦς* Lith. *žuv-l-s* 'fish' (for the initial sound cp. I § 554 Rem. 1 p. 407 and Bartholomae Ar. Forsch. II 56). Skr. *ajakā ajika* 'little goat' (*ajā-s* 'he-goat' *ajā* 'she-goat'), Lith. *oszkā* (*ožỹ-s* 'he-goat'). Skr. *avi-ká-s* *avi-kā* 'sheep' (*ávi-š* 'sheep'), Lat. *ovi-cula*, Lith. *avi-kỹné* 'sheep-pen' (*avī-s* 'sheep') O.C.Sl. *ovī-ca* 'sheep'. Skr. *mārya-ká-s* 'mannikin' (*mārya-s* 'man, young man'), Gr. *μειράς* 'girl', later also 'boy' *μειράς-ιο-ν* 'boy'. Skr. *pāsu-ka-* m. pl. 'dust' (*pāśú-š* 'dust'), O.C.Sl. *pēsū-kū* 'sand'.

In names of persons: Skr. *dēvaka-s* *dēvika-s* beside *dēva-s* *dēva-datta-s*, Gall. *Dīvicō Dīvicia* beside *Dīvō Dēvo-gnāta*; Skr. *śunaka-s* beside *śunas-karṇa-s*, Gr. *κύραξ* beside *Κύρ-αγο-ς*; Skr. *sana-ka-s* beside *sana-śruta-s*, Gall. *Seniccō Seneca* beside Bret. *Hen-car*, O.H.G. *Sinigus* (Latinised) beside *Sino Sin-hart*.

\**sene-go-* (\**seno-go-*) meaning probably 'oldish', from \**seno-* 'old' (Skr. *sāna-s* &c.): Skr. *sana-ká-s* 'former, old', Lat. *senex senica*, (Gall. *Seniccō*, *Seneca*; O.Ir. *senchas* 'antiquity', see § 108), pr. Norse *siægōstēr* nom. pl. masc. 'oldest' from \**sinig-* (cp. F. Burg, Die älteren nord. Runeneinschr. 1885, p. 130 f.). Frankish *Sinigu-s* (Goth. *sineig-s* 'old' see § 89 a), Lett. *senz-i-s* (z for k) 'old inhabitant, a man of olden time'. Armen. *ancu-k* O.C.Sl. *qzū-kū* 'narrow', beside Skr. *qhū-š* 'narrow'.



Aryan. Skr. *aśva-ká-s* 'little horse' from *áśva-s* 'horse', *śiśu-ká-s* 'little child' from *śiśu-ś* 'child', *rāja-ká-s* 'petty king' from *rájan-* 'king'. Avest. *drafša-ka-* m. 'little banner' from *drafša-* m. 'banner', *aper'nāyū-ka-* m. 'little child' from *a-per'-nāyu-* m. 'child' (orig. 'not of full age'), *kaini-kā-* 'little girl' beside *kainin-* f. 'maid, maiden'.

Familiar and pet names, e. g. Skr. *vasu-ka-s* O.Pers. *vahu-ka* beside Skr. *vasu-ś vasu-datta-s* Avest. *vohu-dāta-*, Skr. *datta-ka-s* *dattika-s* beside *datta-s* *datta-śatru-ś agni-datta-s*.

No difference of meaning can be detected in the following examples. Skr. *vádha-ka-s* and *vadhá-s* 'murderer', *ásta-ka-m* and *ásta-m* 'home', *iṣu-ká-* and *iṣu-ś* f. 'arrow', *uda-ká-m* and *udán-* n. 'water', Avest. *mašyāka-* and *mašya-* m. 'mortal, man', *pasu-ka-* and *pasu-ś* m. 'cow' (cp. Skr. *paśu-kā-* a small animal), O.Pers. *σναξα* (Herodotus) and Avest. *span-* 'dog'.

Similarly there is no serious difference in meaning between Skr. *arbha-ká-s* and *árbha-s* 'small', *nágna-ka-s* and *nagná-s* 'naked', *ējāt-ká-s* and *ējant-* 'trembling, quivering', *aṇtyas-ká-s* and *ántyas-* 'thinner, finer' (cp. Lat. *melius-culu-s*). Thus adjectival compounds like *vigata-śrī-ka-*, which we noticed in § 86 p. 257, may also be classed here. In Sanskrit, forms like *śikṣu-ka-s* 'imparting, generous' (*śikṣu-ś* the same), *pramāyū-ka-s* 'falling into ruin, perishing' (*pramā-yu-ś*, the same) and the like gave rise to an independent primary suffix *-uka-*, e. g. *dāśuka-s* 'biting', *vi-kāsuka-s* *vi-kasuka-s* 'bursting'.

For feminine substantives the usual suffix is *-ikā-* (corresponding to masc. *-aka-*), as *nāsika-* du. beside *nāsa-* du. 'nose', *iyattikā-* fem. of *iyattakā-* 'so small'. Whilst the forms in *-akā-* express the fem. by simple differentiation (*Motion*) of the masc.-neut. stem *-aka-*, *-i-ka-* was originally derived from fem. *i-*stems (cp. also Avest. *nāirika-* beside *nāiri- nāirī-* 'wife', *carāitika-* 'girl, wife' beside *carāiti- carāitī-* 'wife').

Armenian. A further suffix *-en-* was added to the stems of the substantives formed with *-go-*. We have already noticed *mukn* 'mouse, muscle' from *\*mus-go-* or *\*mūs-go-* (I § 561 p. 417) and *ju-k-n* 'fish'. To these should be added *armukn*, gen.

*armkan* 'elbow, hend' (beside Lat. *armu-s* Goth. *arm-s*); perhaps its resemblance to *mukn* is more than accidental.

*ancu-k anju-k* 'narrow' see p. 263 above.

Greek. With a diminutival or contemptuous sense, more or less obscured: *μειράξ* 'girl' (p. 263), *δέλφαξ* 'pig, sucking pig', *βῶμαξ* 'small altar', *λίθαξ* 'stone', *λεῖμαξ* 'meadow'. Attached to these are unmistakable diminutives like *μειράκ-ιο-ν* 'little boy' *σπινθηράκ-ιο-ν* 'little spark' (cp. *ἀσπίδ-ιο-ν* 'little shield' § 63 p. 128). Add also pet names like *Ἰππακο-ς* beside *Ἰππο-ς Ἰππ-αρχο-ς Ἀρχ-ιππο-ς*, *Πύρακο-ς* beside *Πύρο-ς*, *Λύβραξ* beside *Λάβρο-ς*, *Φαῖναξ* beside *Φαῖνο-ς*, *Μόλυκο-ς* *Μόλυξ* beside *Μόλο-ς* *Μόλ-ορχο-ς* *Ἀγγί-μολο-ς*.

The *α* which precedes the *-κ(ο)-* in *-ακο-ς* *-αξ* points to *-η-go-* as the earlier form (cp. *ῥστακο-ς* § 86 p. 258 and Skr. *raṣakā-* for *\*rāṣṇ-ka-*, Germ. *-uṡ-za-*). Thus *Ἰππακο-ς* (: *Ἰππων*), *λεῖμαξ* (: *χειμών*) and the like may have set the type for this group of forms; *Ἰππακο-ς*: *Ἰππων* = O.H.G. *Berhtung*: *Berhto* (see below, p. 267). *μειράξ* for *\*μερια-ξ* (: Skr. *marya-kā-s*) may perhaps be an extended form from a stem *\*μεριη-*.

*ὀδάξ* 'with the teeth, mordicus' was derived from a stem *\*ὀδατ-κο-\** *ὀδακκ(ο)-* 'tooth': Skr. *a-datka-* 'toothless', A.S. *tusc* or *tāsc* O.Fris. *tusk* O.Icel. *tosk-r* 'tooth' pr. Germ. *\*tuns-ka-*, common ground-form *\*dnt-go-*, beside *ὀδούς* Goth. *tunþ-u-s* 'tooth' (cp. I § 527 p. 383). But *δάκνω* obviously influenced its meaning and perhaps its form also. In the same way we have *γνύ-ξ* 'with bended knees' from *γνυ-* 'knee'. As to their use as adverbs see § 86 p. 256.

*πηλί-κο-ς* 'how great? how old?' *τηλί-κο-ς* 'so great, so old' from *\*παλι-* *\*ταλι-* = Lat. *quali-s tali-s*: similarly O.H.G. Alemann. *we-lēr* 'how produced?' *so-lēr* 'thus produced' pr. Germ. *\*lt-χα-*, cp. also O.C.Sl. *kolikŭ tolíkŭ* § 89 a. Beside Att. *ήλικο-ς* *ήλιξ* stands *βαλικιώτης* (more correctly *-τας*) *συνέφηβος*. *Κρητες* in Hesychius, which points to a form *\*suali-*.

Italic. Lat. *homun-c-iō* 'mannikin' from *homō*. *\*albi-co-* 'whitish' *\*nigrico-* 'blackish' in *albicāre nigricāre*. *pris-cu-s* beside

*prius. paucu-s* for *\*pavi-co-s* (cp. *pauper* for *\*pavi-per*). *sene-x seni-ca*: Skr. *sana-kā-s* see above, p. 263.

The usual suffix is *-culo-*, i. e. *-go-* + *-lo-*, the second of which is itself diminutival (§ 76 p. 205 f.). This extension of the suffix dates from proethnic Italic, and in many words was no doubt intended to revive the diminutival force which at the time was disappearing or had quite disappeared. Lat. *ovicula*: *\*ovica* (Skr. *avi-kā*) = *lupula*: *lupa*; similarly *pauculu-s*: *paucu-s* = *frigidulu-s*: *frigidu-s*.

*bū-cula*: Mid.Cymr. *bu-ch* 'cow'. *su-culu-s*: O.Cymr. *hu-cc* 'sow', Lat. *diē-cula*, Osc. *zi-colom* 'diem' (the diminutival sense of *-colo-* has disappeared). Lat. *fūni-culu-s*, *classi-cula*, *spē-cula*, *nūbē-cula*, *frāter-culu-s*, *amātor-culu-s*, *homun-culu-s*, *aedificātiun-cula*, *mus-culu-s*, *corpus-culu-m*, *arbus-cula*, *corculu-m* (i. e. *\*cord* + *culum*).

Remark 1. The *i* in *crāticula*, *febrīcula*, *apīcula* and similar words may be variously explained. The first analysis must certainly be *crātic-ula* not *crāti-cula*. Cp. § 89 a p. 271.

*seniculu-s*: *senex*, *nigriculu-s*: *nigricāre*, *leviculu-s*, *dulciculu-s*, *pauperculu-s*, *melius-culu-s*, *tardius-culu-s*, (cp. *prīs-cu-s* and Skr. *aṇṭyas-kā-s*).

Keltic. O.Cymr. *hu-cc* 'sus' Corn. *ho-ch* 'porcus': Skr. *sū-karā-s* see p. 263 above; we must no doubt add O.Ir. *socc* 'ploughshare', properly 'pig's snout', see Thurneysen, Keltorum. 112 f.<sup>1</sup>). Mid.Cymr. *bu-ch* 'cow': Lat. *bū-cula*. *aire* (gen. *airech*) 'princeps' for *\*ariak-s*, Skr. *ārya-kā-s* 'honourable man', from *aryā-* 'devoted, pious'. Proper names: Gall. *Divicō Divicia*, see above, p. 263.

Remark 2. Here may also be mentioned O.Ir. *menicc* Mod.Cymr. *mynych* 'frequens', though their relation to Goth. *manag-s* 'much', and O.C.Sl. *mūnogŭ* 'much' is not clear. Does the Slav. word contain Idg. *-go-* (§ 91)? Or should we regard it as a word borrowed from Germanic? Cp. Schleicher in his and Kuhn's Beitr. V 112 f.

Germanic. A.S. *tusc* or *tāsc* 'tooth' ground-form *\*dȳt-go-*, see above, p. 265.

1) Cp. Gr. *ἄρο-* *ἄρον* 'ploughshare', which is usually connected with *ἀ-* (cp. Solmsen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 81).

*-go-* was added to *-en-*, which formed substantives denoting a thing or person standing in some characteristic relation to the idea of the original word; hence arose in protoethnic Germanic the suffix *-uŋza-* (and beside it *-iŋza-*, with no difference in meaning). The suffix *-go-* in this use in historical times is merely an amplification of the suffix to which it is added, and has no special meaning of its own; at most we may credit it with some part of the idea of pity or contempt implied in words like O.H.G. *arming* 'homo pauper, miser' *abansting* 'homo invidus', which are common enough. We may compare the relation of O.H.G. *Berhtung Berhting*: *Berhto* (gen. *Berhtin*), *arming*: *armo* (gen. *armin*) 'poor' with that of Gr. *Πύρραξο-ς*: *Πύρραξ*. This compound suffix was soon added to stems with *l*-suffixes, e. g. O.H.G. *sidil-ing* 'settler' from *sedal* 'seat', *edil-ing* 'man of noble blood' from *edili* 'noble'. Thus there arose an independent suffix *-(i)lunza-* *-(i)linza-*, which was fertile in North and West Germanic.

Remark 3. It is difficult to determine the relation between *-iŋza-* and *-uŋza-*. The latter form appears to be older, e. g. in tribe names like *Greuthungi* (Amm. Marc.), The most natural assumption is that at the time when the connexion between *-uŋza-* and the *en*-stems was still recognised, *e* (later *i*) was introduced through the influence of the cases which had the strong form *-en-* (later *-in-*). Yet it is quite conceivable that *-uŋza-* and *-iŋza-* were contaminated (§ 87 p. 261), or that *-iŋza-* started from stems in *-in-*, which existed in the pre-Germanic period (see § 115); *-iŋza-* *-iŋga-* would come from *-iŋza-* *-iŋga-* just as *\*junza-* *junaga-* 'young' from *\*jūnza-*, see § 83 and I § 179 p. 156; cp. *Berhting*, O.Icel. *Birting-r* 'a brilliant, famous man' by the side of Goth. *batrhte* O.H.G. *perahti* f. 'brightness'; O.Icel. *speking-r* 'wise man' beside *speke* -i f. 'wisdom'. There is a good deal of evidence for the last explanation, which seems to me the best; if it be correct, then the *-iŋza-* forms must have been originally adjectival (§ 86 b p. 259); Rem. 4. p. 268.

Examples. O.H.G. *hūsingā* pl. 'penates' ('those who belong to the house') O.Fris. *hūsing* 'member of the household', O.H.G. *chamarling* 'chamberlain' *hofiling* 'courtier', *būring būling būwel-ing* 'peasant' from. *būr*, *bū* 'habitatio', *sidiling* 'settler' from *sedal* 'seat', A.S. *bedling* 'he who lies lazily in bed, effeminatus', O.H.G. *sarling* 'who is hidden in armour (*saro*), soldier', *fūstiling* Mid.H.G. *viustinc* 'mitten', Mid.H.G. *hendelinc* 'glove', O.Icel.

*fingrung-r* 'finger-ring', Mid.H.G. *bertinc* 'lay brother' from *bart* 'beard', O.H.G. *wihseling* 'changeling', *zwineling* 'twin', O.Icel. *vetrung-r* 'a beast one winter old'. *hofðing-r* 'chieftain, captain'; names of families and tribes like A.S. *Skyldungas* O.Icel. *Skjöldungar*; A.S. *Hrēðling* 'son of *Hrēðel*'; O.Icel. *attung-r* 'kinsman' from *att* 'race', O.H.G. *chunniling* 'kinsman' from *chunni* 'race', O.Icel. *systung-r* 'mother's sister's son' O.Fris. *susterling* 'sister's child', O.H.G. *sunufatarungo* pl. 'the people of the son and the father'. These is but one example in Gothic, *gadiligg-s* 'cousin': O.H.G. *gatiling* *gatuling* O.S. *gaduling*.

The use of these forms in the feminine as abstract substantives in Norse and West-Germanic was no doubt established by the same process as in e. g. O.H.G. *forahta* 'fear' contrasted with *foraht* Goth. *faúrht-s* 'full of fear' (§ 79 p. 235 f.); similarly Lat. *fabrica* 'formation manufacture', (from *faber*); cp. also § 158. O.Icel. *haðung* 'an insulting' from *hað* 'insult, scoff', *launung* 'secret' from *laun* (the same), with which primary formations like *kvisting* 'murdering' (from *kvista* 'to murder') became associated. O.H.G. *werdunga* 'dignitas' from *werd*; primary in e. g. *hantalunga* 'handling', from *hantalōn* 'to handle'. In O.Icel. we have also side by side *birting-r* 'bright one' and *birting* 'brightness', *ginnung-r* 'deceiver, impostor' and *ginning* 'deceit', and the like.

Remark 4. If *-inza-* *-inzō-*, were derived from the suffix *-in-* which is itself used to form abstract substantives (see Rem. 3), we should further have to consider whether the fem. *-in-zō-*, as in O.Icel. *birting*, was not formed immediately from the *in-*stem by the addition of *-go-* merely as an amplification.

Adjectival stems were extended by *-go-*, e. g. O.H.G. *gōra-g* 'pitiful' beside Goth. *gáur-s* 'sorrowful', O.Icel. *qrðug-r* 'steep' beside Gr. ὄρθός Lat. *arduo-s* (I § 306 p. 241). Here must be classed also O.H.G. *entrig* 'strange' (from *ander* 'other'), if the termination is Idg. *\*-tre-qó-*, not *\*-tr-igó-* (§ 87 p. 262). *-īgo-* was generally substituted for the original ending as in Goth. *sineig-s* 'old' (contrast Skr. *sana-ká-s* p. 263), see § 89 a p. 271.

O.H.G. Alemann. *welër* 'how made?' see above, p. 265.

Remark 5. The origin of this word is therefore distinct from that of O.H.G. *wie-lih* Goth. *hvi-leik-s* 'what sort of', a compound of Germ. *-lika-* 'body, form'. But the termination *-li-χa-* was associated with this by popular etymology, just as in Skr. *-i-ka-* *-ū-ka-* *-ā-ka-* were associated with *-añc-* (see p. 256).

Balto-Slavonic. *-ugo* is common to Baltic and Slavonic as a diminutive suffix. There can be no doubt that it first appeared in *u*-stems, cp. O.C.Sl. *synükü* 'little son': *synü*, gen. *synu* 'son'. So Lith. *parszūka-s* 'little sucking pig' beside *pařsza-s*, *medūka-s* 'little tree' beside *mēdi-s*, O.C.Sl. *cvětükü* 'floweret' beside *cvětü* gen. *cvěta*. In Slavonic the same suffix was also used for the extension of adjective stems, yet with the loss of what was originally its special sense: *azükü* 'narrow': Armen. *ancuk anjuk* 'narrow' (Skr. *ahú-ṣ*), *sladükü* 'sweet' (Lith. *saldū-s*); others are not derived from *u*-stems e. g. *bridükü* 'bitter', *lėpükü* 'ornament'. Cp. further Pruss. names like *Banduke* (*banda-* 'useful') *Wyrucke* (*vira-* 'man').

Similarly the diminutival *-i-go-*, which first appeared in *i*-stems, was extended beyond its original sphere in both Baltic and Slavonic. Yet *-i-go-* itself is not used with this function, but only *-i-q-jo-* *-i-q-ja-*, which contains the additional suffix *-jo-*. Proethnic examples are: O.C.Sl. *ovī-ca* 'sheep', cp. Lith. *avi-k-ynė* 'sheep-pen': Skr. *avi-kā* etc., see p. 263 above; O.C.Sl. *myšica* 'arm' orig. 'little mouse, muscle': Skr. *mūṣika* 'mouse, rat', cp. loc. cit. In both these words the original diminutival sense was lost. Other examples are: Lith. *rankikė* 'little hand', *kumelikė* 'little (bad) mare', *mamikė* 'little mother' (in Lith. only feminines), O.C.Sl. *kameniči* 'little stone', *korablīci* 'little ship', *dětiica* collective 'little children' (*děti* 'children'), *dvrīica* 'little door' (*dvrī* 'door'). Compare also Prussian names like *Teviko* (*tewa-* *tāwa-* 'father').

Here should also be classed Lith. *-in-inka-* Lett. *-(i)n-ika-en-ika-* (*ī* comes from *en*), combinations of suffixes which denote any kind of relation to the original word, e. g. Lith. *darb-iniņka-s* (Lett. *da'rbinīk-s*) 'worker' from *dārba-s* 'work', *dařž-ininka-s* (Lett. *da'r/nīk-s*) 'gardener' from *dařža-s* 'garden', *pūs-ininka-s*

'owner of half a measure of land, small proprietor', *lauk-iniņka-s* 'dweller in the fields, countryman', *Lētūv-ininka-s* 'a Lithuanian' from *Lētuvā* 'Lithuania', Lett. *gudrinik-s* 'wiseacre' from *gudr-s* 'wise', *sweschinik-s* 'stranger' from *swesch* 'strange', *Rīdšīnik-s* 'man of Riga' from *Rīga* 'Riga', *uppenik-s* 'dweller by a river' from *uppe* 'river'. By the side of this suffix, with a similar meaning, stands Lith. *-in-yka-* Pruss. *-n-ik-i-* O.C.Sl. *-n-iko-*, which I refer to Idg. *-īqo-*, see § 89 *a*. The second part of Lith. *-in-inka-* should no doubt be identified with Germ. *-un-za-* (cp. I § 249 p. 204 f.), and it must be assumed that in Baltic there once existed forms like *\*dvarinka-s* *\*dvarenka-s* 'courtier' (should we add here the forms *měsēcĩ* 'month' *zajęcĩ* 'hare', which are quite isolated in Slavonic?) and that their suffix was confused with *-(i)n-ika-* (*dvārininka-s* O.C.Sl. *dvorīnikū*) producing Lith. *-in-inka-* (*dvārininka-s*) Lett. (*\*-n-enka-*) *-n-ika-*.

Remark 6. I prefer this view to that proposed in I § 219, 4 p. 186, which I have now abandoned, that Slav. *-ikū* is the phonetic equivalent of Lith. *-inka-s*. I have to thank Leskien for suggesting the above explanation.

§ 89. 5. *-īqo-* *-īqā-*, *-ūqo-* *-ūqā-* and *-āqo-* *-āqā-*. The long vowels preceding the *q* may, like the *i* of *-īqo-* (§ 87), represent the final of a noun-stem; but it is not clear in what particular words these forms of the suffix first appeared. No general definition of their functions can be given.

*a. -īqo-*. Cp. Skr. *ānt-ka-* § 86 *a* p. 256, *sāct-ka-* *sa-patnī-ka-* § 86 *b* p. 257.

Aryan. It is rarely denominative: Skr. *and-ika-s* 'bearing eggs', from *andā-m* 'egg'. More frequently it is primary: Skr. *dṛṣ-ika-s* 'conspicuous' *dṛṣ-ika-m* 'aspect' *dṛṣ-ikā* 'appearance', *vr̥dh-ikā-s* 'augmenter', *mṛd-ikā-m* 'pity, grace'.

In Greek it is rare. *πέροδ-ιξ* 'partridge' (properly 'peditor', though its resemblance to *πέροδω* may perhaps be due merely to a freak of popular etymology), *βέμβ-ιξ* 'top'.

Italic. Denominative forms: *umbil-īcu-s* (cp. Gr. *ὀμφαλό-ς*), *rubr-īcu-s* *rubr-īca*, *lect-īca* and others. Primary forms: *am-īcu-s*, *mend-īcu-s*, *pud-īcu-s*, and others; add also *pēdīcare* from

a stem *\*pēd-īco-* with the same meaning as *pōdex* (§ 87 p. 261). *-īc-io-* and *-t-īc-io-* (cp. *-t-ico-* § 87 p. 261) are derived suffixes e. g. *novīciū-s*, *ad-ventīciū-s*. Some nouns in *-īqo-* have passed into the consonantal declension: *fēlīx*, *pernīx*.

Perhaps we should also class here *crātīcula* and the like, see § 88 Rem. 1 p. 266.

In Germanic. *-īza-* appears with various functions. It forms adjectives from nouns, e. g. Goth. *mahteig-s* 'mighty' from *mahti-* 'might', O.H.G. *spenstīg* 'alluring' from *spanst* f. 'allurement, enticement'; here *-īza-* has taken the place of an older *-za-* (*-i-za-* *-a-za-* etc.), see § 86 p. 259. It extends adjectival stems without altering their adjectival character, e. g. Goth. *andanēmeig-s*: *anda-nēm-s* 'pleasant', O.H.G. *wirdīg*: *werd* 'worthy', *rihtīg*: *reht* 'right'; *-za-* has the same function, e. g. in O.H.G. *gōra-g*: Goth. *gáur-s* 'troubled', see § 88 p. 268; there can be no doubt that in this use also *-īza-* has spread beyond its original sphere, cp. Goth. *sineig-s* instead of orig. *\*sene-qo-* or *\*seno-qo-* (p. 263). Finally it occurs as a primary suffix, e. g. in Goth. *gabeig-s* beside the older *gabig-s*, see § 87 p. 261.

Balto-Slavonic. Both branches have *-īqo-* as a secondary suffix, in substantives which are generally derived from adjectives, and express any kind of relation to the original word. In Baltic (Lith. and Pruss.) these forms are nearly always derived from nouns with an *n*-suffix, Lith. *-in-yka-s* Pruss. *-n-ik-i-s*, in Slavonic from others also. In Lithuanian *-ininka-s* is exactly equivalent to *-inyka-s*, but the two suffixes are distributed amongst the various dialects; in some the first, and in others the second was alone in use; in many of the districts bordering on Slavonian territory the Slav. *-īnikū-* may have helped to establish the form *-inyka-s* (there are a large number of such words borrowed from Slavonic, e. g. *metelnyka-s* 'impostor' = Pol. *mietelnik*). Lith. *darbinyka-s* beside *darbiniška-s*, etc., see § 88 p. 269 f. Pruss. *laukinik-i-s* 'vassal, feudal dependant' (Lith. *laukinyka-s* *laukiniška-s*), *slidenik-i-s* 'leading hound', *stubonik-i-s* ('booth-owner' hence) 'cupper, surgeon'. O.C.Sl. *zlatikū* a gold coin (*zlatū* 'golden'), *sīrebrīnikū* *sīrebrīnika* 'silver coin' (*sīrebrīnū*



'silvern'), *krüvīnikū* 'murderer' (*krüvīnū* 'bloody'), *grēšīnikū* 'sinner' (*grēšīnū* 'sinful'), *vlasēnikū* 'who has a hairy (*vlasēnū*) garment'; from participles, e. g. *učēnikū* 'scholar, disciple', (*učēnū* 'becoming learned') *izbranikū* 'one elected, chosen' (*iz-branū* 'elected'); from subst. e. g. Russ. *babik* 'fop, ladies' man' (*baba* 'woman'), *sēverik* 'north wind' (*sēver* 'north'). In Lithuanian we have only isolated examples of derivatives without the *n*-suffix, as *daljka-s* 'piece, part' from *dalī-s* 'part'.

O.C.Sl. *sikū* 'talīs' (also *sicī*, cp. *ljubimicī* beside *ljubimikū* and the like) from *sī* 'hic', *tolikū* 'tantus' *kolikū* 'quantus', compare also *velikū* 'great' beside *velijī* 'great': cp. Gr. *πηλικο-s* O.H.G. *welēr* § 88 p. 265.

Further *-ikū* forms diminutives and pet names in Slavonic, as Russ. *domik* 'little house' *mjačik* 'little ball', Lower Sorb. *gašik* 'little pond', *gjarnyk* 'little pot'; Czech *Volík* beside *Vol*, *Vladík* beside *Vlad*, Mod.Slov. *Nanika* 'Annie'.

Primary: O.C.Sl. *-ica*, as *ljubica* 'amator', *žrīca* 'sacerdos'.

b. *-ūqo-*. Cp. Skr. *ānū-ka-* § 86 a p. 256.

Aryan. In Sanskrit, it is found primary adjectives containing reduplicated verbal forms, as *dan-daś-ūka-s* 'biting' (cp. *dāśuka-s* 'biting' § 88 p. 264), *jā-jar-ūka-s* 'watchful', *vā-vad-ūka-s* 'talkative'.

Greek. It is found in isolated words as a primary suffix: *κηρῶξ* (Dor. etc. *κηρῶξ*) 'herald', cp. Skr. *ca-kar-ti* 'he extols' *kārī-ś* 'praiser'.

Italic. In Latin it occurs a few times in primary use e. g. *cad-ūcu-s*, *fīdūc-ia*, and not more often as secondary, e. g. *aerūca* (beside *aerūgō*) from *aes*, *lactūca* from *lac* (*lact-is*).

In Slavonic it is a primary suffix in a few words, e. g. O.C.Sl. *jēz-ykū* 'tongue, speech' (: Pruss. *ins-uw-i-s* 'tongue'), *vlad-yka* 'ruler, lord', Russ. *kl-yk* 'hewer', pol. *bzd-yk* 'peditor'.

c. *-āqo-*.

Aryan. Here *-āka-* is ambiguous, so that no forms can be said with certainty to be derived from *-āqo-*. Besides Skr. *asmāka-s* etc. (§ 86 b p. 267) the following may be examples: *pavākā-s* Ved. 'clear, pure' (to be read, as the metre indicates,

for the *pāvakā-s* of the Mss.), *jālpāka-s* beside *jālpaka-s* 'tal-kative', *bhīkṣāka-s* 'beggar'.

Greek. *νέαξ* 'youth': O.C.Sl. *novākū* 'novice'. *θώραξ* Ion. *θώραξ* 'breastplate'. *ὄρηξ* Lesb. *ὄρηαξ* 'little sprout or shoot'. *πῆληξ* 'helmet'. *σφήξ* 'wasp', which no doubt is for *σφ-ακ-* i. e. 'a creature that lives in swarm', compare Skr. *sabh-ā* 'assemblage' Goth. *sib-ja* 'kinsman' (Baunack, Stud. auf dem Geb. des Griech. I 25).

Italic. In denominative formations: *merācu-s* from *meru-s*, *lingulāca* from *lingulu-s*, *verbēnāca* from *verbēna*; *opācu-s* is no doubt to be compared with *op- ob. -āx* is common both in primary and secondary use: *bibāx*, *loquāx*, *persequāx*, *mordāx*, *audāx*, *pūgnāx*, *vērāx*.

Old Irish. *-ako-* is common to all Celtic languages, forming adjectives from substantives, as in *marcach* Mid.Cymr. *marchawc* 'equester' from *marc* 'horse', *cumachtach* Mid.Cymr. *kyfoethawc* Corn. *chefuidoc* 'mighty' from *cumachta* 'might'. It is also found in proper names, as Gall. *Dumnācu-s* Mid.Cymr. *Dyfnawc*, Gall. *Teuto-bōdiaci* (pl.) Mid.Ir. *Buadhach*, Gall. *Benācū-s*; its originally adjectival character appears clearly in place-names in *-ācum* like Gall. *Avitācum* i. e. 'praedium Aviti' (Zeuss<sup>2</sup> 806).

Germanic. Goth. *áinōhō* Luke 8, 42, fem. of *áinaha* 'unicus', which is usually adduced here, is most probably nothing but a scribe's mistake (perhaps caused by *áinōhun*?).

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *tōk-s* gen. *tók-io* O.C.Sl. *takū* 'talis'; similarly *kōk-s* *kakū* 'qualis?', *jōk-s* 'any one' *jakū* 'qualis', *anōk-s* 'of that kind' *onako* adv. 'so', *dvejōka-s* *duojakū* 'twofold' *trejōka-s* *trojakū* 'threefold'. There are only one or two examples to add from Slavonic: e. g. O.C.Sl. *jedinakū* 'aequalis' *dru-gako* adv. 'otherwise' (cp. Lith. *vėnōka-s* *vėnōk-s* 'of one kind' *kitōk-s* 'of another kind'), but in Baltic this suffix was very fertile in forming new adjectives from those already in use to express an approach to the meaning of the original: Lith. *jūdōka-s* 'blackish' (*jūda-s* 'black'), *silpnōka-s* 'weakish, rather weak'

(*silpna-s* 'weak'), *saīdōka-s* 'sweetish, rather sweet' (*saīdū-s* 'sweet'), *didōka-s* 'rather large' (*dīdi-s* 'large'); in Lettish it became the ordinary comparative suffix, as in *saīldāk-s* 'sweeter' (*saīld-s*), *labbāk-s* 'better' (*lab-s*).

*-aço-* was further employed in Balto-Slavonic to form substantives from adjectives to denote something characterised by the quality which the adjective expressed. So Lith. *naujōka-s* O.C.Sl. *novakū* 'novice' (Serv. *novak* 'new moon') from *naūje-s novū* 'new': Gr. *νεᾶς*; Lith. *trecziōka-s* 'threepenny-bit' (strictly a coin worth three copper groschen) *szesztōka-s* (twice as much), O.C.Sl. *tretijakū* 'a three-year-old'; O.C.Sl. *junakū* 'a youth'; O.C.Sl. *bujakū* 'fool, blockhead'; finally personal names in *-akū*, as Russ. *Gojak*, Czech *Lstak*, *Modlak*.

The difference in accentuation between *trejōka-s* and *trecziōka-s* should be noticed. The Gliding <sup>1)</sup> (*geschliffen*) accent in *tōks* replaced the Incisive (*gestossen*) in consequence of the loss of the final syllable, cp. *tōkio*.

§ 90. The Suffix *-sko-* *-ska-* and (in Germanic and Balto-Slavonic) *-isko-* *-iskā-*. We have to consider chiefly the primary noun-suffix *-sko-*, which is identical with the verbal suffix *-sko-* forming present stems. Occasionally we meet with forms which point to an original *-sço-*. I must leave it an open question whether to regard these as two entirely distinct forms, or to suppose that the velar was substituted for the palatal in the original suffix by some secondary process, cp. I § 467 p. 342 f. I confess however that the latter view seems to me more probable.

Indo-Germanic. *\*prk-ska-* 'question, investigation, enquiry' (cp. Skr. *prchāmi* Lat. *poscō*, √ *prēk-*): Skr. *prchā-*, Armen. *harç* (gen. *harçi*, transferred to the *i*-declension), O.H.G. *forsca*. *\*is-ska-* *\*aīs-ska-* (cp. Skr. *ichāmi* 'I long for, desire', √ *aīś-*): Skr. *ichā-*

1) I am very sorry to depart from Dr. Wright's translation of these terms in Vol. I (p. 558 f.) but the rendering 'slurred' for *geschliffen* and 'broken' for *gestossen* seem to me a little misleading. R. S. C.

'longing, wish', Armen. *aic* 'enquiry' (only found in the accusative and then only in certain phrases), O.H.G. *eisca* 'an asking, demanding'. Skr. *vāñchā* 'wish' O.H.G. *wunsc* m. 'wish, desire', beside Skr. *vāñchāmi* 'I wish', √ *yen-* 'find pleasure in something'; in Sanskrit, the nasal is due to the analogy of kindred forms (Bartholomae Ar. Forsch. II 91), \**vā-ch* is for \**uñ-sk-*, and *wunsc* for \**uñ-sko-*.

Aryan. There are but few examples to be added from Sanskrit. *mūrchā-* 'weakness' beside *mūrchāmi* 'I freeze, grow torpid' (compare *mūrkhā-* 'stupid, dull, unintelligent' which may be classed with *sargā-* and the like, I § 467, 1 p. 342 f.), beside *mār-tā-s* 'curdled'; if Goth. *un-tila-malsk-s* 'thoughtless' and O.Sax. *malsc* 'haughty' come from the same word, its form in pr. Idg. would be \**m̥l-sko-*. *mlēchā-s* 'foreigner, barbarian', beside *mlēchāmi* 'I jabber'; the Pāli form *milakkha-* is still obscure, in spite of E. Kuhn's attempt to explain it in his Ztschr. XXV 327.

Armenian. See above. Perhaps also *p'uḗ* 'breath, flatus' beside *p̄cem* 'I breathe, blow', cp. Gr. *φύσα* 'blister, weal' *φύσκη* 'intestine, sausage' beside *φύσα* 'blowing, blast', √ *phu-* or *sphu-* (the weak form).

Greek. *δίσκο-ς* 'quoit' for \**dik-sko-*, beside *διχεῖν* 'to throw'. *βο-σκή* 'fodder, pasture', beside *βόσκω* 'I feed'.

Here apparently we must class the diminutives<sup>1)</sup> in *-isko-* (which do not occur in Homer), as *παῖδισκο-ς* 'little boy' *παιδίσκη* 'little girl', *οἰκίσκος* *οἰκίσκη* 'little house', *χοιρίσκος-ς* 'little pig', *ὑδρίσκη* 'little pitcher'. These may be connected with presents in *-iskw* (like *εὐρίσκω*), and the (primary) forms on which the rest were modelled (cp. *ἄρεσκος* 'pleasing' beside *ἀρέσκω*) may have arisen when such presents still had the sense of becoming, of gradual realisation, compare *νεανίσκος* with Lat. *adulēscēns*.

Italic. Lat. *ēscā* for \**ēd+scā* and its opposite *pōscā*. Also *vescu-s* properly 'eaten away'), beside *vescor*, if this group of

1) Janson, De Graeci sermonis diminutivis in *isko-*, Thorn 1856.

words contains *-sko-* (cp. Osthoff, *Zur Gesch. d. Perf.* 606; Baunack, *Kuhn's Ztschr.* XXVII 561 ff.).

Germanic. O.H.G. *forsca eisca wunsc* Goth. *-malsk-s* see above p. 275. O.H.G. *frosk* O.Icel. *frosk-r* 'frog' for pr. Germ. *\*froy-ska-*, cp. A.S. *frozga* 'frog'. —

Here must be classed the secondary adjectival suffix, Germ. *-iska-*, Lith. *-iszka-*, Slav. *-isko-*. It denotes origin and connexion, or fitness and quality.

Germ. Goth. *judaivisk-s* 'Jewish', *þiudisk-s* 'ἑθνικός' O.H.G. *diutisc* 'German'; O.H.G. *frenisc* 'Frankish', Goth. *mannisk-s* 'human', *gudisk-s* 'divine', *funisk-s* 'fiery', O.H.G. *irdisc* 'earthly', *antarisc* 'strange', *dorfisc* 'belonging to a village, rustic, clownish', *mordisc* 'murderous', *altisc* 'old'.

Lith. *prūsizska-s* 'Prussian', *lētūviszka-s* 'Lithuanian', *dėviszka-s* 'divine', *tėviszka-s* 'fatherly', *dañgiszka-s* 'heavenly'; substantives are formed from it by *-io-*, e. g. *namiszki-s* m. *namiszke* f., 'member of a household', *mūšiszki-s* 'one who is ours', *Klaipėdiszki-s* 'inhabitant of Memel', *tėviske* 'patrimony or father's house, fatherland, home'. O.C.Sl. *ruměskŭ* 'Roman', *židověskŭ* 'Jewish', *kŭnežěskŭ* 'princely', *dětěskŭ* 'childish', *nebesěskŭ* 'heavenly'.

The history of this suffix involves considerable difficulty.

Remark. It may be suspected that the Balto-Slavonic suffix was borrowed from Germanic (see I § 587 Rem. 2 p. 442): in Romance indeed *-isco-* (Ital. *grechesco*, *donnesco*) was borrowed from Germanic and Slav. *-ari* Lith. *-oriu-s* came from Germ. *-aria-*. It is quite possible that it is a compound suffix *-is+ka-* (compare § 86) (cp. Skr. *arētās-ka-* *mastīška-*); and if so it would be a question whether O.H.G. *altisc* and other forms derived from adjectives did not contain the comparative stem (cp. Skr. *añiyas-kā-* p. 264). Finally it is conceivable that it is an analogical modification of Idg. *-igo-* (§ 87).

§ 91. The Suffix *-go-* *-gā-*. The following forms may be quoted towards proving the existence of a suffix *-go-* in proethnic Indo-Germanic.

Skr. *ārbha-ga-s* 'youthful' beside *ārbha-s* *arbha-kā-s* 'small, young'. *śṛṅga-m* 'horn' may be regarded as derived from a form *\*śṛṇa-* = Goth. *haúrn*, just as O.H.G. *scincha* f. 'hollow

of the thigh, shank': *scina* 'leg-splint', Dan. *manke*: O.H.G. *mana* 'mane' (Kluge, Festgruss an Böhtlingk, 1888, p. 60).

Armen. *krun-k* 'crane': O.H.G. *chranu-h* A.S. *cornu-c* 'crane' beside A.S. *cran* Gr. *γέφανο-ς* 'crane'. Also *srn-kun-k* (gen. *sruni-ç*) pl. 'shinbones, calves'? Armen. *-k* however also represents Idg. *q*.

In Germanic *-ka-* is a common suffix. With *chranuh* we may compare certain other names of birds, such as Goth. *ahak-s* 'dove' O.H.G. *habuh* A.S. *hafoc* 'hawk', which resemble Greek bird-names in *-γ-*, like *νόκκω-* (see Bugge, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XII 424 f.). In other words it has generally more or less of a diminutival force, as O.H.G. *armihha* 'paupercula', *fulihha* 'she-foal', *snurihha* 'little daughter-in-law', and adjectives like O.H.G. *altih* 'old' O.Sax. *luttic* O.Fries. *litik* 'small' (cp. Skr. *ārbha-ga-s*). By the side of the O.H.G. *scincha* mentioned on p. 276 should no doubt be placed O.H.G. *zinko* 'tooth, prong', which is connected with Mid.H.G. *zint* O.Icel. *tind-r*, ground-form *\*dend-go-*, from the stem *\*dent-* 'tooth'.

In Balto-Slavonic also *-go-* is fairly frequent; but this may equally well represent Idg. *-gho-*. Lith. *isz-ei-gà* or *isz-ei-ga* 'exit' beside *isz-eūi* 'to go out', O.C.Sl. *slu-ga* 'servant' from *✓kleu-* 'hear' (*slu-tije*, *slovo* etc.), *stru-ga* 'current, ship' from *✓srey-* 'flow' (*stru-ja*, *o-strovū* etc.). Lith. *melāg-i-s* m. *melāg-ė* f. 'liar', compare *-in-ga-s* in such words as *varginga-s* 'pitiful, miserable' from *vařga-s* 'misery' (and *-in-ka-s* § 68 p. 271). O.C.Sl. *roz-ga* 'twig' beside *rozū razū* 'dis-'. O.C.Sl. *maq-ŕi* 'man' for *-g-ŕe*, cp. Skr. *mānu-* Goth. *mann-* 'human being, man'. Lith. *ketvėr-g-i-s* adj. 'of four years', *trei-g-ŕ-s* 'of three years' and the like, O.C.Sl. *četrvi-gŭ* Russ. *četver-g* 'Thursday'.

Remark. We must remember that the suffix *-go-* may have been developed from *-go-* in the proethnic period. See I § 469, 7 p. 346. By the side of *-go-* we may perhaps recognise a similar suffix *-gu-* Gr. *παισ-γυ-ς* *παισ-βυ-ς* 'old' and in Lith. *žmo-gū-s* 'human being'; *παισ-γυ-ς* would stand beside Lat. *pris-co-* (cp. § 135) as Skr. *ārbha-ga-* beside *ārbha-kā-* and as O.H.G. *zinko* beside A.S. *tusc* or *tusk* § 88 p. 266. A different explanation of *-γυ-* *-βυ-* is given by Bezzenger in his Beitr. IV 345.

II. Suffixes in *-i*.

§ 92. In the *i*-suffixes we have a triple Ablaut: *i*, *eī*, *oi* (*e*-series, I § 311—314). *i* e. g. in nom. and acc. sing. masc. fem. *-i-s* *-i-m*; *eī* e. g. in nom. pl. masc. fem. *-eī-es*; *oi* in gen. sing. *-oi-s*. We have not enough evidence to determine exactly the connexion between these grades of Ablaut and the varying conditions of Accent in the original declension.

In the proethnic period the *i*-stems were masculine, feminine and neuter. The first two had originally the same declension. Differences only arose after the separation of the languages, e. g. Skr. acc. pl. *āvīn* m. *āvīṣ* f. 'oves'.

*i*-stems often pass into the inflexion of the *-ī*: *-īē*-stems (§ 109), and into that of the monosyllabic *-ī*: *-īj*-stems (§ 109 Remark 2).

§ 93. The Suffix *-i*. This was always a primary suffix. It is secondary only in nouns originally belonging to other declensions which have been transferred to the inflexion of the *i*-stems. The change of declension is due sometimes to a mere association of similar forms which leaves the meaning unaltered, as in Lat. *nāv-i-s* *nāv-i-um* *nāv-i-bus*<sup>1</sup>) (contrast Skr. *nāu-ṣ* *nāv-ām* *nāu-bhyās*); sometimes it denotes a change of meaning, the new signification being taken from that of other *i*-suffixes (as *-ti-* *-ni-*), as in O.C.Sl. *žestoc-ŭ* 'hardness' from *žestokŭ* 'hard'.

*-i-* as a primary suffix is found in substantives and adjectives. The substantives are most commonly masculine and feminine, and they may be either abstract or concrete.

Indo-Germanic. Substantives.

Masculine and Feminine *\*ou-i-s* 'sheep': Skr. *āvi-ṣ* m. f. (instead of *\*āvi-ṣ* on the analogy of the cases which began with *avy-*? see I § 78 p. 69 f.), Gr. *ōi-ς* *ōl-ς* m. f., Lat. *ovi-s* m. f., O.H.G. *ou* f., Lith. *avī-s* f. (O.C.Sl. *ovī-ca* § 88 p. 269). Skr. *āh-i-ṣ* m. Avest. *ažiš* m. 'snake, dragon', Armen. *iž* (gen. *iž-i*) 'viper', Lat.

1) For the transference of *-ī*-stems into the *i*-declension, see § 109 Rem. 1.

*angu-i-s* m. f. (O.Ir. *esc-ung* 'eel', a compound with *esc* 'swamp'), Lith. *ang-l-s* f. 'adder'; cp. also Gr. *ἔχις* m. f. 'adder, viper' *ὄφις* m. 'snake, dragon'. Avest. *er<sup>h</sup>z-i-š* Gr. *ὄρχις* m. 'testicle'. *\*us-i-s* m. 'sword': Skr. *ast-i-š* Lat. *ēnsi-s*. Skr. *-jān-i-š jān-i-š* Avest. *jaini-š* f. 'woman', Goth. *qēns* (stem *qēn-i-*) f. 'woman', beside Skr. *gn-ā-* etc., see § 60 p. 111.

Neut. *\*oqi-* 'eye': Armen. *ač-kē* (gen. *ačaç*) pl., Gr. *ὄσσε* for *\*ok<sup>h</sup>-i-e* du. n. (Att. *τοιοῦτις* must have arisen through a fusion of *ὄττι-* = *\*oqi-* and *ὄτι-* = *\*oqi-*), in Gothic in *and-āugi-ba* adv. 'coming into sight, openly' (for the *āu* cp. I § 444 Rem. 3 p. 331), Lith. *aki-s* f., O.C.Sl. *oci* du.; add Skr. *ākṣi* n. There were a few other proethnic neuters, as O.C.Sl. *uš-i* 'ears' But only a part of the cases were originally taken from these stems, the rest were formed from stems in *-en-* (cp. e. g. Skr. *akṣṇ-ā* (instr.) beside *ākṣ-i* etc., § 114). In several languages, however, the *i*-declension was carried through all the cases and the gender was changed. In others however the *i*-inflexion remained defective. Cp. § 114 and Joh. Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 16 ff.

There appears to be no one adjectival stem which is found simultaneously in more than one language. Here however we must notice *\*tr-i-* 'three' (cp. Skr. *trī-tīya-* 'tertius' etc.): Skr. *trāy-as* loc. *tri-śū*, Armen. *ere-kē* instr. *eri-v-kē* (I § 263 p. 214), Gr. *τρεῖς τρι-σί*, Lat. *trēs tri-bus* O.Ir. *trī* dat. *tri-b*, Goth. *þreis* dat. *þri-m*, Lith. *trīs* loc. *tri-sė* O.C.Sl. *trīj-e trij-e* loc. *trī-chŭ*.

#### Aryan. Substantives.

Masculine and Feminine. The suffix is especially used to form *nomina agentis* (m.) and abstract verbal substantives (far more commonly f. than m.). Skr. *v-i-š* Avest. *v-i-š* m. 'bird': Lat. *av-i-s* (the loss of the root-syllable in Sanskrit is a trace of the Ablaut of the original declension). Skr. *kav-i-š* 'sage' Avest. *kav-i-š* m. 'king'. Skr. *gir-i-š* Avest. *gai-ri-š* m. 'mountain' (should we connect it with *gurū-* 'heavy'?) Skr. *va-ṇr-i-š* m. 'husk, covering' Avest. *vaoiri-* (cp. I § 160 p. 144) in *us-vaoiri-š* 'shelled, without shell'. Skr. *ś-i-š* m. 'singer, sage', *kīr-i-š* m. 'singer of praises', *arc-i-š* m. 'beam', *dhvan-i-š* m. 'tone, sound', *nidh-i-š* m. 'establish-



ment, store, treasure' (*ni-dhā-*); *rúc-i-š* f. 'gleam, light', *kyš-i-š* f. 'ploughing', *rōp-i-š* f. 'violent pain', *grāh-i-š* f. 'seizure', *nābh-i-š* f. 'middle'. Avest. *vaēiḍ-i-š* m. 'announcer', *vair-i-š* m. 'canal, pond'; *baoid-i-š* f. 'smell, perfume' *vaid-i-š* 'flowing, stream'.

The dative of the *nomina actionis* is used as an infinitive in Vedic and Avestic, e. g. Ved. *dṛśáyē* 'for seeing', *yudháyē* 'for fighting', Avest. *savayōi* 'to use' (cp. Bartholomae, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 20).

Neuters. Skr. *ákṣi-* Avest. *āsi-* 'eye', see above p. 279. Skr. *ásthi-* 'bone', *dádhi-* 'curds'. Avest. *uši-* 'understanding, thought'.

Adjectives. Skr. *hár-i-š* Avest. *zairi-š* 'golden yellow'. Skr. *śúc-i-š* 'shining, pure', *gṛbh-i-š* 'containing in oneself', *kēp-i-š* 'trembling', *máh-i-š* 'great'; often in reduplicated forms, as *cá-kr-i-š* 'making', *dá-dh-i-š* 'bestowing', *tá-tur-i-š* 'overcoming', *ba-bhr-i-š* 'carrying', *da-d-i-š* 'giving', *sā-sah-i-š* 'conquering, victorious'. Avest. *dars-i-š* 'violent, mighty' cp. Skr. *dā-dhṛṣ-i-š* 'courageous, bold', Avest. *da-das-i-š* 'biting'.

We find a class of words transferred to the *i*-declension in order to denote relation of any kind to the original word. In Sanskrit they generally imply origin. The initial syllable has the vridddhi strengthening regularly in Sanskrit, and often in Iranian. Skr. *sārath-i-š* 'charioteer' from *sa-rátha-s* 'riding in the same chariot', *pāúrukutsi-š* 'descendant, son of *purukutsa-s*'. Avest. *māzdayasni-š* 'belonging to the worshippers of Mazda', from *mazda-yasna-* 'one who worships Mazda' *vār'pṛayni-š* 'victorious' from *ver'pra-jan-* 'victor', *dāstayāni-š* 'son of *dāstayāna-*'; O.Pers. *pātišuvāri-š* 'a man from Patishuvar'. It is difficult to say on what model this class of forms was made, cp. Lat. *decemjugi-s* 'and the like' (p. 281). Compare the *vridddhi*-formations in -a- § 60 p. 112 f.

Armenian. *iž* (gen. *iž-i*) 'viper': Skr. *áh-i-š* etc., see p. 278 above. *aic* (gen. *aic-i*) 'goat': Gr. *αἰγ-* in *αἰγί-βορο-ς* 'pasturing goats'. From old neuter forms are derived *ač-kē* pl. 'eyes' (see p. 279 above) and *sirt* (gen. *srt-i*) 'heart': Lith. *szird-i-s* 'heart' beside Goth. *hairtō*.

Greek. Here it is not common. Substantives. Masculine and Feminine. *ῥι-ις* m. f., *ἔχ-ι-ς* m. f. *ῥφ-ι-ς* m., see above p. 278 f. *τρώχ-ι-ς* m. 'runner', *στρώφ-ι-ς* 'adroit, sly fellow', *χόρ-ι-ς* m. 'cimet', *ἔρ-ι-ς* f. 'strife: Skr. *ár-i-ṣ* 'enemy'; *πόρ-ι-ς* 'heifer, maiden', *ράχ-ι-ς* f. 'backbone, back', *τρόπ-ι-ς* f. 'ship's keel', *μῆν-ι-ς* f. 'wrath'. There remains one original neuter, *ῥσσε*, see p. 279 above, whilst all the other proethnic neuters of this class were driven out of use by new formations.

The Adjective *τρώφ-ι-ς* 'thick, fat, strong' was no doubt originally a substantive, 'thick, strong appearance'.

Italic. Substantives. Masculine and Feminine. Lat. *ov-i-s* m. f., Umbr. *ovi* acc. 'oves': Skr. *áv-i-ṣ* etc., see p. 279 above. Lat. *av-i-s* f., Umbr. *avif* acc. 'aves': Skr. *v-i-ṣ* 'bird'. Lat. *ax-i-s* m.: Lith. *asz-l-s* O.C.Sl. *os-ŕ* 'axle'; *torris* m. (*✓ters-*), *orb-i-s* m., *corb-i-s* m. f., *crāt-i-s* f.; *ap-i-s* f., *trud-i-s* f., *scob-i-s* f., *sit-i-s* f., *rāv-i-s* f. Osc. *slagim* 'regionem'.

Neuters. Lat. *mar-e*: O.Ir. *muir* n. O.H.G. *meri* n. (perhaps however the Idg. form is *\*mā-ri*, cp. Gr. *ἰδ-ρι*); *sal-e* (stem *sal-i-*, also m.): Armen. *al* (gen. *al-i*) 'salt', Gr. *άλ-* in *άλ-πόρφυρο-ς* 'sea-purple', O.C.Sl. *sol-ŕ* f. 'salt'; *conclav-e*, *præsaep-e* (also *præsaep-i-s* f.). *aur-i-s* too was originally neut.: Mid.Ir. *au* *ō*, dat. pl. *auib*, O.C.Sl. *us-i* du., Lith. *aus-i-s*.

Adjectives: *rud-i-s*, *jug-i-s*, *dulc-i-s*, *grand-i-s*, *turp-i-s*.

In Latin the *i*-declension was invaded by a large number of words which did not belong to it originally, as *ped-i-bus*, *nāv-i-bu-s* *nāv-i-um* *nāv-i-s*, *juven-i-s*. This is especially note-worthy in adjectives, and particularly in compound words. In these the *-i-* often seems to be merely a sign of their adjectival character. *simili-s* 'like': Gr. *ὁμαλό-ς* 'even', *humi-li-s*: Gr. *χθαμαλό-ς* 'low', see § 76 p. 202 f. *in-ermi-s* (also *in-ermu-s*) from *arma* pl., *ex-somni-s* from *somnu-s*, *im-belli-s* from *bellu-m*, *in-berbi-s* (also *im-berbu-s*) from *barba*, *multi-formi-s* from *forma*, *bi-corni-s* from *cornu*. We have examples of a similar transference in other languages; with the change in *inermi-s* etc. compare especially the parallel change in Irish.

The proethnic variation between *-tāt-* and *-tāti-* (*cīvitāt-um*

and *civitatī-um*), *noct-* and *nocti-* and the like must have been an important factor in enlarging the *i*-declension.

Old Irish. *aírd* m. or f. 'point at the corner or end': Gr. ἄρδ-ι-s f. 'arrow-point, sting'. *aig* f. 'ice'. *muir* n. 'sea' (Gall. *Mori-tasgu-s*): Lat. *mare* n. O.H.G. *meri* n. (though the Idg. form was perhaps *\*mā-ri*); *gein* n. 'birth', *guin* n. 'wound', *buaid* n. 'victory'.

*air-dirc* 'famed' *ē-cndirc* 'absent': cp. Skr. *dṛś-i-ṣ* 'a seeing'; *maith* 'good' (Gall. *Mati-donnu-s*), *tais* 'soft, gentle' (Gall. *Taxi-magulu-s*), *tin* 'tender' (Gall. *Teni-genonia*.)

Adjectives, especially compound adjectives, frequently passed over to the *i*-declension; as *ē-nirt* 'strengthless, weak' from *nert* 'strength', *so-choisc* 'docibilis' from *cosc* 'an instructing', *ess-amin* 'fearless' from *omun* 'fear' (cp. Gall. *Ex-obnu-s Ex-omnu-s*). Also substantives, as *samail* 'likeness, picture' and therefore also its derivative *co-smil* 'like'. The same may be seen in Latin (p. 281).

Germanic. Substantives. Masculine and Feminine. The verbal abstract nouns are much more commonly m. than f. Goth. *baúr* A.S. *byre* m. 'son'. Goth. *náu-s* (acc. pl. *nav-i-ns*) m. 'dead man': O.C.Sl. *nav-i* 'mortuus'. O.H.G. *win-i* m. 'friend': Skr. *vasu-vāni-ṣ* 'desiring riches' *vani-ṣ* 'desire, longing'. O.Icel. *kon-r* m. 'one who belongs to a family, relative', *elg-r* m. 'elk'. Goth. *balg-s* m. 'leather bottle, skin'. Goth. *hug-s* O.Sax. *hug-i* m. 'thought, spirit' pr. Germ. *\*huz-i-s*, Goth. *gum-s* O.Sax. *kum-i* O.H.G. *chum-i* m. 'a coming', Goth. *mun-s* O.Icel. *mun-r* m. 'view', Goth. *slah-s* O.Sax. *sleg-i* m. 'blow' (the difference between the *-h-* and the *-g-* corresponds to the original variation of accent in the different cases of the same declension), O.H.G. *biz* O.Sax. *bit-i* m. 'bite', O.H.G. *fang* A.S. *fenz* O.Icel. *feng-r* m. 'capture'. Goth. *gēn-s* f. 'woman': Skr. *-jāni-ṣ*. Goth. *vēn-s* f. 'hope' O.H.G. *wān* m. 'faith, hope', unless it is to be analysed as *\*wē-(e)ni-* and so belongs to § 96 (p. 288). O.H.G. *chur-i* f. 'choice'. O.H.G. *chur-i* f. 'choice'. O.H.G. *wurt* f. O.Icel. *Urð-r* f. 'fate' pr. Germ. *\*yurd-i-s*. For the treatment of the nominative ending *-i-s* in these forms see I § 660, 1 p. 514, § 661, 2 p. 517. Neut.

O.H.G. *meri* 'sea' (cp. Goth. *mari-sáiv-s*): Lat. *mare* n. O.Ir. *muir* n. (though perhaps the Idg. form was *\*mā-rī*).

Adjectival *i*-stems were confused with *io*-stems in pro-ethnic and later Germanic.

Balto-Slavonic. Substantives. Masculines are rare. Lith. *vag-i-s* 'thief'; O.C.Sl. *nav-ī* 'dead': Goth. *náu-s* 'dead man' (see above); O.C.Sl. *medv-éd-ī* 'bear' ('honey-eater'), cp. *jad-ī* f. 'food'; *glad-ī* 'hunger'. The feminine is more frequent. Lith. *asz-i-s* O.C.Sl. *os-ī* 'axle': Lat. *ax-i-s*. Lith. *pil-i-s* 'stronghold, castle': cp. Skr. *pur-ī-ś* 'town', though these two words may be independent extensions of an orig. stem *\*pŕl-*. Lith. *āt-ils-i-s* 'repose, ease', *rūd-i-s* 'rust'. O.C.Sl. *lŭž-ī* 'lie': O.H.G. *lug* A.S. *lyze* (pr. Germ. *\*luži-*) m. 'lie'. O.C.Sl. *věd-ī* 'knowledge': Avest. *vaēið-iš* 'herald'. O.C.Sl. *sič-ī* 'urine', *o-stež-ī* 'clothing', *chot-ī* 'desire, craving', *bleđ-ī* 'error, deceit', *rěč-ī* 'speech', *vodo-tečī vodo-točī* 'water-course, channel'. The following imply old neuter forms: O.C.Sl. du. *oči* 'eyes' (cp. Skr. *akṣī*) and *uši* 'ears', Lith. *akl-s* f. and *aust-s* f., see p. 281.

Adjectives in *-i-* are not found in the historical period of Lithuanian, so that Lith. *dīdi-s* 'large' loc. *didi-mė* cannot be classed here. The word was no doubt a substantive originally, like Gr. *τερόφις* (see above p. 281). In Slavonic too the adjectives in *-i-* have died out. Possibly however they are represented by indeclinable forms in *-ī*, such as O.C.Sl. *is-plŭnī* beside *plŭnŭ* 'full' *sugubī* beside *sugubŭ* 'doubled', *svobodī* 'free', which Mahlow, (*Die langen Vokale*, p. 121) compares with Lat. *in-ermi-s* O.Ir. *ē-nirt* (p. 281 f.); see however Leskien, *Handbuch*<sup>2</sup> p. 72 f. 94 f.

In Balto-Slavonic, as in Latin, the forms of the *i*-declension invaded other classes of stems. E. g. dat. pl. Lith. *akmen-i-ms* O.C.Sl. *kamen-ī-mŭ* (nom. sing. Lith. *ak-mŭ* O.C.Sl. *kamy* 'stone') like Lat. *homin-i-bus*, Lith. *moter-i-ms* O.C.Sl. *mater-ī-mŭ* (nom. sing. Lith. *mótė* 'woman' O.C.Sl. *mati* 'mother') like Lat. *matr-i-bus*, Lith. *debes-i-ms* O.C.Sl. *nebes-ī-mŭ* (nom. sing. Lith. *debes-i-s* m. f. 'cloud' O.C.Sl. *nebo* n. 'heaven') like Lat. *gener-i-bus*. Many words were thus transferred entirely, or almost entirely, to this declension, as Lith. *dant-i-s* f. 'tooth' (gen. pl. *dant-ū*), *žas-i-s*

f. 'goose' (gen. pl. *žq̄s-ŭ*), *debes-i-s*; O.C.Sl. *krŭv-ŭ* f. 'blood' (gen. sing. *krŭv-e*), *kamen-ŭ* beside *kamy*, *vŭs-ŭ* 'village' (Skr. *vīś-*).

In Slavonic *-i-* is a secondary suffix in feminine abstract nouns like *žestočŭ* 'hardness', from *žestokŭ* 'hard', *zelenŭ* 'viriditas', from *zelenŭ* 'viridis', *zŭlŭ* 'wickedness', from *zŭlŭ* 'wicked', *toplŭ* 'warmth', from *toplŭ* 'warm' (cp. § 98). The type for these new formations was set by such pairs of forms as *da-nŭ* 'gift' and *da-nŭ* 'given', *bra-nŭ* 'fight' and *bra-nŭ* 'fought', *pę-tŭ* 'fivefold character, five' and *pę-tŭ* 'fifth'.

§ 94. The Suffixes *-ni-* (*-ŷni-*) and *-eni-* (*-oni-*).<sup>1)</sup>

The two forms are related in the same way as *-no-* and *-eno-*. Hence we analyse e. g. *\*dōni-s* (Lith. *dūni-s* O.C.Sl. *danŭ* 'gift') as *\*dō+eni-*. See § 65 p. 138.

These suffixes appear to have been always primary.

Amongst the substantives formed with *-ni-* *-eni-*, the verbal abstract nouns are a prominent class, widely represented in Aryan, Germanic and Balto-Slavonic. These stand in the same relation to the participial suffixes *-no-* *-eno-* (*-ono-*) as the noun suffix *-ti-*, which also forms verbal abstract nouns (§ 100), to the participial suffix *-to-* (§ 79 p. 218): e. g. Skr. *lū-ni-ś* 'a tearing away': *lū-na-s* 'torn away' = *hū-ti-ś* 'call': *hū-ta-s* 'called'. And it is certainly not an accident that these nouns in *-ni-* are most common in the languages in which the *no-*stems occupy a prominent place among the forms of the infinitive.

In Germanic and Balto-Slavonic we often find *-sni-* instead of *-ni-*. The origin of the *-s-* is not quite clear. Possibly it should be sought in forms like *\*leyqs-ni-s* 'gleam' (Avest. *raoxšni-š*), cp. *-s-no-* § 66 p. 140 f. With Lith. *deksni-s* 'burnt patch of ground' cp. O.C.Sl. *žestŭ* for *\*gek-s-to-* p. 79 p. 237.

Remark. Sometimes it is not easy to decide whether in any particular word we have this suffix or an *en-*stem extended by *-i-* (i. e. transferred to the *i-*declension). The latter is certainly the case e. g. in Skr. *śun-i-ś* Avest. *sūn-i-š* Lith. *szun-i-s* Pruss. *sun-i-s* 'dog' beside Skr. *śtā* gen. *śūn-as*,

1) H. Ebel, Die Abstractsuffixe *-ni* und *-ani* (in Gothic), Kuhn's Ztschr. V 302 ff. Losch, Die mit dem Suffix *ni* gebildeten Verbalabstracta im Gotischen, Germania XXXII 223 ff.

Lat. *carn-i-s* beside *carō carn-is*, O.C.Sl. *ďin-ĭ* 'day' *jelen-ĭ* 'stag' beside gen. sing. *ďin-e jelen-e*, *srišen-ĭ* beside Lith. *szirszũ*, gen. *szirszeňs*, 'hornet, gadfly'. Perhaps also in Skr. *ṛṣṇi-ṣ* *ṛṣṇi-ṣ* 'male, strong, mighty' *ṛṣṇi-ṣ* m. 'ram' Avest. *varšni-š* 'ram' beside Skr. *ṛṣṇān-* 'male', Skr. *prēni-ṣ* 'full of love' beside instr. *prēn-ā* 'through love, through affection', Gr. *ὄρνις* (pl. *ὄρνεις*) 'fowl' O.H.G. *arn* (pl. *erni*) 'eagle' beside Goth. *ara*, gen. *arins* 'eagle'. Cp. § 65 Rem. p. 139.

### § 95. 1. *-ni-* (*-ṇni-*).

Indo-Germanic. Skr. *ag-ni-ṣ* m. Lat. *ig-ni-s* m. Lith. *ug-ni-s* f. O.C.Sl. *og-nĭ* m. 'fire'; the relation of the different root-vowels is obscure. Skr. *śrō-ṇi-ṣ* m. f. 'hinder parts, hip', Lat. *clū-ni-s* m. f., O.Icel. *hlau-n* f. 'hip-bone, hinder-part', Lith. *szlau-ni-s* f. 'hip, upper part of the thigh, shaft-bar (of a carriage)'; how is this related to Gr. *κλόων-ς* 'os sacrum'? (cp. the Author, Zum heut. Stand der Sprachwiss. 1885, p. 70 f., Holthausen, Paul-Br. Beitr. XIII 590). \**lū-ni-s* f. 'a loosing, tearing loose': Skr. *lū-ni-ṣ* 'a tearing loose, cutting off', Goth. *lū-n-s* 'means of loosing, ransom' (von Bahder, Verbalabstr. 81, Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 121). Avest. *rašni-s* 'truth' pr. Ar. \**raṣ-niṣ* (I § 403 p. 298), Goth. *ga-rēh-sn-s* f. 'intent, plan', *✓reḡ-* (Avest. *raṣayēiti* 'he arranges'). Skr. *śrēni-* 'light, pure' (in *śrēni-dant-* 'with bright teeth'), Goth. *hrái-n-s* 'pure'; cp. also O.C.Sl. *srě-nũ* 'white' (Kluge gives a different explanation, Paul-Br. Beitr. VIII 525).

Aryan. Skr. *śrō-ṇi-ṣ* m. f. Avest. *srao-ni-š* f. 'hinder parts'. Lat. *clū-ni-s* etc.; see above. Skr. *váh-ni-ṣ* m. 'beast of draught', *yó-ni-ṣ* m. 'lap, womb', *ghṛ-ni-ṣ* m. 'heat, sunshine'. Skr. *jūr-ni-ṣ* 'glow', *ṣṛ-ni-ṣ* *ṣṛ-ni-ṣ* 'sickle', *mē-ni-ṣ* f. 'offensive weapon, missile', *śrē-ṇi-ṣ* f. 'row, line', *gīr-ni-ṣ* f. 'a swallowing'. Avest. *raoxš-ni-š* f. 'gleam, brightness', *fšao-ni-š* f. probably 'riches, food, nourishment'.

Adjectives. Skr. *śrēni-* 'bright, pure', see above, *tūr-ni-ṣ* 'hastening', *bhāt-ni-ṣ* 'hasty, fiery', *pṛṣṭ-ni-ṣ* 'spotted, variegated', Avest. *raoxš-ni-š* 'gleaming, clear'.

The Aryan suffix *-ani-* may in some words be referred to *-ṇni-*; perhaps in *kṣīp-aṇi-ṣ* f. 'blow' and other words in *-aṇi-*.

Compare Skr. *-ána-* from *-ynó-* § 66 p. 142, and *-aní-* for *-ynú-* § 106.

Armenian. *srun-ē* (gen. *sruni-ç*) pl. 'shinbones, calves', compared with Lat. *crūs*.

Greek. Here the suffix is extremely rare. For *κλονι-ς* see p. 285. *εὔ-νι-ς* 'bereft, mulcted' is a certain example, cp. Skr. *ū-ná-s* 'deficient in something' Goth. *v-an-s* 'absent, lacking'. But *ῥνι-ς ῥννι-ς* 'ploughshare' (cp. Solmsen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 81), *σπάνι-ς* 'rarity, want' and one or two others are very doubtful.

Italic. Lat. *Fōnēs* 'dei silvestres' (Gloss.) beside *Faunus*, Umbr. *fons* (pl. *foner*) 'propitius, favens', cp. *fav-eō*; the word seems to have been originally a substantive, meaning 'favour'. Lat. *īg-ni-s* m.: Skr. *ag-ni-ś* etc. see p. 285. *pēni-s* m. f. for *\*pes-ni-s* beside Skr. *pás-as* Gr. *πέος* n. 'penis' (I § 570 p. 427). *amni-s* m. f. for *\*ab-ni-s*, compared with O.Ir. *abann* 'stream' (I § 511 p. 375). *fūni-s* m. f., *fīni-s* m. f., *crīni-s* m. f.

It is not clear how far the Adjectives in *-ni-* were brought into this class of stems merely through a secondary change of declension, cp. § 93 p. 281. *com-moini-s* *com-mūni-s* (Osc. *múiníkad* abl. 'communi' see § 87 p. 261) corresponds to Goth. *ga-máin-s* 'common' pr. Germ. *\*ga-majni-z*. *omni-s* for *\*op-ni-s*, beside *op-s* (cp. Goth. *all-s* § 66 p. 147), *sēg-ni-s*, *lēni-s*, *mūni-s*, *im-māni-s*, *in-clīni-s* and others. It must not be forgotten that the uncompounded words may have been originally substantives.

Old Irish. *tain* 'a harrying, raid' for *\*tu-ag-ni-* or *\*tu-ag-ni-*, similarly *imm-ain* 'a driving, riding' (passing into the analogy of the *i*-stems, see Stokes, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 290), from *√ag-* 'agere', cp. I § 523 p. 380. *buain* 'harvesting' for *\*bong-ni-*, beside *bongaim* 'I gather, make harvest'. *cluain* 'meadow, mead'. *-yni-* may be contained in O.Ir. *colinn* (gen. *colno*) f. 'corpus, caro' Mid.Cymr. *celein* Mod.Cymr. *celain celan*, which point to *\*colani-* (or *\*colanni-*, cp. § 117 Rem. 3).

Germanic. The Substantives in *-ni-* and *-sni-* are femi-

nine and mostly abstract. O.Icel. *hlau-n* 'hip-bone': Skr. *śrō-ṇi-ṣ* etc.; see above, p. 285. Goth. *siun-s* 'looking, power of sight, visage, appearance' pr. Germ. *\*si(z)u-ni-s*, beside Goth. *saihvan* 'to see', √ *seq-*; see I § 441 p. 327 f., § 444 c p. 330. Goth. *anda-viz-n-s* 'sustenance, support' *váila-viz-n-s* 'welfare, good condition' from *visan*. *sōk-n-s* 'disputed question', *táik-n-s* 'notice, token' √ *deĩk- deĩg-*, *dáu-n-s* 'vapour, smell'. Goth. *ana-busn-s* 'bidding, charge, command' for *\*-butsmi-*, beside *ana-biudan*, *us-beisn-s* 'expectation, patience' for *\*-būtsni-*, beside *us-beidan* (I § 552 p. 404), *ga-rēh-sṇ-s* 'intent, plan' (cp. Avest. *raš-ni-* p. 285), *rōh-sn-s* 'court, courtyard'.

The adjectival *-ni-* corresponds to the adjectival *-i-* (§ 93 p. 283), and, like *-i-*, was confused with the *īo*-declension. Goth. *hráin-s* O.Sax. *hrēni* 'pure': Skr. *śrēṇi-* 'bright, pure'; see p. 285 above. Goth. *ga-máin-s* 'common': Lat. *com-moini-s* *commāni-s*, see p. 286. Goth. *ana-siun-s* 'visible', *skáun-s* 'beautiful' ('noticeable, worth looking at' beside O.H.G. *scouwōn*), *ar-ni-ba* adv. 'safely, heedfully'.

In Balto-Slavonic we find only substantives, which in both branches are almost exclusively feminine, often with *s* or (in Slav.) *z* prefixed (*-sni-*, *-zni-*).

Lith. *ug-ni-s* f. O.C.Sl. *og-nǐ* m. (the only masc.) 'fire': Skr. *ag-ni-ṣ* etc., see above p. 285. Lith. *bar-ni-s* f. 'quarrel' O.C.Sl. *bra-nǐ* f. 'battle'. Lith. *kul-ni-s* f. 'heel', *vil-ni-s* f. 'wave', *szak-ni-s* f. 'root', *pus-ni-s* f. 'snow-drift', *krós-ni-s* 'stove, oven', *dek-sni-s* f. 'burnt patch of ground' *lup-sni-s* (and *lupszni-s* f. 'shell peeled off', *žink-sni-s* f. 'step'; the forms are frequently transferred to the *īo*-declension (masc.), as *žinksnis* gen. *žinksnio* = *žinksnī-s*. O.C.Sl. *stri-nǐ* 'stem' *stǐg-nǐ* 'way, road', *po-jas-nǐ* 'girth', *pri-kaz-nǐ* 'tale, history, example', *sě-nǐ* 'shade' (no doubt to be compared with Skr. *chay-ā* 'shade', I § 393 p. 293 f., § 414 Rem. p. 303 f.), *pě-snǐ* 'song', *kū-znǐ* 'deceit', *ži-znǐ* 'life'.

#### § 96. 2. *-eni-* (*-oni-*).

Indo-Germanic. *\*bhāni-s*: Armēn. *ban* (gen. *bani*) 'λόγος', A.S. *bēn* O.Icel. *bōn bān* f. 'prayer' pr. Germ. *\*bōni-z*, O.C.Sl. *basnǐ* f. 'fable, spell' (the *s* is a later insertion). We



may place here, but with more hesitation, Goth. *as-an-s* f. 'harvest, summer' (cp. *asnei-s* O.H.G. *esni* 'day-labourer'), Pruss. *ass-ani-s* 'autumn' O.C.Sl. *jes-enĩ* f. 'autumn'.

Aryan. Skr. *-áni-* beside *-anĩ-* (is the latter for *-ant-*? see § 95 p. 285 f.). *iṣ-áni-ṣ* f. 'impulse, motive' *śar-áni-ṣ* 'injury, transgression', *aś-áni-ṣ* f. 'missile'. *car-áni-ṣ* 'mobile', *cakṣ-áni-ṣ* 'brightener, illuminator', *rurukṣ-áni-ṣ* 'able or willing to destroy'. Skr. *sarva-jyāni-ṣ* f. 'complete ruin' Avest. *zyāni-ṣ* f. 'harm', Skr. *hāni-ṣ* f. 'abandonment, decrease, loss', *glāni-ṣ* *glāni-ṣ* f. 'relaxation, discouragement'.

Armenian. *ban* 'λόγος: A.S. *bēn* etc., see above.

Italic. Lat. *pāni-s* m., also *pāne* n., beside *pā-bulu-m*.

Germanic. Goth. *as-an-s* f. 'harvest, summer'?, see above.

A.S. *bēn* O.Icel. *bon bōn* f. 'prayer': Armen. *ban* etc., see above. The comparison of Goth. *vēn-s* 'hope' with O.H.G. *wār* (Bremer, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XI 274) is still uncertain; see § 93 p. 282. The suffix was fertile in forming feminine abstracts connected with weak verbs and derived from the present stem; these words end in *-īni-* *-ōni-* *-aini-*, as Goth. *lāisein-s* 'instruction' from *lāisjan* 'to instruct', *laþōn-s* 'invitation' from *laþōn* 'to invite', *þulāin-s* 'patience, endurance' from *þulan* 'to endure'. The form of the suffix was *-eni-* (as opposed to *-ono-* in the infinitive, which appears in *lāisjan* and *þulan*): *lāisain-s* = ground-form *\*loisei-eni-s*, pr. Germ. *-i-i-ni-*, cp. 3. sing. Goth. *lāiseiþ*, *þulāin-s* = ground-form *\*þlēi-eni-s* pr. Germ. *-ē-i-ni-*, cp. 3. sing. *þuldīþ*, *laþōn-s* like 3. sing. *laþōþ*; see I § 142 p. 127. These abstract forms were very numerous even in proethnic Germanic; but the separate Germanic languages differ in the extent to which they made use of the established types. In Gothic the three methods of formation were in full use together: the form in *-ein-s* was the most, that in *-ōn-s* the least common; further examples are *af-lagein-s* 'remission', *ga-hráinein-s* 'purification', *frijōn-s* 'caress, kiss', *þaháin-s* 'silence'. But in High German the only forms which appear are those in *-īni-*, and these are very numerous; but they were phonetically modified by confusion with secondary abstract nouns in *-in-* (§ 115), as O.H.G. *toufīn* and *toufī*

'baptism' = Goth. *dauþein-s*, *mendin mendī* 'joy', *restin restī* 'rest, repose'.

Balto-Slavonic. Pruss. *ass-ani-s* O.C.Sl. *jes-enī* f. 'autumn'?, see p. 288 above. Words in which the suffix was contracted with the vowel ending of the stem to which it was added, often show an inserted *s* (*z*). Lith. *dūni-s dūsni-s* f. O.C.Sl. *danī* f. 'gift'. O.C.Sl. *basnī* f. 'fable, spell': Armen. *ban* etc., see p. 287 above, *prē-stanī* f. 'omission' from *prē-stati* 'to omit, cease'; *na-dēznī* 'hope' from *dēti* 'ponere'. These nouns are also formed from derivative verbs, and are based upon the stem of the infinitive; as *bojaznī* f. 'fear' (*bojati se*), *kajaznī* f. 'repentance' (*kajati se*), *prījaznī prijaznī* f. 'love, friendship' (*prījati prijati*), *bolēznī* f. 'pain, sickness' (*bolēti*). Compare Pruss. *biāsna-n* acc. 'fear' beside *biā-twei* 'to fear', *eb-signāsna-n* acc. 'blessing' beside *be-signāt-s* part. 'blessed'.

§ 97. The Suffix *-mi-*. There are a few original substantives in which *-mi-* is primary, but the suffix never became fertile. Nearly all apparent examples from later periods are obviously nothing but *-mo-* *-mā-* forms which have passed into the *i*-declension.

No general definition can be given of the function of this suffix.

Indo-Germanic. \**qg-mi-s* 'worm' (compare Lat. *cur-vo-s*?): Skr. *kṣ-mi-ṣ* m., O.Ir. *cruim* f. Mod.Cymr. *pryf* pr. Kelt. \**kyri-mi-*, Lith. *kirmi-s*, gen. *kirmio*, transferred to the *jo*-declension (and now obsolete) from which was formed *kir-m-ėlė* (§ 76 p. 212). With the same suffix, and formed in imitation of the word \**qg-mi-s*, but from other roots, we have Lat. *ver-mi-s* m. O.H.G. *wur-m* (pl. *wurmi*) m. 'worm' and Gr. *ἐλ-μυ-ς* f. 'intestinal worm'. \**uḷ-mi-s*: Skr. *ūr-mi-ṣ* m. 'wave', A.S. *wielm wylm* m. 'welling up, wave' pr. Germ. \**ual-mi-z* (I § 306 p. 243). Avest. *dā-mi-š* 'creation, creature' (*dāmi-dāta-* 'gracious to created beings?'), Gr. *ῥέ-μυ-ς* f. (with secondary formations which have invaded its declension) 'ordinance, right', *ῥdhē* 'set, establish'.

Aryan. Skr. *kṣ-mi-ṣ*, *ūr-mi-ṣ*, Avest. *dā-mi-š*, see above. Skr. *bhū-mi-ṣ* f. (also *bhūmi-*, see § 109 Rem.) Avest. *bū-mi-š* f. O.Pers. *bumi-* f. 'earth'. Skr. *raś-mi-ṣ* m. 'rein, strap', *kūr-mi-*

'action, performance' in *tuvi-kūrmī-š* 'mighty in action', *sūr-mi-š* f. 'light, shining flame'. Avest. *dā-mi-š* (*dq-mi-š*, see I § 200 p. 169) f. 'wisdom, insight', from *dā-* 'know, understand'.

Greek. *ἔλ-μι-ς*, *θέ-μι-ς*, see above. *φῆ-μι-ς* 'speech, talk, report' beside *φῆ-μη*.

Italic. Lat. *ver-mi-s*, see above. A change from the *o-* to the *i-*declension produced *in-ermi-s*, *sub-limi-s* and the like; see § 93 p. 281 and § 95 p. 286.

Old Irish. *cruim*, see above. *cnāim* m. 'bone' pr. Kelt. \**cnā-mi-*, beside Gr. *κνή-μη* 'shinbone', compare Aeol. *κνᾶ-μι-ν* acc. (pl. Hom. *κνημίδες*) 'greaves'.

Germanic. O.H.G. *wur-m*, A.S. *wiel-m*, see above. By a change from the *o-* to the *i-*declension, Goth. *hái-m-s* f. 'village' beside pl. *hái-mō-s*, *ar-mi-ns* m. acc. pl. 'arms' beside the old *o-*stem O.H.G. *aram* O.Icel. *ar-m-r* (§ 72, 3 p. 171).

O.C.Sl. *sedmī* f. 'the number seven', *osmī* f. 'the number eight' were formed from the ordinals *sedmŭ*, *osmŭ* on the analogy of *petŭ*: *petŭ* and so forth.

### § 98. The Suffixes *-ri-* (*-rri-*) and *-li-* (*-lli-*).

There are a few original nouns in which these suffixes are primary. *-li-* is very fertile in Italic. A large number of the examples of *-ri-* *-li-* which date from later periods, just as those of *-mi-*, arise simply from the transference of other stems into the *i-*declension.

No general definition can be given of their function.

Idg. *-ri-*. Skr. *ás-ri-š* f. 'the sharp side of a thing, corner, border, cut edge', Gr. *ἄκ-ρι-ς* f. 'point', esp. 'hill-top' *ὄκ-ρι-ς* f. 'point, corner, border', Lat. *oc-ri-s* m. 'hill-top'; compare Gr. *ἄκ-ρο-ς* etc.; see § 74 p. 184. Gr. *ῥδ-ρι-ς* 'knowing', O.Icel. *vit-r* 'wise' (pr. Germ. \**uit-ri-z*), *✓ueid-*. Skr. *vádhi-ri-š* 'gelded, castrated' Gr. *ἐθ-ρι-ς*, the same (cp. G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 68).

1) C. von Pucker, Die [lat.] nomina derivata auf *-alis* (*-aris*) und *-arius*, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 113 ff.

*-li-*. Lat. *tali-s quali-s*, O.C.Sl. *tolŭ* adv. 'so much, tantum' *koltŭ* adv. 'how much, quantum', and (derived from *-li-*stems) (Gr. *τηλί-μο-ς* *πηλί-μο-ς*, O.H.G. Alemann. *welŕ solŕ*, O.C.Sl. *tolikŭ kolikŭ*; see § 88 p. 265, § 89 p. 272.

Aryan. Only the evidence of the kindred languages can determine whether in any particular word we have Idg. *-ri-* or *-li-*.

*-ri-*. Skr. *ús-ri-š* see above *jŕ-rí-š* 'flowing water', beside *jŕ-rá-s* 'lively, rough': Lat. *vi-reō* O.C.Sl. *žŕ-rŭ*, see § 74 p. 182 f. *šubh-rí-š* with the same meaning as *šubh-rá-s* 'gleaming, beautiful': Armen. *surb* 'pure', see § 74 p. 183. *ús-ri-š* with the same meaning as *us-rá-s* 'of the morning' (adj.): Gr. *αὔ-ρ-ιο-ν*, see § 74 p. 181.

*-li-*. Skr. *tŭ-li-š* f. 'brush', beside *tŭ-lŭ* f. 'cotton, wick, brush' *tŭ-la-m* 'panicle, tuft': Gr. *τῦ-λη* *τῶ-λη*, see § 76 p. 198. Skr. *dha-li-š* f. 'dust': cp. Lat. *fŭlīgō* 'soot', Lith. *dŭlkė* f. 'mote'. Avest. *tiy-ri-š* m. 'arrow, missile' beside *tiy-ra-* 'sharp, pointed': Goth. *stik-l-s*, § 76 pp. 200, 207.

In the following examples it is not clear whether the suffix originally had *r* or *l*. Skr. *bhŭ-ri-š* 'abundant, great, many', neut. *bhŭ-ri* Avest. *bŭiri*. Skr. *ánagh-ri-š* m. 'foot', *vának-ri-š* m. f. 'rib'. *áb-hri-š* f. 'hoe, spatula'. Avest. *maoiri-s* m. 'ant' for pr. Ar. *\*mau-ri-š* (I § 160 p. 144), cp. Skr. *vam-rá-s* m. *vam-rŭ* f. 'ant'. — Skr. *aṅgú-ri-š* *aṅgú-li-š* f. 'finger' beside *aṅguṣṭha-* Avest. *aṅgušta-* m. 'toe'. There are also a few adjectives in *-uri-š*, where we can hardly assume either *-rri-* or *-lli-*, as *sáhuri-š* 'mighty', *jásuri-š* 'exhausted, weary'.

Greek. Here it is very rare. *ἄκ-ρι-ς* *ὄκ-ρι-ς*, *ῥῶ-ρι-ς*, see above. No doubt we should add *ῥῆ-ρι-ς*.

Italic. Lat. *oc-ri-s* m., Umbr. *ukri-per ocri-per* 'procre': Gr. *ὄκ-ρι-ς*, see above. Lat. *ut-ri-s* m., to be compared perhaps with *uteru-s*. *secŭri-s*, cp. *figŭra* and similar forms. Lat. *sac-ri-* (e. g. *sacrem porcum*) beside *sac-ro-*, Umbr. *sakre n*. 'sacrum, hostia' beside *sakra* 'sacras'. Lat. *acer acri-s*, beside Gr. *ἄκ-ρο-ς*; Osc. *akrid* 'acri' or 'raptim' might also be referred to a stem *akro-* (cp. *amprufid* 'improbe'). Lat. *put-*

*-ri-s*. Umbr. *pacrer* pl. 'pacati, propitii', cp. Goth. *fag-r-s* 'suitable' pr. Germ. \**faz-rá-s* § 74 p. 187. Cp. *-bri-* beside *-bro-* in *anclabri-s* etc., § 77 p. 215.

In Italic *tali-s quāli-s* (p. 291) served as the types for a large group of adjectives; as Lat. *æquali-s*, *liberali-s*, *natali-s*, *vēnali-s*, *vitali-s*, *dotali-s*; Umbr. *verfale* 'verbale, templum', *sorsālem* 'porciliarem', *Tefrali* abl. 'Tefri proprio'; the change of *l* to *r* by dissimilation seems to have taken place in pro-ethnic Italic when there was already an *l* in the word (cp. I § 269 p. 217): Lat. *alari-s*, *palmari-s*, *militari-s*, *lūnari-s*, *lūminari-s*, Umbr. *staflarem* 'stabularem'. The analogy of *vīta*: *vītali-s* gave rise in Latin to the forms *fidēli-s* (*fidē-s*), *famēlicu-s* (*famē-s*); *ovīli-s* (*ovi-s*), *hostīli-s* (*hosti-s*), and then further, to *virīli-s* (*vir*), *puerīli-s* (*puer*), *hastīli-s* (*hasta*); *tribūli-s* (*tribu-s*), *īdūli-s* (*īdūs* pl.), whence *pedūli-s* (*pes*). Cp. Gr. *τοῖο-ς ποῖο-ς*: *παντοῖο-ς ἄλλοῖο-ς* § 63 Rem. 2 p. 128 and O.C.Sl. *takŭ kakŭ*: *jedinakŭ drugako* § 89 c, p. 273.

*-li-* in Latin adjectives frequently arises from the transference of *o*-stems into the *i*-declension, and the group of original forms in *ali-s* (*-ēli-s -īli-s -ūli-s*) may have helped to effect the change. *simili-s*: cp. Gr. *ὁμαλό-ς* (in Celtic also an *i*-stem, O.Ir. *samail*, see below), *humili-s*: cp. Gr. *χαμαλό-ς*, *pestili-s* etc., see § 76 p. 202 f. 205. Further *agili-s*: Skr. *ajirā-s*, *bibīli-s*, *coctīli-s* etc., p. 204. Cp. also *stabīli-s nōbīli-s* etc., § 77 p. 215.

There is one substantive in *-li-*, Lat. *tōlēs* pl. m. 'wen on the neck', for \**tons-li-*, from *tens-* 'stretch' (Goth. *at-pīnsan* 'to draw towards one', Lith. *tęs-ti* 'to stretch by pulling'); *tōnsillae* 'tonsils' points to an older form \**tons-lo-* or \**tons-lā-*.

Old-Irish. All the apparent examples of this suffix known to me may have originally been *ro-lo*-stems (cp. § 93 p. 282). *lēir* 'diligent'. *dūil* f. 'creature, element' (beside *dūl*). *biail*, gen. *bēla*, f. 'axe'. *samail* 'likeness, picture' with the adjectives derived from it, as *co-smil* 'similar': cp. Lat. *simili-s*.

In Germanic the suffix is extremely rare, and forms only adjectives, in which as in other *i*-stems, there is a confusion with the *io*-declension. O.Icel. *vīt-r* 'wise': Gr. *ἰδ-α-ς*, see

above p. 290. Goth. *riu-r-s* 'fleeting, perishable' O.Icel. *rýr-r* 'thin'.

Balto-Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *ďib-rī* f. 'ravine'. Lith. *ang-lī-s* f. O.C.Sl. *ag-lī* m. 'coal'. O.C.Sl. *by-lī* f. 'plant, vegetable' beside part. *by-lū*, *reþ-lī* f. 'bud, shoot', *sop-lī* (beside *sopēlī*) f. 'flute', *sūch-lī* f. 'dry wood, brushwood' beside *u-sūch-lū* 'dry' (cp. I § 588 Rem. 2 p. 444), *tek-lī* f. 'resin', properly 'outflow', beside part. *tek-lū*. In *-ē-li-* (cp. *-ē-lo-* § 76 p. 212 f.): *gybēlī* f. 'destruction', *kapēlī* f. 'bath', *pečalī* f. 'care, grief', *sopēlī* f. 'flute', *svirēlī* f. 'flute', *obūtēlī* f. 'dwelling', *obutēlī* f. 'shoe', *dētēlī* f. 'deed'. In *-s-li-* (cp. *-s-lo-* § 76 p. 211): *jaslī* pl. f. 'crib' for \**ēt-s-li-* beside *jastū* 'he eats', *gaslī* pl. f. 'zither' beside *gaḡa* 'I play on the zither', *myslī* f. 'thought' beside Goth. *ga-máud-jan* 'to remind', *otū-rastlī* f. 'sprig' beside *rastā* 'I grow'. Some of these forms with *-li-* must no doubt be explained in the same way as *žes-točī* (§ 93 p. 278. 284); *toplī* (beside *toplū*) has already been mentioned in that section.

§ 99. The Suffix *-ti-*. In Indo-Germanic this was a common primary suffix, and formed feminine *nomina actionis*. In Aryan, Balto-Slavonic, (and Keltic, cp. § 156) regular infinitives were developed from these abstract verbal nouns; e. g. Skr. *pītáy-ē* O.C.Sl. *pi-ti* 'to drink'.

Here and there we find *nomina agentis* also formed with *-ti-*, and some of these occur in more than one language; as Lat. *hos-ti-s* Goth. *gas-t-s* O.C.Sl. *gos-tī*, O.Ir. *taid* O.C.Sl. *ta-tī*. All these forms may originally have been *nomina actionis*, the word which denoted a state or capacity being applied to the person in whom it was realised; thus Skr. *citti-ś* f. 'understanding, state of being intelligent' also means in the Rig-Veda 'he who is intelligent'. And even adjectival stems, like Skr. *pā-ti-ś*, 'stinking', were developed from these abstract nouns. Cp. § 80 p. 238 f., § 108. 149. 155.

In denominative abstract nouns, *-ti-* is rare; examples are numerals like \**penq-ti-s* 'fivefold character'. The *-ti* in Skr. *kā-ti* seems to be connected with this use of the suffix.

§ 100. 1. -ti- in primary abstract nouns (*nomina actionis*).

The root-syllable nearly always has the vowel in its weak grade. The accent is sometimes on the suffix, sometimes on the root, and in Sanskrit and Germanic the same word often shows both, as Skr. *mati-ṣ* and *māti-ṣ*, O.H.G. *gi-burt* (pr. Germ. *\*burđi-*) and Goth. *ga-baurþ-s* (pr. Germ. *\*búrþi-*). It is therefore probable that originally the accentuation varied in the different cases and corresponded to the different grades of the root; say nom. sing. *\*mén-ti-s* nom. pl. *\*mptéi-es*. In the process of levelling, the weak form of the root-syllable generally prevailed, and as the same readjustment happened also in the *to*-participles (§ 79 p. 221), the two are no doubt connected. In the Slavonic infinitive, *\*mén-ti-* was the type usually followed; which is due to the influence of the supine in *-tū* (§ 108).

These *ti*-stems were extended by the suffix *-en-*, and hence were formed a large class of abstract nouns in Italic and Keltic such as Lat. *men-tiō* beside *mēns*<sup>1)</sup>, O.Ir. *er-mitiu* 'honour'; these were not unknown even in Germanic and Greek, cp. Goth. *ra-þjō* = Lat. *ra-tiō*, and Gr. *δορτίv-η*. Cp. § 115. In Italic and Keltic a large proportion of the *ti*-abstracts were replaced by this newer formation.

These nouns could be derived from any form which served as a verbal stem, not merely from the root (in the strict sense of the word); hence words like Skr. *údi-ti-ṣ* f. 'speech' (beside part. *udi-tá-s*), Lat. *moni-tiō* (beside *moni-tu-s*) and Gr. *ῥqā-αι-ς* f. 'seeing', Lat. *satiās occupātiō*. O.Ir. *saigid* 'a searching', Lith. *sėdėti* O.C.Sl. *seděti* 'to sit'.

The addition of *-ti-* to the stem of the thematic present or aorist as in Skr. *romá-ti-ṣ* Gr. *λάχε-αι-ς* was no doubt a secondary developement, although perhaps it may have begun even in the proethnic period; cp. *-e-to-* § 79 p. 218 f.

Indo-Germanic. *\*sru-ti-s* f. 'a flowing, streaming' from

1) Leo Meyer, Die lateinische Abstractbildung durch das Suffix *tiōn*, Benfey's Orient und Occident II 586 ff.

✓ *srey-*: Skr. *sru-ti-ṣ* Gr. *ῥύσις*. Skr. *jūṣ-ṭi-ṣ* f. 'mark of affection, favour', Gr. *γεύσις* f. 'tasting, taste' (a later formation from *γεύω* for \**γέυσω*), Goth. *ga-kust-s* f. 'trial, testing', ✓ *gēys-*. Skr. *ādhi-ṣ* f. 'a leading, carrying', Lat. *vecti-s* m. 'lifter, lever' *vectiō*, inf. Lith. *vėszti* O.C.Sl. *vesti* 'to carry, vehere'. \**qi-ti-s* f., from ✓ *qeḡ-*: Skr. *āpa-citi-ṣ* 'requital, punishment', Gr. *τισις* 'estimate, atonement, punishment' *ἀπό-τισις* 'requital, punishment'. Avest. *vaē-ti-ṣ* f. 'willow twig', Lat. *vī-ti-s* f., O.Ir. *fēith* f. 'sinew', Lith. *vý-ti-s* f. 'twig of willow-tree' O.C.Sl. *vi-ŭ* f. 'res torta in modum funis' *pa-viŭ* f. no doubt = 'vitis', inf. Lith. *vý-ti* O.C.Sl. *vi-ti* 'to wind, turn'. Skr. *vitti-ṣ* 'consciousness, the finding, becoming possessed of a thing'. Avest. *e-visti-ṣ* f. 'ignorance', Lat. *vīsiō* f., O.C.Sl. *za-viŭ* f. 'envy, hatred' *věŭ* f. 'news', ✓ *ueḡd-* 'videre'. \**bḡ-ti-s* f. from ✓ *bher-* 'ferre': Skr. *bḡti-ṣ* 'carrying, sustenance, support', Lat. *fors*, O.Ir. *brith* inf. 'to carry, carrying', Goth. *ga-baurp-s* O.H.G. *gi-burt* 'birth'. \**dḡs-ti-s* 'boldness' from ✓ *dhers-* 'be bold': Skr. *dhṣṣ-ṭi-ṣ* O.H.G. *ga-turst*. Gr. *ἄμλξις* f. 'milking', Lith. inf. *mīlsz-ti* 'to milk', ✓ *melg-*. \**gḡ-ti-s* f. from ✓ *gem-* 'go, come': Skr. *gāti-ṣ* (older \**gati-*, cp. I § 230 p. 196). 'gait, going', Gr. *πάσις* (older \**pari-*, cp. I § 235 p. 198 f.) 'gait, step', Lat. *in-ventiō*, Goth. *ga-qumþ-s* 'a meeting' O.H.G. *cumft cunft* 'a coming' and O.Icel. *sam-kund* 'meeting' (the difference is due to the variation of accent in proethnic Germanic), Lith. *pri-gimtā-s* 'innate peculiarity' (cp. I § 249 p. 204). Skr. *ma-ti-ṣ* *mā-ti-ṣ* f. 'thought, mind', Gr. *μάντις* m. 'one inspired, seer', Lat. *mēns men-tio*, O.Ir. *er-mitiu* 'honour', Goth. *ga-mund-s* f. 'remembrance' *ana-mind-s* f. 'guess', Lith. *at-mintā-s* f. 'memory' O.C.Sl. *pa-męti* f. 'remembrance', ✓ *men-* 'reflect'. \**gḡ-ti-s* \**gḡ-ti-s* \**gēn-ti-s* from ✓ *gēn-* 'gignere': Skr. *jāti-ṣ* f. 'birth' Avest. *fra-zainti-ṣ* f. 'progeny, children', Lat. *gēns nātiō* (cp. *gnātu-s nātu-s*: Skr. *jātā-s*). \**kḡs-ti-* from ✓ *kens-*: Skr. *śasti-ṣ* 'praise, glory', Lat. *cēnsiō* (instead of \**cens-tiō*, cp. *cēnsu-s* § 79 p. 223. 230). \**peq-ti-s* f. from ✓ *peq-* 'cook': Skr. *pakti-ṣ* 'cooked dish', Gr. *πέψις* 'cooking', Lat. *cōctiō* for \**cuec-tiō*, O.C.Sl. *peŭti* 'fireplace' *peŭti* inf. 'to cook'. \**-d + ti* \**dō-ti* \**dō-ti* f. from ✓ *dō-* 'give': Skr. *bhāga-tti-ṣ* 'gift



of fortune' *dāti-š* 'riches, possessions' *dāti-vāra-s* 'loving to give, generous', Gr. *δοσις* *δωρις* 'gift', Lat. *datiō dōs* (gen. *dōtis*), Lith. *dāti-s* O.C.Sl. *doti* 'gift'; inf. Lith. *dūti* O.C.Sl. *dati* 'to give'. \**dhā-ti-* \**dhē-ti-* f. from  $\sqrt{dhē}$  'ponere': Skr. *dēvā-hiti-š* 'divine law, ordinance', Avest. *nī-dāiti-š* f. 'laying aside, drawing off' (of clothes), Gr. *θεσις* 'setting, arranging, position', Lat. *con-ditiō*, Goth. *ga-dēp-s* (st. *-dēdi-*) O.H.G. *tat* 'deed', O.C.Sl. *blago-dēti* 'benefit, favour'; inf. Lith. *dēti* O.C.Sl. *dēti* 'ponere'. Skr. *āp-ti-š* 'reaching, attaining', Lat. *ad-eptiō* for \**-ap-tiō*. Skr. *syū-ti-š* f. 'a sewing, bag', inf. Lith. *šiū-ti* O.C.Sl. *ši-ti* 'to sew'. \**plē-ti-s* f. 'filling' from *plē-* 'fill': Skr. *prā-ti-š*, Gr. *πλησις* (late), Lat. *ex-plētiō*. Skr. *prā-jñā-ti-š* f. 'recognising' *jñā-ti-š* m. 'kinsman', Gr. *γνώσις* f. 'knowledge', Lat. *nō-tiō*, O.H.G. *ur-chnāt* f. 'agnitio' (ground-form \**gnē-ti-*), O.C.Sl. *po-znatī* f. 'cognitio'; cp. Av. *ā-zainti-s* f. 'knowledge, understanding', Goth. *ga-kunþ-s* f. 'acquaintance' (abstr.) *ga-kund-s* f. 'a making acquainted, persuasion' O.H.G. *kunst* f. 'wisdom, mental capacity', O.C.Sl. *zē-tī* m. 'son-in-law' (cp. Lith. *žēnta-s* 'son-in-law', Gr. *γυωρός* 'near relative').

Examples of *-e-ti-* are given under the separate languages.

In Aryan *-ti-* is a living suffix. Skr. *śrū-ti-š* f. 'hearing, sound, news, tale' Avest. *fra-srūti-š* 'recitation, declamation': O.C.Sl. inf. *slu-ti* 'to be called, nominari'  $\sqrt{kley-}$ . Skr. *sōma-suti-š* f. 'pressing of the soma' *sū-ti-š* Avest. *hūiti-š* 'pressing, preparation (of the soma)'. Skr. *buddhi-š* f. insight, observation, understanding' Avest. *paiti-busti-š* f. 'observing': Gr. *νόσις* f. 'inquiry, news',  $\sqrt{bheydh-}$ . Skr. *i-ti-š* f. 'going' Avest. *paititi-š* f., i. e. *paititi-š*, 'a running against, regret': Lat. *i-tiō*, Lith. *pri-eiti-s* f. 'suburb',  $\sqrt{ei-}$  'ire'. Skr. *kṣī-ti-š* Avest. *ši-ti-š* f. 'dwelling, settlement' Gr. *κτίσις* f. 'founding of a colony'. Skr. *diś-ti-š* f. 'direction, dictate' Avest. *ā-diś-ti-š* f. 'direction, instruction': Gr. *δείξις* f. 'showing', Lat. *dic-tiō*, O.H.G. *in-ziht* f. 'accusation'. Skr. *bhṛ-ti-š* f. 'carrying, sustenance, provision' Avest. *ber'ti-š* f. 'offering, fostering care': Lat. *fors* etc., see above p. 295. Skr. *dṛś-ti-š* *dṛś-ti-š* Avest. *darš-ti-š* f. 'seeing': Gr. *δέξις* f. 'seeing',  $\sqrt{derk-}$ . Skr. *apa-sṛpti-š* f. 'going out, de-

pasture': Gr. *ἐρψι-ς* f. 'creeping'. Skr. *gá-ti-ś* f. 'a going' Avest. *aiwi-gaiti-ś* f. 'arrival': Gr. *βά-σι-ς* etc., √ *gem-*, see above p. 295. Skr. *rá-ti-ś* *rán-ti-ś* f. 'a pleasant tarrying, pleasure, delight': Gr. *ἐρασί-μολπο-ς* 'taking pleasure in song', Lith. inf. *rìm-ti* 'to be calm in spirit', √ *rem-*. Skr. *ha-ti-ś* f. 'blow, killing' *á-hati-ś* *á-hanti-ś* f. 'inviolability' Avest. *jaiti-ś* *jainti-ś* f. 'striking, killing': Lith. *ap-ginti-s* f. 'vindication' inf. *giñ-ti* 'to drive (cattle)' O.C.Sl. inf. *žę-ti* 'to hew, mow', √ *ghen-*. Skr. *śas-ti-ś* f. 'praise, glory' Avest. *sas-ti-ś* f. 'instruction': Lat. *cēnsiō*, see above p. 295. Skr. *ni-śatti-ś* rest, inactivity': Lat. *sessiō* Lith. *sės-ti* O.C.Sl. *sěsti* 'to sit', √ *sed-* 'sit'. Avest. *ava-spašti-ś* f. 'espying': Gr. *σκέψι-ς* 'inspection, examination' (instead of \**σπεῖρι-ς*), Lat. *in-spectiō*. Skr. *sthí-ti-ś* f. Avest. *stāiti-ś* f. 'standing': Gr. *στά-σι-ς* 'position, place, uprising', Lat. *sta-tiō*, O.H.G. *sta-t* (pl. *steti*) f. 'place, stead', O.C.Sl. *po-stař* f. 'pars, modus' inf. Lith. *stó-ti* 'to tread' O.C.Sl. *sta-ti* 'to place oneself'; a form \**-st-ti-*, to be compared with Skr. *-tti-* 'gift' (p. 295 f.), may be concealed in Germ. \**fir-sti-* 'roof-ridge' (cp. § 4 p. 9), which would then be parallel to Skr. *savyē-śthar-* i. e. *-st+tar-* (§ 122). Skr. *mī-ti-ś* f. 'measure, worth, right judgement': A.S. *mē-ð* f. 'measure, relation', √ *mē-*. Skr. *bhak-ti-ś* Avest. *bax-ti-ś* f. 'distribution', √ *bhag-*. Skr. *iś-ti-ś* Avest. *iś-ti-ś* *iś-ti-ś* f. 'wish', √ *aīs-*. Skr. *iś-ti-ś* f. 'offering', √ *iaḡ-*. Skr. *ghrā-ti-ś* f. 'odour, smell' beside partic. *ghrā-tá-s*. Avest. *šyēiti-ś* (gen. *šatōiš*) f. 'well-being, place of delight, home' O.Pers. *šiya-ti-ś* f. 'place of delight, dwelling-place' pr. Ar. \**cyā-ti-*: Lat. *quiēs*, gen. *quiētis*, Idg. *qiē-* 'be at ease'. Avest. *jyāiti-ś* f. 'life': cp. Gr. *ζῆ* 'he lives'. Avest. *upa-snāiti-ś* f. 'a washing', beside Skr. *snā-ta-s* 'washed'. We may add a few more examples of the variation of the accent in Sanskrit (there are more words with the accent on the root-syllable in classical Sanskrit than in Veda): *tṛp-ti-* *tṛp-ti-*, *kīr-ti-* *kīr-ti-*, *bhū-ti-* *bhū-ti-*, *hē-ti-* *hē-ti-*. Masculine and Adjectival forms are rare; besides those given under Indo-Germanic cp. Skr. *dhāt-ti-ś* m. 'shaker' (f. 'shaking', Gr. *θῦ-σι-ς* f. 'raging, roaring'), *vāś-ti-ś* 'desirous', Avest. *rāi-ti-ś* m. 'distributor' (f. 'distribution, alms', Skr. *ra-ti-ś* 'alms, gift').

With reduplication we have e. g. Skr. *car-kṛ-ti-ṣ* f. 'laudatory mention, praise', *dī-dhi-ti-ṣ* f. 'devotion', Avest. *za-zāiti-ṣ* f. 'throwing away'. Cp. the Greek forms p. 299.

Sometimes we have *-e-ti-*, e. g. Skr. *vas-a-ti-ṣ* f. 'nest', *dṛṣ-a-ti-ṣ* 'aspect', *ram-á-ti-ṣ* f. 'place of pleasant sojourn' *rám-a-ti-ṣ* 'gladly tarrying', *ar-a-ti-ṣ* m. 'servant', *vṛk-á-ti-ṣ* m. 'destroyer, robber', Avest. *pav-aitt-ṣ* f. 'rottenness, filth'. Cp. Skr. *dars-a-tá-s* and the like § 79 p. 226.

In Aryan the dative of the *-ti-* abstracts served as an infinitive, e. g. Ved. *pī-táyē* 'to drink' Av. *ker-tē* 'to fulfil' (cp. Bartholomae, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 20 f.).

Armenian. *z-gest*, gen. *z-gesti*, 'garment': Lat. *ves-ti-s*. *sas-t*, gen. *sasti*, 'abuse, reproach, threat, anger, sternness': Skr. *śāṣ-ti-ṣ* *śiṣ-ti-ṣ* f. 'punishment'.

In Greek it is a living suffix, especially fertile in forming *nomina actionis* from derived verbs. *χύ-αι-ς* 'outpouring, gush, libation': Skr. *á-hutiṣ* f. 'the offering of oblations' *λύ-αι-ς* f. 'a loosening' beside *λυ-ρό-ς*. *φύξι-ς* f. 'flight': Lith. inf. *būkti* 'to be cast into fear', *φθί-αι-ς* f. 'a waning, wasting': Skr. *kṣi-ti-ṣ* f. 'destruction'. *πίστι-ς* f. 'trust' beside *πιστό-ς* *πειθ-ω*. *δά-αι-ς* f. 'flaying': Skr. *dṛ-ti-ṣ* f. 'leather skin or bag', Goth. *ga-taurþ-s* (stem *ga-taurþi-*) f. 'destruction', Lith. inf. *dir-ti* 'to skin' ground-form *\*dṛ-ti*, *✓der-* 'tear'. *βρώσι-ς* f. 'food': Lith. *gir-ti-s* f. 'drink, feast', ground-form *\*gṛ-ti-* *\*gr-ti-* *✓ger-*. *μά-αι-ς* m. 'seizer, robber'. *τέ-αι-ς* f. 'contenting, delight': Skr. *tṛp-ti-ṣ* *tṛp-ti-ṣ* f. 'satiating, contenting', Goth. *þaurf-t-s* O.H.G. *durft* f. 'requisite, want'. *πά-αι-ς* f. 'gait, step': Skr. *gá-ti-ṣ* etc., see above p. 295. *τά-αι-ς* 'stretching, straining': Skr. *ta-ti-ṣ* *tán-ti-ṣ* f. 'row', Lat. *in-tentiō*. *μάν-τι-ς* m. 'one inspired, seer': Skr. *ma-ti-ṣ* etc., see p. 295 above. *ἔ-αι-ς* f. 'condition, state', beside *ἀν-ε-ρό-ς* *ἔ-ω*. *ἀν-αι-ς* f. 'a slackening, loosening' *ἀν-ε-σ-αι-ς* f. 'understanding' *ἡσ-οδο-ς*, *ἀν-ησ-ι-δο-πο-ς* 'sending forth gifts, letting grow' (of the earth), Lat. *sa-tiō*, Goth. *mana-sēþ-s* (st. *-sēdi-*) f. 'seed of men, multitude, world' O.H.G. *sā-t* f. 'seed', Lith. inf. *sē-ti* 'to sow', *✓sē-* 'throw forth, sow'. *δέ-αι-ς* f. 'binding, knot': Skr. *á-dīti-ṣ* 'boundlessness, state of being unconfined', *✓dē-* 'bind'. *γά-αι-ς*

f. 'story, news' *qá-si-s* f. 'assertion': Skr. *bhā-ti-ś* f. 'gleam',  $\sqrt{bhā}$ - 'shine, cause to appear, show'. *καῖ-si-s* f. 'burning', from *καίω* *καί-σω*. *πῆξι-s* f. 'fixing, setting in': Lat. *pac-tiō*,  $\sqrt{pāk-}$  *paḡ*- *ὀψι-s* f. 'sight, countenance'. *ἄμ-πωσι-s* f. 'ebb': Lat. *pō-tiō*, cp. also Skr. *pī-ti-ś* f. 'drinking' O.C.Sl. *pi-ti* 'to drink',  $\sqrt{pō(i)-}$ . *ἄη-si-s* f. 'blowing'. *νῆ-si-s* f. 'spinning': O.H.G. *nā-t* f. 'seam'. *ῥῆ-si-s* f. 'speaking, word' for *\*fṛh-si-s*: Avest. *urvāiti-š* f. 'law' (cp. I § 157 p. 141). From derivative verbs: *ὄρασι-s* 'seeing' (*ὄραω*), *αἰτησι-s* 'prayer, demand', (*αἰτέω*), *ἀξίωσι-s* 'thinking worthy' (*ἀξιόω*), *κάθαρσι-s* 'purifying' (*καθαίρω*), *ὑφανσι-s* 'weaving' (*ὑφαίνω*), *κηρύξι-s* 'proclamation, announcing' (*κηρύσσω*).

With reduplication: e. g. *ποιό-εξι-s* 'a snorting' from *ποι-γι-σσω*. Cp. the Aryan forms p. 298.

With *-e-ti-* we have e. g. *σχ-έ-si-s* 'holding, condition', *λάχ-ε-si-s* 'lot, fate', *εὑρ-ε-si-s* 'finding'. Cp. also *ἄ-ρ-ε-si-s* 'completing'. In correspondence with these nouns we find the partec. *ἄ-σχετο-s*, *εὑρε-τό-s*, *ἀ-ρήρι-το-s* § 79 p. 229.

*-ti-* was so widely used in Greek and formed so many new words that it is often impossible to tell whether a given word arose in Greek or is really Indo-Germanic. It is not probable that forms like *γεῦξι-s* *ῥέψι-s* *ῥέψι-s* Arcad. *ἔν-τεσι-s* (beside *γεῖξι-s* *ῥέσι-s* *τίσι-s*), in which the root-syllable is in the strong grade, are to be referred simply and immediately to the ablaut variation of the stem in Indo-Germanic (see p. 294).

As to the association of the *-ti-*stems in compounds like *τεροψι-μύροτο-s* with the *σ*-aorist, see § 30 p. 52.

In Italic, *-ti-* was no longer a living suffix. But its extension *-tiōn-* (*-tin-*) was very fertile.

a. *-ti-*. Lat. *cu-ti-s* f.: O.H.G. *hū-t* O.Icel. *hū-ð* f. 'skin' pr. Germ. *\*χū-ði-*. *tussi-s* f., no doubt to be connected with *tundō*. *fus-ti-s* m. *vt-ti-s* f.: Avest. *vaē-ti-š* etc., see p. 295 above. *fors* f., Osc. *fortis* adv. 'forte' Pelign. *forte* gen. 'fortunae': Skr. *bhṛ-ti-ś* etc., see p. 295 above. *mors* f.: Skr. *mṛ-ti-ś* f. 'death', O.Lith. *mir-ti-s* f. O.C.Sl. *sū-mrǣi* f. 'death', common ground-form *\*mṛ-ti-s*. *sors*, also *sor-ti-s* f., beside *serō*. *ars* f.: Skr. *r-ti-ś* f. 'method, kind, way'. *pors* f., beside *por-tiō*, see

I § 306 p. 242. *grā-tēs* pl. f., beside *grā-tu-s*. *mēns*, beside *men-tiō*, see p. 295 above. *gēns*, beside *nā-tiō*, see p. 295 above. *messi-s* f., beside *metō*. *res-ti-s* f.: Armen. *z-gest*, gen. *z-gesti*, 'garment'. Umbr. *ahtim-em* 'in actionem' beside *ahtu* 'actui', Lat. *agō*. Lat. *hos-ti-s* m. 'foreigner, enemy': Goth. *gas-t-s* m. 'stranger, guest', O.C.Sl. *gos-tŕ* m. 'guest, companion, friend' (the root meaning is perhaps 'injury, harm', compare Skr. *ghas-* 'to consume'; see the Author, in Curtius' Stud. V. 228 ff.). *nox* f.: Skr. *nák-ti-š* f. Goth. *nah-t-s* f. Lith. *nak-ti-s* f. O.C.Sl. *noš-tŕ* f. 'night'; yet this word *\*noq-ti-* may not belong to the oldest stratum of *ti-* nouns, but be only an extension of *\*noq-t-* (§ 123). *cōs*, gen. *cōtis*, f., cp. Skr. *śā-ta-s* 'whetted, sharpened', Gr. *κῶ-vo-ς* 'cone'. *quiēs*, gen. *quiētis*, f.: Avest. *šyēiti-š*, see above, p. 297. From *satiāre*: *satiās*, gen. *satiātis*, f. 'sufficiency, repletion'. *forti-s* O.Lat. *forcti-s* originally followed the *o*-declension: Skr. *ḍṛḍhá-s* 'established, firm', √ *dherǵh-*.

b. *-tiōn-*. Lat. *junc-tiō*: Skr. *yuk-ti-š* f. 'a yoking, setting going', Gr. *ζεύξι-ς* f. 'a yoking, putting to', Lith. inf. *jùnk-ti* 'to yoke'; the nasal of the Lat. and the Lith. form came from the present stem (Lat. *jungō* Lith. *jùngiu*). *circum-litiō*: Lith. inf. *lė-ti* 'to pour'. *fissiō*: Skr. *bhittŕ-š* f. 'a breaking'. *por-tiō* beside *pars*, see p. 299 above. *cul-tiō*, from *colō* for *\*cuelō* (I § 427 a p. 313, § 431 a p. 320). *ēm-p-tiō* (the regular form would have been, *\*en-tiō*, see I § 207 p. 174): O.Ir. inf. *air-itiu* 'accipere', O.C.Sl. *raċo-jęŕŕ* f. 'manipulus, sheaf' inf. Lith. *iīm-ti* O.C.Sl. *ję-ti* 'to take'. *men-tiō* beside *mēns*, see above, p. 295. *nā-tiō* *cōg-nā-tiō* Umbr. *natine* 'natione, gente', beside *gēns*, see above p. 295. *of-fensiō*, from *of-fendō*. *coctiō*: Skr. *pak-ti-š* etc., see p. 295 above. *gestiō*, beside *gerō*. *messiō* (cp. *messi-s*) see above. *lec-tiō*: Gr. *λέξι-ς* f. 'speaking, expression'. *sta-tiō*; the stem from which this is derived, *\*sta-ti-*, may be contained in Umbr. *statita* 'statuta': Skr. *sthŕ-ti-š* etc., see p. 297 above. *ra-tiō*: Goth. *ra-þjō* f. 'reckoning, account', beside Lat. *rē-rī* *ra-tu-s*. *ac-tiō* beside Umb. *ahtim-em* 'in actionem'. *cap-tiō*: Goth. *anda-haft-s* f. 'rejoinder, answer' Mid.H.G. *haf-t* f. 'a holding, hold'. *cautiō* Skr. *á-kū-ti-š* f.

'intention'. *auctiō*: Lith. inf. *duk-ti* 'to grow',  $\sqrt{\text{aug.}}$  *scānsiō*, beside *scandō*. *nō-tiō*: Skr. *prá-jñāti-ś* etc., see above p. 296. *con-crē-tiō*. From derivative verbs: Lat. *occupātiō dominātiō captātiō* Osc. *medicatinom* 'judicationem' fruktatiuf 'usus, fructus', Lat. *largitiō sortitiō, tributiō*. It should be observed however that the great fertility of *-tiōn-* often makes it doubtful whether any given word really represents an original *ti*-stem, e. g. *jissīō auctiō*.

Lat. *monitiō, vomitiō, sorbitiō, ex-spuitiō*. {Osc. *úittiuf* 'usio, usus' for *\*oit(i)tiuf*, see I § 501 Rem. 2 p. 368, § 633 p. 474. Cp. *monitu-s* and so forth, § 79 p. 231.

Old Irish. *fēith* f. 'sinew': Avest. *vaē-ti-ś* etc., see above p. 295. *tāid* m. 'thief': O.C.Sl. *ta-tŭ* m. 'thief'.

*-ti-* was a living suffix, and formed abstract verbal nouns which were feminine (for the infinitives see § 156). *buith* 'being': Skr. *bhū-ti-ś bhū-ti-ś* f. 'good condition, well-being', Gr. *qú-σι-ς* f. 'nature', O.C.Sl. *za-bytŭ* f. 'forgetting, forgetfulness', inf. Lith. *bú-ti* Slav. *by-ti* 'to be'. *brith* 'carrying': Skr. *bhṛ-ti-ś* etc., see above p. 295. *blith* 'grinding, molere', beside *melim* 'I grind' (I § 212 p. 179). *cleith* (Mid.Ir.) 'concealment, hiding', beside *celim* 'I conceal'. *saigid* 'seeking out', beside *saigim* 'I seek out', compared with Lat. *sāgiō*. *iar-figid* 'questioning', cp. Lat. *vocātiō*.

Adjectives in *-ti-*, like *blaith* 'soft, gentle' (ground-form *\*mŭ-ti-s*, I § 306 p. 243), *ē-cm-ailt* 'insolens', may have originally belonged to the *o*-declension. Cp. § 93 p. 282.

Some of the feminine abstract substantives in *-tiu* are also used to form infinitives (§ 156). *er-mitiu* 'honour' *toim-tiu* 'meaning, intent': Lat. *mentiō*, see above p. 295. *air-itiu* 'accipere': Lat. *ēmtiō*, see above p. 300. *clōsi(u)* 'hearing': Skr. *śruś-ti-ś* f. 'a gratifying, courtesy', O.Sax. O.Icel. *hlus-t* f. 'hearing', Lith. inf. *klūs-ti* 'to ask' (I § 467, 2 p. 343). *epelt(i)u* 'death, sinking', beside *at-bail* 'he dies, perishes'. *aicsiu* 'seeing' from *\*-cas-tiō*, beside *ad-chess* 'visum est'. *aigthiu* 'fearing', for *\*-agithiu*. Sometimes we find this extended form side by side

with the shorter form in *-ti-*; e. g. dat. *do saichtin* and *do saigthin* (both Mid.Ir.) = *do saigid* 'to seek out'.

Germanic. In proethnic Germanic *-ti-* was fertile; but later on it passed almost, if not entirely out of use. This was due to two causes; to the variation caused by phonetic change (cp. e. g. Goth. *anda-hafti-*, *ga-mundi-*, *ga-dēdi-* (pronounced *-dēdi-*), *ga-gumþi-*, *ga-vissi-*), and to the almost complete loss of the *to-* participles, which broke down its formal connexion with the verb.

Goth. *us-taiht-s*<sup>1)</sup> 'completion, fulfilment' O.H.G. *zuh-t* 'drawing, training': Lat. *duc-tiō*, √ *deyk-*. Goth. *fra-lust-s* 'loss, destruction' (compare O.H.G. *lus-t* 'pleasure', perhaps in the sense of 'being free, unrestrained'), beside Goth. *-liusan*: cp. Gr. *λύ-σις*. Goth. *saiht-t-s* O.H.G. *suh-t* 'illness', beside Goth. *siukan* 'be ill'. Goth. *lis-t-s* O.H.G. *lis-t* 'craft, trick' beside Goth. *leisan* 'to experience, learn': O.C.Sl. *lis-tŭ* f. 'deceit, trick'. Mid.H.G. *trif-t* 'driving, pasturage, meadow' O.Icel. *drip-t* 'snow drift', beside Goth. *dreiban* 'to drive'. O.H.G. *scur-t* 'shearing': Gr. *καρ-σις* f. 'shearing', √ *(s)ker-*. Goth. *ga-faurd-s* 'a meeting, high council' O.H.G. *far-t* 'travelling' ground-form *\*př-ti-* and *\*př-ti-*, √ *per-*. O.H.G. *ga-turst* A.S. *ge-dyrst* 'boldness': Skr. *dhr̥ṣ-ti-ṣ* 'boldness', √ *dhers-*. Goth. *fra-vairht-s* O.Sax. *far-wurht* 'misdeed, sin': Avest. *anvaršti-ṣ* i. e. *anuvāršti-ṣ* f. 'suitable conduct'. O.H.G. *gi-dull* 'patience': Lat. *ob-latiō* (*-tlāti-* for *\*tl-ti-*), √ *tel-*. Goth. *ga-gumþ-s* 'meeting' O.H.G. *cumft* *cunft* 'coming' O.Icel. *sam-kund* 'meeting': Skr. *gá-ti-ṣ* etc., see above, p. 295. Goth. *anda-numt-s* 'taking up, reception' O.H.G. *numft* *nunft* 'taking', beside Goth. *niman*. Goth. *ga-kumþ-s* 'a being acquainted' *ga-kund-s* 'a making acquainted, persuasion', O.H.G. *kunst* 'wisdom': Avest. *ā-zainti-ṣ* f. 'knowledge, understanding', see p. 296 above. As to *ft* and *st* in the last-named forms see I § 214 p. 180 f. and § 529 p. 386. O.H.G. *ana-daht* 'devotion' for *\*paṛx-ti-*, beside Goth. *paþkjan* (pret. *þahta*) 'to think'. O.H.G. *sih-t* 'sight, power of sight', beside Goth.

1) The forms which follow are feminine unless it is otherwise stated.

*saihvan* 'to see': cp. Lith. *sèk-ti* 'to follow'? (cp. I § 419 p. 307). Goth. *fra-gift-s* 'bestowing' O.H.G. *gif-t* 'gift', beside Goth. *giban* 'to give'. Goth. *ga-giss* 'agreement', beside *ga-giþan* (pret. *ga-qaþ*). O.H.G. *sta-t* O.Sax. *ste-di* 'place, stead': Skr. *sthí-ti-ś* etc., see above p. 297. Goth. *ga-dēþ-s* (st. *-dēdi-*) O.H.G. *ta-t* 'deed': Avest. *ni-dāiti-ś* etc., see above, p. 296. Goth. *anda-haft-s* 'rejoinder, answer' Mid.H.G. *haf-t* 'hold': Lat. *cap-tiō*. Goth. *ga-skaft-s* O.H.G. *gi-scaft* 'creation, creature', beside Goth. *ga-skappjan* 'to make'. Goth. *mah-t-s* O.H.G. *mah-t* 'might': O.C.Sl. *moštĭ* f. 'might' inf. *mošti* 'to be able or capable'. Goth. *gas-t-s* m. O.H.G. *gas-t* m. 'guest': Lat. *hos-ti-s*, see above p. 300. Goth. *slaiuh-t-s* 'slaughter' O.H.G. *slah-t* 'striking, slaying': Gr. *λάκ-τι-ς* 'pestle for pounding, pounding' (*λακίζω*, Lat. *lacerō*)? Goth. *aiih-t-s* O.H.G. *eh-t* 'property, possession': Av. *iš-ti-ś* f. 'goods, riches' (Skr. *iś-*). O.H.G. *ur-chnāt* 'agnitio': Skr. *prá-jñā-ti-ś* etc., see p. 296 above. O.H.G. *nā-t* 'seam': Gr. *νῆ-σι-ς* f. 'spinning'. O.H.G. *hano-crāt* 'cock-crow' (A.S. *crāwan* 'to crow'): Lith. inf. *gró-ti* 'to croak'. O.H.G. *bluo-t* 'blooming, bloom', beside Lat. *flō-s*. Mid.H.G. *gruo-t* 'a being green', beside Gr. *χλω-ρό-ς* 'light green, yellow'. The following no doubt come from weak verbs: Goth. *fahēþ-s* (st. *fahēdi-*) 'joy' (see Bremer, Paul-Br. Beitr. XI 32), Goth. *ar-báiþ-s* (st. *arbáidi-*) O.H.G. *arabeit* 'work, need'.

Now and then we find *-s-ti-* instead of *-ti-*, as Goth. *an-st-s* O.H.G. *an-st* 'favour, grace' (compare O.Icel. *qf-un-d* 'ill-will'), beside O.H.G. *unnan* 'to bestow', O.H.G. *span-st* 'enticement', beside *spanan* 'to entice', Goth. *háiþ-st-s* A.S. *hāest* beside O.Icel. *heip-t* 'strife', O.H.G. *trust* for *\*truh-st* beside *truh-t* O.Icel. *drótt* 'troop, following'. This *s* came originally from forms like O.Sax. O.Icel. *klu-s-t* 'hearing' = Skr. *śruś-ti-ś* (p. 301), Mid.H.G. *bluo-s-t* (cp. A.S. *blōstm* and Lat. *flōr-ēre*) beside *bluo-t* 'bloom': in West-Germanic, forms like *kunst* must also have had some influence, if the conjecture given in I § 529 Rem. p. 386 is correct. Cp. *-s-tuo-* § 61, *-s-tro-* § 62, *-s-lo-* § 76, *-s-tu-* § 108, *-s-men-* § 117.

In the Germanic dialects many of these words became



masculine without any change of meaning; this must be distinguished from the change of gender in such words as *gasti* 'guest'. Cp. von Bahder, Verbalstr. 76 f.

Goth. *ra-þiō* 'reckoning, account': Lat. *ra-ti-ō*, see above p. 300.

Balto-Slavonic. Here *-ti-* was very fertile, forming all the infinitives of Lithuanian, Lettic, and Slavonic. And it should be noticed that in this group of languages the phonetic changes which the suffix underwent were very slight (O.C.Sl. *noštī* for pr. Slav. *\*notǫǹ*, I § 462 p. 338).

Lith. *plu-ti* 'to become flooded, overflow' O.C.Sl. *plu-ti* Russ. *ply-t'* 'to flow, swim': Skr. *plu-ti-ṣ* f. 'overflowing, flood', Gr. *πλύ-σις* f. 'washing', √ *pleu-*. Lith. *isz-aũti* O.C.Sl. *iz-uti* 'to uncover the feet': Lat. *ex-ūtiō* (late). Lith. *jáu-ti* 'aquam fervidam super infundere' Lett. *jáu-t* 'to make dough, mix' *jū-tis* pl. 'joint where two bones are connected': Skr. *yu-ti-ṣ* f. 'meeting together' *yū-ti-ṣ* f. 'bond' Avest. *gao-jaoti-š* f. 'meadow-land, cattle-pasture'. Lith. *mūk-ti* 'to slip away' *maūk-ti* 'to graze': Skr. *mūk-ti-ṣ* f. 'loosing, freeing, giving up', Gr. *ἀπό-μυξις* f. 'blowing the nose', Lat. *ē-mūnctiō* (the nasal comes from the present). Lith. *pri-eiti-s* f. 'suburb' inf. *eī-ti* O.C.Sl. *i-ti* 'to go': Skr. *i-ti-ṣ* f., etc., see p. 296 above. Lith. *szli-ti-s* f. 'heap of sheaves' inf. *szlė-ti* 'to make one thing lean on another': Gr. *κλί-σις* f. 'bending, inclining, lying', √ *klei-*. O.C.Sl. *ži-ti* f. 'life' inf. *ži-ti* 'to live' Lith. *gį-ti* 'to revive, get well': Avest. *jī-ti-š* f. 'life'. Lith. *ny-ti-s* f. 'weaver's instrument, slaie': Skr. *nī-ti-ṣ* f. 'leading, guiding'. Lith. *lik-ti* 'to leave': Gr. *ἐκ-λειψις* f. 'ceasing, failing', Lat. *re-lictiō*. O.C.Sl. *čis-ti* 'honour' inf. *čisti* Russ. *čest'* (i. e. *\*čisti*) 'to count, reckon, honour': Skr. *čit-ti-ṣ* f. 'thought, intent, intelligence'. Lith. *dir-ti* 'to skin' Little-Russ. *derty* (i. e. *\*dīr-ti*) Slov. *dreti* (i. e. *\*der-ti*) 'to tear, skin': Skr. *dṛ-ti-ṣ* etc., see p. 298 above. Lith. *gir-ti-s* f. 'feast' *gér-ti* 'to drink' O.Croat. *po-žrti* Little-Russ. *žerty* (i. e. *\*žīr-ti*) O.C.Sl. *žrėti* (i. e. *\*žerti*) 'to swallow': Gr. *βρω-σις* f. 'food, victuals' (ground-form *\*gṛ-ti-s*). Lith. *pir-ti-s* f. 'bath-room' *pēr-ti* 'to bathe' (trans.), pres. *periū*. Lith. *kīrsti* 'to strike sharply, strike

hard': Skr. *kṛtti*-š f. 'hide, skin' (*kart*- 'cut off, loosened'). O.C.Sl. *vrīsti* f. 'condition, state, situation' Lith. *vir̃sti* 'to upset, be upset'. *veřsti* 'to turn': Skr. *vyt-ti*-š f. 'rolling, proceeding, conduct', Lat. *in-versiō*. Lith. *pāl-ti*-s f. 'side of bacon' O.C.Sl. *plū-ti* f. 'meat'. Lith. *pīl-ti* 'to pour, shed': Skr. *pūr-ti*-š 'filling, fulfilment', ✓ *pel*-. Lith. *kil-ti*-s f. 'race, stock' *kėl-ti* 'to lift, transport, help forward'. Lith. *mīlsz-ti* Slov. *molsti* (i. e. \**mīls-ti*) O.C.Sl. *mlēsti* (i. e. \**mels-ti*) 'to milk': Gr. ἄμειλι-ς f. 'milking', ✓ *melg*-. Lith. *skl̃sti*-s f. 'cloven foot of an ox' (*skēld-u* and *skēldžiu* I crash, break myself in two): cp. Gr. κλάσι-ς f. 'breaking' beside κλασι-ς κλαδ-αρό-ς (cp. I § 369 p. 280). Lith. *at-miñti*-s f. 'memory' O.C.Sl. *pa-mēti* f. 'remembrance' Lith. *miñ-ti* 'to remember': Skr. *ma-ti*-š etc., see p. 295 above. Lith. *liñk-ti* 'to bend' (intr.) *leñk-ti* 'to bend' (trans.) O.C.Sl. *lēsti* 'to bend' (trans.), ✓ *lenq*-. Lith. *bl̃sti* 'to grow dark' *bl̃esti* 'to darken' (intr.) (pres. *blendžiū*-s) O.C.Sl. *bl̃esti* 'to go astray' (pres. *bl̃ed-a*), ✓ *bhlendh*-. Lith. *ugñ-dekti*-s f. 'piercing cold' *d̃ek-ti* 'to burn' (trans. and intrans.), O.C.Sl. *ž̃esti* 'to burn' (trans.), beside pres. *deg-ù* *žeg-a* (pr. Slav. \**geg-a* for \**deg-a*), ✓ *dhegh*-. Lith. *ēsti* 'to devour' O.C.Sl. *jasti* 'to eat': Gr. νῆσι-ς 'fasting', Lat. *com-ēstiō* (instead of the regular \**ēsiō*, cp. I § 501, Rem. 2 p. 368), ✓ *ed*-. Lith. *d̃ū-ti*-s f. O.C.Sl. *da-ti* f. 'gift', Lith. *d̃ū-ti* O.C.Sl. *da-ti* 'to give': Skr. *dāti*- etc., see p. 295. Lith. *sp̃ē-ti* 'to have leisure, be quick enough' O.C.Sl. *sp̃ē-ti* 'to go forward, have success': Skr. *spha-ti*-š f. 'a making fat, prospering' *sph̃i-ti*-š f. 'prosperous condition', O.H.G. *spuo-t* f. 'progress, success', ✓ *sp̃ē(i)*-. Lith. *nak-ti*-s f. O.C.Sl. *noš̃ti* f. 'night': Skr. *nāk-ti*-š etc., see p. 300 above. Lith. *pr̃ē-ž̃asti*-s f. 'cause', beside *ž̃ad-ù* 'I promise'. O.C.Sl. *na-past̃i* f. 'danger', beside *padq* 'I fall'. O.C.Sl. *s̃ē-ti* f. 'cord', Lett. *s̃i-t* 'to bind', ✓ *sai*-. Lith. *j̃ó-ti* 'to ride': Avest. *vasē-yāiti*-š f. 'free course, progress after one's desire'. Lith. *ž̃io-ti*-s f. 'cleft, ravine' -*ž̃iō-ti* 'to open the mouth wide': Lat. *hiā-tiō*. O.C.Sl. *po-znãti* f. 'cognitio' *zna-ti* 'to know': Skr. *pr̃ā-jñati*-š f. etc., see p. 296 above. O.C.Sl. *gr̃ē-ti* 'to warm', beside pres. *gr̃ē-jq*. Infinitives in Baltic and Slavonic were closely connected with the finite verb; hence the action of ana-

logy caused many changes in the grade of the root-vowel. For the phaenomena in Slavonic cp. Leskien, *Archiv f. Slav. Phil.* V 497 ff.

In Lithuanian we sometimes find *-s-ti-*, as *ugnā-deksti-s* beside *ugnā-dekti-s* (p. 305), cp. *dek-s-ni-s* § 95 p. 287. *-ti-* stems frequently passed into the analogy of *-ja-* and *-ė-* stems, e. g. *krý-ti-s* gen. *-tės* f. and *krý-ti-s* gen. *-czio* m. 'purse-net, hoop-net', *szli-ti-s* and *szli-tė* f. 'heap of sheaves'.

Infinitives of derivative verbs; Lith. *jėszkó-ti* O.C.Sl. *iska-ti* 'to seek', Lith. *sėdė-ti* O.C.Sl. *sědě-ti* 'to sit'; Lith. *gany-ti* O.C.Sl. *goni-ti* 'to protect, tend'.

§ 101. 2. *-ti-* is used to form secondary abstract substantives. This use is exactly parallel to that of the participial suffix *-to-* and the abstract nominal suffix *-to-* *-tā-* (which were originally identical); both of these, as we have seen, could be added directly to noun stems in the proethnic and later periods (§ 79 p. 224 f. § 80 p. 238 ff. § 82 p. 249 ff.).

The forms which can be most confidently referred to the proethnic language are a group of abstract nouns connected with the ordinals in *-to-* (§ 81 p. 242 ff.) *\*pəŋq-ti-s* f. 'fivefold character, the number five, a group of five': Skr. *pañcātī-ś*, O.Icel. *fimt*, O.C.Sl. *petŭ*; with these should no doubt be compared O.H.G. *fust* f. 'fist' pr. Germ. *\*funŋsti-z* and O.C.Sl. *peŕstŭ* f. 'fist' (*-st-* for *-kst-* as in *těste*, see I § 545 p. 399 f.), common ground-form *\*pəŋq-sti-s*<sup>1</sup>). Skr. *ṣaṣ-tī-ś* f. 'sixty' (a six-fold quantity, i. e. of tens), O.C.Sl. *šes-tŭ* f. 'a group of six'. Skr. *navatī-ś* 'ninety' (a nine-fold quantity) i. e. of tens) Avest. *navaiti-š* f. 'a group of nine' and 'ninety', O.Icel. *nīun-d* f. O.C.Sl. *devę-tŭ* f. 'a group of nine'. Skr. *daśa-tī-ś* 'a group of ten' and 'a hundred', O.Icel. *tīun-d* f. 'a group of ten', Lith. *dėszim-ti-s* f. O.C.Sl. *desę-tŭ* f. 'a group of ten'. These numeral forms naturally suggest

1) Cp. *\*pəŋq-* in O.H.G. *funfu* and elsewhere (Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXVII 193 f., Paul-Braune's *Beitr.* XII 512) and for meaning, Goth. *figgr-s* 'finger', which is doubtless connected with this numeral. — Vol. I § 249 p. 205 should be corrected accordingly.

the conjecture, that we have the same suffix in Skr. *tá-ti* (nom. acc.) 'so many' *ká-ti* (nom. acc.) 'how many?', Lat. *tot toti-dem*, *quot*: these words may have been originally neuter.

Remark. In Greek we find numerals in -*rv-*; in place of such forms as *\*penq-ti-s* (see § 108). In proethnic Indo-Germanic there were forms in -*t-* parallel to these in -*ti-* (see § 123).

Beside Idg. *\*iuyti-tá* 'youth' (§ 80 p. 239) there seems to have been a second form *\*iuyti-s* f. with the same meaning: Skr. *yuvati-ś* 'maiden, young woman' (the abstract is used for the concrete, § 155), O.H.G. *jugund* A.S. *geozod* 'youth' (Engl. *youth* both as the period and the person), prehist. Germ. *\*iuzúnpī-* for *\*iuyúnpī-* (Bugge, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 504). Lat. *sēmen-ti-s* f. 'seed, seed-corn, seed time', originally 'the being sown'.

Further it is possible that stems in -*es-ti-* -*os-ti-* (cp. Lat. *sceles-tu-s onus-tu-s* and the like) date from the proethnic period. In the words in which they occur, the termination -*esti-* -*osti-* is used as a simple and indivisible suffix. Skr. *gábhasti-ś* f. m. 'a thing separated into different parts, hand, fork, shaft (of a carriage)', *pulastī-ś* 'hair of the head, wearing smooth hair', *palastī-ś* 'gray with old age' (dubious). Lat. *agresti-s*, orig. 'a belonging to the country, rusticity'? O.H.G. *angust* f. 'anxiety' O.C.Sl. *qzostī* 'strait, narrowing', cp. also Lat. *angustu-s angustiae*. In Lithuanian we have -*esti-s*, which passed over to the -*io-* declension: *kalbesti-s* f. 'speech', beside *kalbesni-s* m. 'talk' and *kalbesi-s* m. 'dialect' *kalbesē* f. 'speech'; *mōkesti-s* m. (gen. -*esczio*), beside *mōkesni-s* m. 'payment'; *lūkesti-s* f. 'awaiting, hope'; *rūpesti-s* f. m. 'care'. In Slavonic there are a large number of feminine abstract nouns in -*ostī* (but -*j-estī*, see I § 84 p. 80) formed from adjectives, and, more rarely, from substantives: besides O.C.Sl. *qzostī* (cp. *qzūkū* 'narrow'), which has been mentioned, other examples are *dlūgostī* 'length' from *dlūgū* 'long', *dobljestī* 'bravery' from *doblī* 'brave', *zvērostī* 'wildness' from *zvērī* 'wild animal', *boljestī* 'illness' from *bolī* 'one who is ill'.

Other forms are more isolated, e. g. Skr. *addhā-ti-ś* (concrete) 'one who has learnt the truth, sage' beside *addhā* 'in

truth', Goth. *gamáin-p-s* f. 'community' beside *ga-máin-s* 'common, joint' (cp. *gamáin-dūp-s* § 102 below, and p. 311).

For *-ti-* in *-tāti-* and *-tūti-*, see the following section.

§ 102. The Suffixes *-tāti* (*-tāt-*) and *-tūti-* (*-tūt-*)<sup>1)</sup>. The former occurs in Aryan, Greek, and Italic; the latter in Italic, Celtic and Germanic. They formed feminine abstract nouns from adjectives and substantives. *-tāti-* appears to have arisen through the addition of *-ti-* (§ 101) to *-tā-* (§ 80 p. 238 ff.), cp. Skr. *dēvā-tā-* and *dēvā-tāti-*, Skr. *guru-tā-* and Gr. *βαρύ-της*, Lat. *juven-tā-* and *juven-tāti-*. The accumulation of suffixes would be like that in Skr. *tvā-tā-*, cp. § 56 p. 103 f.; Lat. *juven-tāti-*: *juven-tā-*: Skr. *yuva-ti* = *puruṣa-tvātā-*: *puruṣa-tva-*: *puruṣā-tā-*. *-tūti-* may have come from *-tu-* stems (§ 108) rather later. The parallel forms *-tāt-* and *-tūt-* beside *-tāti-* and *-tūti-* resemble doublets like Idg. *\*noq-t-*: *\*noq-ti-* 'night', *\*dekṃ-t-*: *\*dekṃ-ti-* 'ten-fold character', Skr. *sam-i-t-* f. beside *sám-i-ti-* f. (§ 123), and the shorter forms no doubt contain the suffix *-t-*.

Most of the words which occur in more than one language have *-tāt(i)-*: Skr. *sarvā-tāti-ṣ* *sarvā-tāt-* 'perfection'. Avest. *haurva-tāt-* 'safety', Gr. *όλό-της* 'totality, entirety', beside Skr. *sārva-s* Gr. *όλο-ς* 'whole'; Gr. *νεό-της* 'youth', Lat. *novi-tās*, beside Gr. *νεός* Lat. *novo-s*. With *-tūt(i)-*: Lat. *juven-tūs*, O.Ir. *ōitiu* 'youth' (dat. *ōitid*) for *\*(i)ouētū(s)* (*-iu* for *-u* is due to the palatal character of the preceding syllable). A form with *-tūt(i)-* in one group of languages sometimes corresponds to a form with *-tāt(i)-* in another, as O.Cymr. *duiu-tit* 'deitas': Skr. *dēvā-tāt-*; O.Ir. *beo-thu* 'life': Gr. *βιό-της*; O.Ir. *oen-tu* 'unitas': Lat. *ūni-tās*; Goth. *gamáin-dūp-s*: Lat. *communi-tā-s*. In many words *-tūt(i)* may have ousted *-tāt(i)-*, which on the whole is certainly older.

For the loss of a syllable in forms like Avest. *amer'tāt-* beside *amēr'ta-tāt-* 'immortality', Gr. *ποτήτ-* 'drink' for *\*ποτο-*

1) Th. Aufrecht, Das Affix *της* *tāt*, Kuhn's Ztschr. I 159 ff. C. Angermann, Das Suffix *της* in Primärbildungen, Curt. Stud. III 122 ff. K. Walter, Das latein. Suffix *-tāt* and *-tūt*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. X, 159. C. von Paucker, Die [lat.] substantive abstracta auf *-tas*, ibid. XXIII 138 ff.

*-tār-*, Lat. acc. *lūculentātem* beside *lūculenti-tātem*, see I § 643 p. 481 f.

Aryan. In Sanskrit, *-tāti-* and *-tāt-* (the latter is rarer) are only found in Veda, and even there not frequently. In Avestic we have only *-tāt*, where it is comparatively commoner than either form in Sanskrit. Skr. *uparā-tāt-* 'neighbourhood, environs'. Avest. *upara-tāt-* 'superiority', beside Skr. *ūpara-* 'nearer'. Avest. *upara-* 'upper'. Skr. *gṛbhītā-tāti-ṣ* 'state of being caught' from *gṛbhītā-s* 'caught', *jyēṣṭhā-tāti-ṣ* 'sovereignty' from *jyēṣṭha-s* 'mightiest', *satyā-tāti-ṣ* and *satyā-tāt-* 'truthfulness' from *satyā-s* 'truthful', *āsta-tāti-ṣ* 'homestead, home' from *āsta-m* 'home', *śā-tāti-ṣ* 'health, bliss' from *śām-* n. 'health, bliss'. Avest. *drva-tāt-* 'durability, soundness' from *drva-* 'durable, sound', *fratema-tāt-* 'sovereignty' from *fratema-* 'first', *hunar-tāt-* 'virtue' for *\*hunar-ta-tāt-*, compared with Skr. *sūnṛta-s* 'beautiful, glorious', *uṣta-tāt-* 'prosperity, welfare' from *uṣta-* 'well-being', *yavae-tāt-* 'eternal duration' from *yavē* adv. 'always', dat. of *yu-* n. 'eternity' (cp. *yurae-ji-* 'ever living').

Remark. From the last word we once find the phrase *yavae-ca tāiṣ* 'for ever' (usually the word is *yavaetāiṣ*). Thus *-tāi-* was regarded as a compounded word (this appears also in other ways); and it seems to have been popularly connected with *tan-* 'stretch out'. Cp. Mod.H.G. *brōsāme* (O.H.G. *brośma*), which has no etymological connexion with *sāme(n)*, but has been associated with it; furthermore we find even in Greek *παντ-ό-της* like *παντ-ό-μορφο-ς* and Goth. *mikil-dūþ-s* = *\*mikila-dūþ-s* like *gud-hūs* = *\*guda-hūs* p. 311.

Greek. Here we find only *-tāt-*, which was substituted for the *-tā-* used in forming abstracts (§ 80 p. 239 f.), and appears only in the combinations *-o-tāt-* and *-v-tāt-*. *ὀρθό-της* 'straight-forwardness, rightness' from *ὀρθός*: Lat. *arui-tās*. *σκαίό-της* 'awkwardness' from *σκαίός* 'awkward': Lat. *scaevi-tās*. *κακό-της* 'wickedness' from *κακός*. *ἀγνό-της* 'purity, chastity' from *ἀγνός*. *βίο-της* 'life' from *βίος*. *θεό-της* 'godhead' from *θεός*. *ἐν-ό-της* 'unity' from *εἷς* 'one'. *παν-τό-της* 'totality' from *πᾶς*. Hom. *ἀνδ-ο-τῆτ-α* acc. 'manhood' (more correctly no doubt *δροτῆτ-α*; see I § 204 p. 170) from *ἀνήρ* *ἀνδρ-ός*. In the last three examples *-o-* appears as it does in compounds, e. g. *παντ-ό-*

μορφος; cp. also Lat. *libidin-i-tās*. βαρύ-της 'gravitas' from βαρύ-ς; cp. Skr. *guru-tā-* (§ 80 p. 239 f.). γλυκύ-της 'sweetness' from γλυκύ-ς. βραδύ-της (βραδυτής) 'slowness' from βραδύ-ς. ταχύ-της 'swiftness' from ταχύ-ς.

*Italic.* In Latin we cannot distinguish *-tāti-* from *-tāt-*, *-tūti-* from *-tūt-*, since in very many points the consonantal declension was assimilated to that of the *i*-stems. It may have been these very suffixes, with their double forms taken along with such doublets as *noct- nocti-* etc., that helped to establish the confusion. The variation in the gen. pl. (*cīvitātium* and *cīvitatum*) is of special importance (§ 93 p. 281).

*boni-tās* from *bonu-s*. *dūri-tās* from *dāru-s*. *anxie-tās* from *ānxiu-s*. *quali-tās* from *quali-s*. *civī-tas* from *cīvi-s*. *liber-tās* from *liber*. *ūber-tās* from *ūber* (in imitation of which was formed *viduertās* from *viduo-s*; notice the parallelism in meaning). *facul-tās* from *facili-s*, with the later by-form *facili-tās*. *volup-tās* from *volupe volup*. *mājes-tās* from *mājor* (cp. § 135 Rem. 1). *hones-tās* from *honōs*. *tempes-tās* from *tempus*. *vetus-tās* from *vetus*, or for *\*vetusti-tās* from *vetus-tu-s*. *voluntās* for *\*volunti-tās* from *volēns*. *libidin-i-tās* from *libidō*, cp. Gr. ἐν-ό-της (see above). Pelign. *Herentas* 'Venus' Osc. *Herentateis* 'Veneris, Volupiae', from *herest* 'volet', formed from the part. pres., like Lat. *voluntās*.

*-tūti- -tūt-* is very much rarer. Lat. *juven-tūs* (: O.Ir. *ōitiu*), *senec-tūs* beside *juven-tās juven-ta*, *senec-ta*, from *juven-i-s*, *senex*. *virtūs* from *vir*. *servi-tūs* from *servo-s*. There can be no doubt that *-tūdō* (gen. *-tū-din-s*), e. g. in *servi-tūdō alti-tūdō*, is closely related to this suffix.

In Old Irish we have *-tāt-*, which we may ascribe to pre-ethnic Celtic. *ōitiu* 'youth': Lat. *juven-tās*; see above, p. 308. *oen-tu* 'unitas' for *\*oen-thu* (*th* (*p*) after *n* was replaced by the tenuis by a comparatively late change). *beo-thu* (gen. *be-thath*) 'life'. The suffixes *-atu -etu*, in derivatives from adjectives in *-e* (*io*-stems), are especially frequent; as *torbatu* 'utilitas' from *tor-be* 'utilis', *dommetu* 'paupertas' from *domme* 'inops', *oendatu* 'unity' from *oen-de* 'single', *ildatu* 'pluralitas

from *il-de* 'pluralis', *fiuchaidatu* 'humiditas' from *fiuchaide* 'humidus'; the origin of this *-atu -etu* is doubtful<sup>1</sup>).

Germanic. It occurs only in Gothic, in certain substantives in *-dūpi-*, derived from adjectives; as *mikil-dūp-s* 'greatness' from *mikil-s* (*mikila-*) 'great', *gamáin-dūp-s* 'community' from *ga-máin-s* (*ga-máini-*) 'common'. The loss of the vowel before the suffix is like that in *ga-máin-p-s* (§ 101 p. 307 f.) and in compounds, e. g. *gud-hūs brūp-faþ-s* (§ 40 pp. 69, 71 f.).

### III. Suffixes in *-u*.

§ 103. The *u*-suffixes have a triple ablaut: *u*, *eu*, *ou* (*e*-series, I § 311—314). *u* e. g. in nom. and acc. sing. masc. fem. *u-s u-m*. *eu* e. g. in nom. pl. masc. fem. *-eu-es*. *ou* in gen. sing. *-ou-s*. The connexion of this ablaut with the original conditions of accent in the different cases cannot be exactly determined from the evidence now at our disposal. No clear explanation has been given of Gr. *tava(f)-ó-s* compared with *tav-í-*, Lat. *grav-i-s* compared with Skr. *a-gr-u-*, Skr. *prthiv-ī* compared with *prth-ú-*, which seem to imply *-eu-* as one of the proethnic forms of the suffix. The best analysis of the words is *tava-fó-s*, *gra-vi-s*, *prthi-rī*, i. e. to suppose that the root-syllable was extended by *a*, as in *θυγά-τηρ* and the like (I § 110 p. 103 ff.).

From the proethnic period downwards we find *u*-stems in all three genders. The masculine and feminine stems had originally the same inflexion; differences only arose during the development of the separate languages, as in Skr. acc. pl. *sūnān* m. 'sons', *hānūṣ* f. 'jawbones'.

Remark. For *ū*-stems like Skr. *śvaśrū-ṣ* O.C.Sl. *svokry* Gr. *νάϊ-ς*, see § 109 Rem. 2.

1) "It is hard to decide whether *-atu* came from *-antu*, or from the union of two dental suffixes (perhaps *-ato-tūt-*). Zimmer (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 461) regards the acc. *corphadid* as a true phonetic spelling (cp. I § 212 Rem. p. 179); yet, as he himself remarks, it may be merely a mistake of the scribe's. Mid.Ir. *sochmattu* 'possibility' perhaps supports *t* rather than *d*. Unfortunately the modern Celtic languages have lost the suffix. Personally I incline towards the second assumption; compare e. g. *no-erladaigtis* 'they obeyed' beside *aurlatu* 'obedience.'" Thurneysen.



§ 104. The suffix *-u-*<sup>1)</sup>. This is always primary, and most common in adjectives. The evidence of Sanskrit, Greek, Germanic and Lithuanian proves that in Indo-Germanic these adjectives were nearly always oxytone and had the root-syllable in the weak grade. But the strong grade must have been at one time regular in a certain number of the cases. It is true that such forms as Skr. *prathú-ṣ* Lith. *plātù-s* beside Skr. *prthú-ṣ*, Skr. *svādú-ṣ* Gr. *ῥδύ-ς* O.H.G. *suozī* beside Goth. *sut-s*, cannot be taken to prove this, since a certain amount of assimilation between the forms of the three degrees of comparison (positive, comparative, and superlative) may be assumed in all these cases, and must be assumed in some; but it is fairly shewn by the variation between e. g. Goth. *filu* and Skr. *purú-ṣ*. Notice also the variation of form within the weak grade itself, e. g. *\*grr-u-* and *\*-gr-u* 'heavy' (I § 313 p. 250 f.). The feminine of these adjectives was differentiated by *-jē -t-* in the proethnic and later periods; e. g. Skr. *tanv-ī* beside the masc. *tan-ú-ṣ* (see § 110).

The substantives were masculine, feminine, or neuter. The variations of ablaut differed in different words. Note *\*gon-u-* *\*gen-u-* *\*gn-u-* 'knee' and the like, and *\*pek-ú-* and *\*-pk-u-* 'cow' (vol. I loc. cit.).

Indo-Germanic. Adjectives. *\*grr-u-s* *\*-gr-u-s* (cp. the compar. Skr. *gár-īyas*): Skr. *gurú-ṣ* 'heavy, violent, hard' Avest. *gouru-ṣ* 'adverse' Skr. *a-gru-* Avest. *a-γru-* 'unmarried' (non grávida), Gr. *βαρύ-ς* 'heavy' (Lat. *gravi-s* see § 103 p. 311), Goth. *kaúru-s* 'heavy' (I § 290 p. 232). *\*tʰs-ú-s*, from *✓ters-* 'be dry, arid': Skr. *tʰṣú-ṣ* 'parched with thirst', O.Icel. *þurr* O.H.G. *durr-i* Goth. *þaúrsu-s* (instead of *\*þaúr-z-u-s*) 'dry, arid' (cp. I § 582 Rem. 1 p. 435 f.). Skr. *pur-ú-ṣ* Gr. *πολ-ύ-ς* (cp.

1) O. Weise, De linguarum Indogerm. suffixis primariis, I De adjectivis suffixo *-u-* formati, Gotting. 1873. A. Bezzenberger, Eine idg. Accentregel, in his Beitr. II 123 ff. R. Thurneysen, Weibliche *u*-Stämme im Irischen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 147 ff.; Wh. Stokes, Irish feminine stems in *u*, ibid. 291 f. I. Schmidt, Über das litau. Nominalsuffix *-u*, Kuhn and Schleicher's Beitr. IV 257 ff.

I p. 306 p. 244). O.Ir. *il* Goth. *fil-u* (n.) 'much'), √ *pel-*. Skr. *pr̥th-ú-ṣ* *prath-ú-ṣ* Gr. *πλατ-ύ-ς* 'broad', Gall. *Litu-gena Litu-māra*, Lith. *plat-ù-s* 'broad', beside the compar. Skr. *prāth-īyas-*. \**tyn-ú-s* 'stretched, thin' from √ *ten-* 'stretch out, lengthen': Skr. *tanú-ṣ* (*pari-tatn-ú-ṣ* 'encompassing' redupl.), Gr. *τανύ-γλωσσο-ς* 'with tongue outstretched, long-tongued', Lat. *tenu-i-s*, O.Ir. *tan-a*, O.H.G. *dunn-i*, O.C.Sl. *tīnŭ-kŭ* (from which come on the one hand *tīnŭ-kŭ*, Czech *tenký*, on the other *tīnŭ-kŭ*, Russ. *tonkij*). \**h̥gh-ú-s* 'quick, small', √ *legh-* in Skr. *raháya-ti* (I § 454 p. 335): Skr. *raghú-ṣ* Gr. *ἐλαχύ-ς*. \**añgh-ú-s* 'narrow', √ *añgh-* 'make narrow, bind together': Skr. *qhú-ṣ*, Armen. *anju-k ancú-k*, Goth. *aggu-u-s* (instead of \**aggu-s*, see p. 316), O.C.Sl. *qzŭ-kŭ*. Skr. *svād-ú-ṣ* 'sweet, pleasant', Gr. *ἡδ-ύ-ς* 'sweet, pleasant', Lat. *suāvi-s* for \**syād-u-i-s*, Goth. *sut-s* O.H.G. *suoz-i* A.S. *swēt-e* 'sweet'. Skr. *āś-ú-ṣ* 'swift', Gr. *ὠκ-ύ-ς* 'swift', Lat. *acu-pedi-u-s* beside *ōc-i-or*.

Substantives. \**pek-ú-s* \**pk-u-s* m. and \**pék-u* n. 'cattle': Skr. *paśú-ṣ* Avest. *pusu-ṣ* 'cattle' Avest. *haurva-fšū-* 'all the cattle' (I § 398 p. 296), Lat. *pecu-s*, with its oblique cases reformed by analogy, on the one hand gen. *pecudi-s* etc. (§ 128), on the other (when *pecus* was regarded as neuter) gen. *pecor-is* etc.; Skr. *páśu*, Lat. *pecu*, Goth. *faihu* ('money'). Skr. *hán-u-ṣ* f. 'jawbone', Gr. *γέν-υ-ς* f. 'jaw, jawbone', Lat. *genu-īnu-s* 'belonging to the cheek', O.Ir. *giun* m. 'mouth', Goth. *kinnu-s* f. 'cheek, jowl' instead of \**kinu-s* through the influence of *kinn-*, which stands for \**kinu-*, cp. I § 469, 8 p. 346 f. Skr. *kēt-ú-ṣ* m. 'phenomenon caused by light, picture, form', Goth. *haid-u-s* m. 'kind, way'. \**bhagh-u-s* m.: Skr. *bā-hú-ṣ* 'arm', Gr. *πᾶχυ-ς πῆχυ-ς* 'fore-arm, something bent' O.Icel. *bōg-r* 'something bent'. \**medh-u* n.: Skr. *mád-hu* 'sweetness, honey' (the Skr. adj. *mádhu-* was derived from this subst.), Gr. *μέθυ* 'intoxicating drink, wine', O.Ir. *mid* (gen. *meda*) O.H.G. *meto* m. 'mead', Lith. *medŭ-s* m. O.C.Sl. *medŭ* m. 'honey'. \**gon-u-* \**gen-u-* \**gn-u-* n. 'knee': Skr. *ján-u* 'knee' *jñu-bādh-* 'bending the knees' Avest. *zanv-a* pl. 'knees' *fra-šnu* 'knee bent forward' (I § 403 p. 298), Gr. *γόνυ, γυνῶν γονάτων* Hesych. (Cp. I § 639 p. 479), *γυν-πετεῖν* 'to sink

on one's knees, become helpless', Lat. *genu*, Goth. *kniu* (st. *kn-iv-a-*) 'knee' *knu-sjan* 'to kneel'.

Aryan. Skr. *pur-ú-š* Avest. *pouru-* *par-ao* O.Pers. *par-u-* 'much' (I § 290 p. 231 f.): Gr. *πολ-ύ-ς* etc.; see p. 312 above. Skr. *ur-ú-š* Avest. *vouru-š* 'broad' common ground-form *\*ur-ú-* (I § 157 p. 141): Gr. *εὐρύ-ς* 'broad' no doubt for *\*ε-φρυ-* with prothetic *ε*; the relation of the Aryan to the Greek form is therefore the same as that of Skr. *gurú-*: *-gru-*. Skr. *ṛj-ú-š* Avest. *er'z-u-š* 'straight, right'. Skr. *prth-ú-š* Avest. *per'p-u-š* 'broad': Gr. *πλατ-ύ-ς* etc., see above p. 313. Skr. *vás-u-š* Avest. *vaəh-u-š* O.Pers. *vahu-* (in the proper name *vahu-ka-*) 'good', the neut. in Skr. and Avest. = 'goods'; the substantival use is perhaps older than the adjectival (cp. Skr. *mádhu-* p. 313): O.Ir. *fiu* 'suitable' or 'suitability' (cp. under Old Irish). Skr. *ás-ú-š* Avest. *as-u-š* 'swift': Gr. *ᾠκ-ύ-ς* etc., see above p. 313. Skr. *ṛbh-ú-š* 'clever, artistic', *śay-ú-š* 'lying', *dār-ú-š* 'breaking', *jāy-ú-š* 'victorious', *śu-śth-ú-š* 'standing well, in good condition' (*sthā-*), *tāp-u-š* 'hot', *tār-u-š* 'passing through'; *ci-kit-ú-š* 'skilful', *ji-gy-ú-š* 'victorious'; there are many adjectives from desiderative stems, as *di-dṛkṣ-ú-š* 'wishing to see' *ci-kits-ú-š* 'clever, crafty', *di-ts-ú-š* 'ready to give'. Avest. *driy-u-š* 'poor', *ja-yāuru-š* 'awake, watchful'.

Skr. *iṣ-u-š* m. f. Avest. *iš-u-š* m. 'arrow'. Skr. *ás-u-š* m. 'spirit of life' Avest. *aəh-u-š* m. 'the world, the sum of living beings', O.Pers. *au-ra-*, § 76 Rem. 1 p. 201. Skr. *bāh-ú-š* m. Avest. *baz-u-š* m. 'arm': Gr. *πῆχ-υ-ς* etc., see above p. 313. Skr. *śindh-u-š* m. f. 'stream, Indus, region of the Indus', Avest. *hind-u-š* m. O.Pers. *hi(n)d-ā-š* 'India'. Skr. *mādh-u* n. Avest. *mađ-u* n. 'sweetness, honey': Gr. *μέθ-υ-*, etc.; see above, p. 313. Skr. *dār-u* n. 'wood, piece of wood, beam, plug' Avest. *dāuru* n. 'wood, spear' Skr. *dār-v-ī-š* *dār-v-ī* 'spoon' *dr-u-* n. m. 'wood, wooden implements' m. 'tree, branch'. Avest. *dr-u-* n. 'wood, spear': Gr. *δρό-υ* n. 'wood, beam, spear-shaft, spear' *δρυ-τόμο-ς* 'cutting wood' *δρυ-α* n. *δρυ-ες* f. 'oaks', O.Ir. *daur*, gen. *daro dara*, Mod. Cymr. *derw-en* 'oak', O.Ir. *derucc* 'acorn', Goth. *triu* (st. *tr-iv-a-*) n. 'tree', Lith. *der-v-à* f. 'pine-wood' O.C.Sl. *drěvo* n. 'tree' (pr.

Slav. *\*der-v-o*) *dr-ŭv-o* (usually in pl. *dr-ŭv-a*) 'wood', Idg. *\*dor-u- \*der-u- \*dr-u-*. We have a corresponding variation of ablaut in another neuter word, Skr. *sān-u- sn-u-* n. m. 'peak'. Skr. *bāndh-u-ṣ* m. 'relationship, relation', *aś-ú-ṣ* m. 'stem', *ci-kī-ú-ṣ* f. 'insight, understanding', *pārś-u-ṣ* f. 'rib': Avest. *per's-u-ṣ* m. 'rib', *tāl-u* n. 'palate', *tráp-u* n. 'chin'. Avest. *sēnah-u- sēnah-u-* f. 'instruction'.

Armenian. *barj-r*, gen. *barju* 'high', ground-form *\*bhṛgh-u- anju-k anc-u-k* 'narrow', (extended by *-go-*, see above p. 313). *bazu-k* 'arm' has the same addition, compare Skr. *bahú-ṣ* (see above, p. 313), but the word may have been borrowed from Persian. Other derivatives from *u*-stems: *cn-aut* 'jawbone, cheek', beside Skr. *hán-u-ṣ* etc. (see above, p. 313), *cun-r* (pl. *cunk-Ṛ*) 'knee', beside Skr. *jān-u* etc. (see above, p. 313), and other words.

Greek. *θρασ-ύ-ς* 'bold': Mid.H.G. *türr-e* 'bold' Lith. *dras-ù-s* 'bold' (this word like *dras-à* 'boldness' which is closely akin, was modified through the influence of *dris-*; see I § 285 Rem. p. 228), *✓dhers-*. *βραδ-ύ-ς* 'slow': Skr. *mṛd-ú-ṣ* 'tender'. *παχ-ύ-ς* 'thick': Skr. *bah-ú-ṣ* 'thick, much', common ground-form *\*bhṛgh-ú-s*; can we compare Lith. *bing-ù-s* 'stately, stiff, proud' in spite of the palatal *gh* (cp. Avest. *bāzah-* n. 'size, strength')? see I § 467, 2 p. 343. *λυ-ύ-ς* 'clear-sounding', *γλυκ-ύ-ς* 'sweet', *ταρφ-ύ-ς* 'thick' *βαθ-ύ-ς* 'deep', *δασ-ύ-ς* 'thickly overgrown', *ήύ-ς* 'stout, good', *τρᾶχ-ύ-ς* *τρηχ-ύ-ς* 'rough, uneven, rugged', *βριθ-ύ-ς* 'heavy', *ὄξ-ύ-ς* 'sharp, piercing'.

*πῆχ-υ-ς* m. 'fore-arm, something bent': Skr. *bah-ú-ṣ* m. etc., see above p. 313. *πέλεκ-υ-ς* m. 'axe': Skr. *paraś-ú-ṣ* *parś-u-ṣ* m. 'axe'. *στάχ-υ-ς* *ἄσταχ-υ-ς* m. 'ear of corn'. *γῆρ-υ-ς* m. 'voice'. *γέν-υ-ς* f. 'chin, jawbone': Skr. *hán-u-ṣ* etc., see above p. 313. *ἄρκ-υ-ς* f. 'hunter's net'. *μέθ-υ*, *γόν-υ*, *δόρ-υ* n., see above pp. 313, 314. *πῶν* n. 'herd' for *\*πωκ-υ*: cp. Skr. *pay-ú-ṣ* 'guardian', beside Gr. *ποι-μήν* Lith. *pẽ-mũ* 'herdsman' (cp. § 105 Rem. p. 318). *γλάφ-υ* n. 'grotto, cave'.

Italic. We seem to have a trace of the old adjectival *u*-stems in Lat. *īdūs* pl. fem. sc. *noctēs*, 'the bright (nights)',

from  $\sqrt{a}idh$ - 'burn, be clear'. Compare also *acu-pediū-s* beside Skr. *aś-ú-ṣ* Gr.  $\omega\kappa\upsilon\text{-}\nu\text{-}\varsigma$  'swift'. The other Latin forms of this class have gone over to the *i*-declension: *grav-i-s*, *ten-u-i-s*, *suāvi-s* for *\*suād-y-i-s*, see above pp. 312, 313; and no doubt *levi-s*, *pingui-s*. The form of the feminine (cp. Skr. *tanv-ī*) must have had something to do with this change of declension.

Masc. *lac-u-s*: O.Ir. *loch* 'lake' n.; compare Gr.  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\kappa\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$  'hole, pit', which according to the rule given in vol. I § 166 p. 147 implies a stem *\*λακν-*. *im-petu-s*, *alg-u-s*, *grad-u-s*. Fem. *trib-u-s* Umbr. *trifo* 'tribum', which can scarcely come from *tri-* 'three' +  $\sqrt{b}hu-$ ; *dom-u-s*: O.C.Sl. *dom-ŭ* 'house'; *ac-u-s*, *col-u-s* (also m.). Neut. *pec-u-* Umbr. *pequo* 'pecua' beside Lat. *pec-u-s*, see p. 313 above; *gen-u* see p. 313 f.; *veru* Umbr. *berva* 'verua' berus 'verubus': O.Ir. *bir* 'sting, spear', common ground-form *\*ger-u-*; *spec-u* (beside *spec-u-s* m. f.); *gel-u*.

Old Irish. *tiug* (gen. *tig*) 'thick': O.H.G. *dicchi* 'thick, dense' (Goth. *\*þik-u-s* or *\*þiq-u-s*). *il* 'much': Skr. *pur-ú-ṣ* etc.; see p. 312 above. *fiu* 'suitable, worthy' or 'suitability' Mod.Cymr. *gwiw* 'proper, fitting, worthy' Gall. *Visu-rīx* pr. kelt. *\*ues-u-*: Skr. *vās-u-ṣ* *vās-u* (p. 314), see Thurneysen in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 148 f. *dub* 'black'. *flüch* 'wet'. From an Indo-Germanic *u*-stem come also *tana* Corn. *tanow* Bret. *tanav* 'thin', cp. Gr. *tav-v- tavu-(F)ο-* etc., p. 312 f., and § 103 p. 311.

Masculine. *giun* O.Cymr. *genou* Corn. *genau* 'mouth': Skr. *hán-u-ṣ* f. etc., see above p. 313. *mug* 'slave, servant' for *\*mog-u-s*: Goth. *mag-u-s* 'boy, servant'; *fid* 'tree': O.H.G. *witu* 'wood'. Feminine. *mucc* 'sow', *deug* 'drink'. Neuter. *mid* 'mead': Skr. *mádhu* etc., see above p. 313; *loch* 'lake': Lat. *lac-u-s* m.

Germanic. The adjectival *u*-stems were partly absorbed into the *jo*-declension, the point of connexion being the original feminine formation with *-iē- -i-*. Goth. *kaúr-u-s* 'heavy': Skr. *gur-ú-ṣ* etc., see above p. 312. Goth. *þaúrs-u-s* O.H.G. *durr-i* 'dry, arid': Skr. *tṛṣ-ú-ṣ* etc., see above, p. 312. Goth. *aggu-s* 'narrow' instead of *\*aggu-s* through the influence of the weak form *aggv-* = Skr. *aḥv-*, O.H.G. *eng-i* O.Icel. *qng-r*: Skr. *aḥ-ú-ṣ* etc., see above p. 313. Goth. O.H.G. *fil-u* (A.S. *fealo*

= pr. Germ. *\*fal-u*, Fris. *ful* = *\*ful-u*) 'much': Skr. *pur-ú-ṣ* etc., see above p. 312. Goth. *hard-u-s* O.H.G. *hart hert-i* 'hard': Lith. *kart-ù-s* 'bitter'. A.S. *myrz-e* 'lasting a short time' O.H.G. *murg-fāri* 'caducus, fragilis, transitorius': Gr. *βραχ-ύ-ς* 'short', common ground-form *\*mygh-ú-*. Goth. *tulg-u-s* 'firm', *qairr-u-s* 'soft'. A.S. *spit-u* O.H.G. *spiz* m. 'spear', properly something 'pointed', compared with O.H.G. *spizzi* 'pointed'.

Goth. *mag-u-s* O.S. *mag-u* m. 'boy': O.Ir. *mug* 'slave, servant'. Goth. *hair-u-s* m. 'sword': Skr. *śar-u-ṣ* m. f. 'missile' Goth. *haid-u-s* m. 'kind, way' O.H.G. *heit* m. f. 'persona, sexus, rank, position' A.S. *hād* m. 'family, position, nature': Skr. *kēt-ú-ṣ* m. 'phenomenon due to light, picture, form'. A.S. *aelf* Mid.H.G. *alp (alb-)* m. 'goblin, elf' was originally, no doubt, an *-u*-stem: Skr. *ṛbh-ú-ṣ* 'artistic, a sculptor'. Goth. *kinnu-s* f. 'cheek' instead of *\*kinu-s*, A.S. *cin* f. 'chin': Skr. *hān-u-ṣ* etc., see above p. 313. Goth. *hand-u-s* f. O.H.G. *hant* (dat. pl. *hantum*) f. 'hand'. Goth. *falthu* n. 'money' O.H.G. *fih-u* n. 'cattle': Skr. *pāś-u* etc.; see p. 313 above.

In Germanic the *u*-inflexion of consonantal stems largely increased the number of the substantives in *-u-*; the point of contact is seen in forms like (Goth.) acc. sing. *fōt-u* acc. pl. *fōt-uns*. Cp. § 56 p. 103, § 160, 1, § 161.

Balto-Slavonic. Adjectives in *u*-have survived only in Lithuanian, but there they are very common; and their number was considerably increased by the fact that a parallel form in *-u-s* could be made to any adjective in *-a-s*; e. g. *asetrù-s* § 74 p. 187 f., *gailù-s* § 76 p. 210, *gėdrù-s* beside *gėdra-s*, *drungnù-s* beside *druņgna-s*. Most of the cases passed into the *-io-* inflection; cp. the Germanic section, p. 316. *platù-s* 'broad': Skr. *pyth-ú-ṣ* etc.; see above, p. 313. *drās-ù-s* 'bold': Gr. *θρασ-ύ-ς*; see above, p. 315. *sald-ù-s* 'sweet': O.C.Sl. *sladŭ-kŭ* 'sweet'. *dub-ù-s* 'hollow', *dyg-ù-s* 'prickly', *baug-ù-s* 'timorous', *staig-ù-s* 'hot-tempered', *smag-ù-s* 'malleable'. It is only rarely that the root has the accent, as in *tānk-u-s* 'thick'. The existence of pairs like *drāsù-s* 'bold' and *drāsà* 'boldness' led to the use of *-u-* as a denominative suffix; e. g. *tamsù-s* 'dark' from

*tam-s-à* 'darkness', *czēsù-s* 'timely' from *czēs-a-s* 'time' (a borrowed word). In Slavonic adjectival *u*-stems are found in derivatives with *-go-*; besides *sladū-kū* we have e. g. *tinū-kū qzū-kū* (p. 313).

In Balto-Slavonic the substantives in *-u-* are all masculine. Lith. *med-ù-s* O.C.Sl. *med-ŭ* 'honey': Skr. *mādh-u* n. etc.; see above, p. 313. Lith. *virsz-ù-s* 'the upper, outer part' O.C.Sl. *vrŭch-u* adv. 'above'. Lith. *dang-ù-s* 'heaven' beside *dengiū* 'I cover', *vid-ù-s* 'the inner part', *al-ù-s* a drink like beer. O.C.Sl. *dom-ŭ* 'house': Lat. *dom-u-s* (✓ *dem-* 'build'), *vol-ŭ* 'ox', *pol-ŭ* 'side'. In Slavonic all *u*-stems were inflected as *o*-stems.

§ 105. The Suffix *-ju-*. This must be regarded as proethnic, even though we cannot point with certainty to any one example which dates from the Indo-Germanic period. It should be noticed how frequently we find *-ju-* and *-io-* side by side, as Skr. *vā-yú-š* Lith. *vė-ja-s* 'wind', Gr. *v-iv-ς* and *v-ió-ς* 'son'. Skr. *yáj-yu-š* 'revered as divine' and 'revering, pious' and *yaj-ya-s* 'venerandus'.

Remark. The explanation of Skr. *pāy-ú-š* pr. Gr. *\*πωξ-υ* (§ 104 p. 315) as containing the suffix *-u-*, not *-ju-* (similarly Skr. *stāy-ú-š* *tāy-ú-š* Avest. *tāy-u-s* 'thief' cp. Skr. *stē-nā-s*, Skr. *dhāy-ú-š* 'thirsty' cp. *dhē-nā-*) is based on the hypothesis mentioned in vol. I § 150 p. 136, which would allow us to assume such a root as e. g. *\*pōx-*, not *\*pō-*. If this hypothesis be correct, it is natural to conjecture that the suffix *-ju-* may have sprung from these nouns, *\*pōju-* being analysed as *\*pō-ju-* etc. On this model then were formed e. g. Skr. *vā-yú-š* (Idg. *uē-*), *dhā-yu-š* 'generous' (Idg. *dhē-*), and later on *-ju-* was added to consonant stems, as Skr. *dās-yu-š*. So far as I can see there is nothing to prevent our assuming that this process took place in proethnic Indo-Germanic.

Aryan. Skr. *dās-yu-š* m., a title both of the gods' enemies, the demons, and of the unbelieving tribes, Avest. *dañhu-š* f. (cp. I § 125 p. 115, § 558 p. 415) O.Pers. *dahyu-* (nom. sing. *dahyāu-s*) f. 'land, district, neighbourhood'. Skr. *man-yú-š* m. 'excited thought, zeal, displeasure, anger' Avest. *mainyu-š* m. 'spirit, genius'. Skr. *vā-yú-š* m. Avest. *va-yu-š* m. 'wind': the Avestic form is no doubt for *\*uō-ju-*, see I § 109 p. 101. Skr. *mṛ-t-yú-š* m. 'death': perhaps identical with the

Armen. *u*-stem *marh mah* (gen. *marhu mahu*) 'death', see I § 360 p. 276; it is based on a stem *my-t-*, see § 123.

Skr. *bhuj-yú-ṣ* 'flexible', *śundh-yú-ṣ* 'neat, pure', *dhd-yu-ṣ* 'generous', *sáh-yu-ṣ* 'strong'. The commonest forms are adjectives which are connected with derivative verbs, and mean 'seeking after, desiring something' or 'possessing, performing, exhibiting something' and the like. Examples are *aśvayú-ṣ* 'desiring horses', *śravasyú-ṣ* 'ambitious', *dēvayú-ṣ* 'reverencing the gods', *udanyú-ṣ* 'containing water' *vīrayú-ṣ* 'behaving like a hero'; cp. part. *dēvayánt-* 'reverencing the gods' and feminines like *aśvayā* 'desire for horses'. Avest. *aəhu-yu-ṣ* a proper name, beside *aəhuyēmi* 'I govern' *aəhuyā-* f. government'.

Armenian. Perhaps we should class here *marh* 'death'; see above, under Aryan.

Greek. Lac. Arcad. *v-iv-ḡ* 'son', Cret. *v-iv-ḡ*, Att. *vú-ḡ* (inscr.), Hom. gen. *vióḡ* etc., beside *vió-ḡ vó-ḡ*, which can scarcely have come from the former by dissimilation: cp. Skr. *su-ta-s* 'begotten, son' (cp. W. Schulze, *De reconditionibus quibusdam nominum in -YΣ exeutium formis*, *Commentationes philologiae Gryphiswaldenses*, Berol. 1887, p. 17 ff.).

According to Wackernagel (*Kuhn's Ztschr.* XXIV 295 ff., XXVII 84 ff.) substantives in *-ev-ḡ* like *voμevú-ḡ* 'herdsman' (nom. pl. Cypr. *-ḡF-εḡ*) also belong here, and should be compared immediately with the Sanskrit nouns in *-ayu-ṣ*. Yet some difficulties still remain; should we, for instance, assume Idg. *-eju-s* or *-ēju-s* for the nom. sing.? The latest discussion of these stems is by Johansson (*De derivatis verbis contractis linguae Graecae*, 1886, p. 73 ff.).

Germanic. Goth. *drun-ju-s* m. 'noise', *stub-ju-s* m. 'dust', (cp. O.H.G. *stuppi* 'dust'); perhaps also *-vaddju-s* f. 'partition, wall, rampart' (O.Icel. *vegg-r*, O.Sax. acc. pl. *wegos* i. e. *wēijos*), where *ddj* came from *i* (I § 142 p. 127).

Baltic. In Lithuanian *-iu-* is common, both in primary and secondary use. It forms only masculines. *gỹr-iu-s* 'praise, glory', *vỹr-iu-s* 'eddy', *skỹr-iu-s* 'separation', *vỹ-lu-s* 'enticement, trick' *spēcziū-s* 'swarm' cp. *spēcziū* inf. *spěsti* 'to swarm' (of bees).



There a large number of *nomina agentis*, as *pirdžiu-s*, 'peditor' *siukcziu-s* 'trickster', *audėju-s* 'weaver', *rācziu-s* 'wheelwright', *bezdālu-s* 'who sends forth many blasts', and other appellations of living beings to denote a particular characteristic, as *skar-mālu-s* 'scamp' (*skārma-la-s* 'rags torn off') *bėdžiu-s* 'poor creature' (*bėdà* 'need'), *kytrūlu-s* 'wiseacre, coxcomb' (*kytrū-s* 'clever'), *ragūcziu-s* 'horned thing' (*ragūta-s* 'horned'). In Lithuanian -ju- was far more fertile than in the other European languages. Brückner assumes that the whole group of nouns in -ju- is a purely Lithuanian formation (Archiv f. slav. Phil. III 254 f.), but this is improbable.

§ 106. The suffix -nu- (-ṇnu-). This is rare in most of the languages. It usually forms substantives.

Indo-Germanic \*sā-nu-s m. 'son': Skr. *sūnū-ṣ* O.H.G. *sunu* Lith. *sūnū-s* O.C.Sl. *synū*.

Aryan. Skr. *sā-nū-ṣ* Avest. *hunu-ṣ* m. 'son': Lith. *sū-nū-s* etc., see above. Skr. *bhā-nū-ṣ* 'gleam, sun' Av. *bā-nu-ṣ* m. 'gleam, light'. Skr. *dhē-nū-ṣ* f. 'milch cow' Avest. *dae-nu-s* f. 'female' (of animals). Skr. *dā-nu* Avest. *dā-nu* n. 'trickling moisture, dew', also Skr. *dā-nu-ṣ*. Skr. *vag-nū-ṣ* m. 'sound, cry', *sthānū-ṣ* m. 'stick, stump'; *dhṛṣ-ṇū-ṣ* 'bold', *grdh-nū-ṣ* 'eager, greedy'. Avest. *taf-nu-ṣ* m. 'heat, heat of fever', *bar'ṣ-nu-ṣ* f. 'peak, height'; *zae-nu-ṣ* 'equipped'.

In Sanskrit we find also -anū-, as *krand-anū-ṣ* m. 'bellowing' *nad-anū-ṣ* m. 'din', *vi-bhañjanū-ṣ* 'breaking to pieces'. This -anū- is parallel to -anī-, as is shewn by *kṣip-anū-ṣ* 'missile' *kṣip-anīṣ* 'a cut with a whip'. Hence no doubt it should be derived from -ṇnu-. See § 95 p. 285.

Forms like *ky-t-nū-ṣ* 'active' (*lōka-kyt-nū-ṣ* and *lōka-kyt-* 'making a clear space', see § 123) gave rise to the fairly common adjectival suffix -tnu- (cp. -t-van- § 116 and the like): *dar-tnū-ṣ* 'breaking to pieces', *dravi-tnū-ṣ* 'running', *mādayi-tnū-ṣ* 'intoxicating'.

The adjectival suffix -snu- was no doubt derived from more than one typical form. *kraviṣṇū-ṣ* 'greedy of raw flesh' (*kraviṣ-* 'raw flesh'), *rōciṣṇū-ṣ* 'shining' (*rōciṣ-* 'light'); *cariṣṇū-ṣ*

'wandering', *gamiṣṇú-ṣ* 'going', *cyāvayiṣṇú-ṣ* 'setting in motion', *jiṣṇú-ṣ* 'victorious', *ni-ṣatsnú-ṣ* 'sitting down'. *vadhasnú-ṣ* 'carrying a murderous weapon' beside *vadhasná-m* 'murderous weapon' (see § 66 p. 142), as Avest. *zaṇnu-ṣ* 'equipped, beside *zaṇne-m* 'equipment, weapon'.

Greek. Here *-vv-* is very rare. Hom. *ῥοῖ-vv-ς* 'footstool' beside Att. *ῥοῖ-vo-ς* 'seat, bench'. *λυ-vv-ς* 'smoke, vapour'.

Italic. The suffix is rare. Lat. *ma-nu-s* f., Umb. *manuv-e* 'in manu', no doubt standing for *\*mā-nu-*, from  $\sqrt{mē}$  'measure'. Lat. *cor-nu* n. and *cor-nu-s* beside the rare *cor-no-* n.: Gall. *χάρ-vv-ξ* (schol. Iliad, Σ 219, Eustath. 1139, 57) beside *χάρ-vo-v* acc. 'trumpet' (Hesych.), Goth. *haúr-n* n. 'horn' (§ 66 p. 147); cp. Danielsson, Pauli's Altital. Stud. III 188. *pī-nu-s* f., also *pī-no-* f., cp. Gr. *πί-rv-ς*. The dative *vēnui* beside *vēnō vēnu-m* from *\*ves-no-* or *\*vēs-no-* (§ 66 p. 142 under Armenian) is certainly a late change of declension.

Old Irish. *lī-n* 'number' ground-form *\*plē-nu-*. Cp. also *orgun* *orcun* f. 'killing, to kill' for *\*orgonu* *\*orgunu* according to Stokes, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 291; but *\*orguna-* might equally be assumed as its original form.

Germanic. Goth. *su-nu-s* O.H.G. *sunu* O.Icel. *sun-r* m. 'son': Skr. *sū-nú-ṣ* etc., see p. 319 above. Goth. *þaúr-nu-s* m. 'thorn' beside the *-o-*stems O.H.G. *dorn* O.Icel. *þorn*; there is, however, no reason why we should not assume that *\*þur-nu-* was the pr. Germ. form; O.C.Sl. *trǣ-nŭ* may also be an original *u-*stem, but note Skr. *tṛ-ṇa-m* 'stem of grass'. Goth. *asilu-qairnu-s* f. *μυλός ὀνικός*, millstone' (its suffix may be compared with that of O.C.Sl. *žrǣ-ny* f. 'mill') beside O.H.G. *chwir-na* 'millstone, mill' O.Icel. *kver-n* 'mill', Lith. *gīr-nos* pl. 'millstones, mill'.

Balto Slavonic. Lith. *sū-nū-s* O.C.Sl. *sy-nŭ* m. 'son': Skr. *sū-nú-ṣ*, see above p. 319. O.C.Sl. *či-nŭ* m. 'rank, order', beside Skr. *ci-tá-* 'ranged, trooped'. In Lithuanian there are a few adjectives, which however may be simply modifications of forms in *-na-* (see p. 317): e. g. *drung-nū-s* 'lukewarm' (beside *druṅg-na-s*), *gad-nū-s* 'useful', *szvel-nū-s* 'tender, soft to touch'; with *-s-*, *dū-snū-s* *do-snū-s* 'generous'.

§ 107. The Suffixes *-ru-* and *-lu-*. These are original in a few nouns. They are more or less fertile in Baltic as adjectival suffixes.

Indo-Germanic. *-ru-*. \**dak-ru* n. 'tear': Gr. δάκρυ, Lat. *dacru-ma lacru-ma lacri-ma* (I § 369 p. 279 f.), Corn. *dagr* pl. *dagrou*; hence no doubt Germ. \**táxra-* (O.H.G. *zahhar* O.Icel. *tār*) and \**tagrá-* (Goth. *tagr* A.S. *teazor*) originally had *-ru-*; another word which no doubt was formed in imitation of this, though from a different root, is Skr. *ás-ru* n. 'tear', cp. Skr. *kṛ-mi-ś*: cp. Lat. *ver-mi-s*: cp. Gr. ἔλ-μι-ς § 97 p. 289. Skr. *śmaśru* n. 'beard, moustache' for \**smaś-ru* (I § 557, 4 p. 413), Armen. *moruḵ* (*mōru-ḵ muru-ḵ*) 'beard' (though this comparison is not quite certain); compare Lith. *smak-rà* 'chin' (I § 467 p. 343).

*-lu-*. Skr. *dha-rú-ś* 'sucking' Gr. θῆ-λυ-ς 'giving suck, female', beside Gr. θῆ-λή 'mother's breast' Lat. *fē-lare* etc., see I § 256 p. 210. Skr. *bhī-rú-ś bhī-lu-ś* Lith. *bai-lù-s* 'timorous'.

Aryan. Only the evidence of the cognate languages can decide whether the suffix is Idg. *-ru-* or Idg. *-lu-*. Idg. *-ru-* may be assumed in: Skr. *ás-ru* Av. *as-ru* n. 'tear' beside Skr. *aś-rá-m* 'tear' (see above), and Skr. *śmaś-ru* n. 'beard' (parallel to this we find *hári-śmaśaru-s* 'with light coloured beard'); see above.

In the following instances it is doubtful whether we have Idg. *r* or *l*. Skr. *pē-ru-ś* no doubt meaning 'making to bubble, swell'. Avest. *duž-vandru-ś* 'desiring evil'. Skr. *patá-ru-ś* 'flying', like *pata-rá-s* § 74 p. 182. Skr. *vandā-ru-ś* 'praising, glorifying', *piyā-ru-ś* 'despising, scorning', *pataya-lú-ś* 'flying'. Is *śát-ru-ś* 'foe' = *śát-ru-* or *śát-tru-*?

Greek. δάκρυ n., see above. κάλρυον f. κάλρυ (κάλρυον) n. 'roasted barley' and βότρυς m. 'bunch of grapes' may be classed here provisionally.

Italic. Extended by *-mā-*: Lat. *dacru-ma* (see above). Perhaps we should class here *tonitru-s* m. *tonitru* n., whose formation seems to resemble that of Skr. *stanayi-tnú-ś* (compare § 106 p. 320) and *tanyatú-ś* 'thunder' (§ 108).

Germanic. Goth. *ái-ru-s* O.Icel. *ǫ-r-r á-r-r* m. 'messenger',

✓ *ei-* 'go'; also A.S. *ār* 'messenger', which is no longer recognisable as an *u*-stem. Goth. *hūh-ru-s* m. and O.H.G. *hungar* m. (of which the same may be said) 'hunger', pr. Germ. \**χūnχ-ru-z* and \**χunz-rū-s*. Pr. Germ. \**flō-ru-* Mid.H.G. *vlur* m. f. 'corn-field, ground' A.S. *flōr* m. f. 'house-floor, barn-floor': O.Ir. *lā-r* 'flooring, floor'.

Balto-Slavonic. In Lithuanian there are a considerable number of adjectives in *-rū-s* and *-lū-s*: *bud-rū-s* 'watchful', *suk-rū-s* 'active', *kant-rū-s* 'patient', *ėd-rū-s* 'ravenous' (*ėd-rà* 'fodder') *isz-matrū-s* 'sharp-sighted' (cp. O.C.Sl. *mot-r-iti* 'to look'), *buk-lū-s* 'crafty, sly' *isz-teklū-s* *isz-tenklū-s* 'sufficing'. Parallel to these we sometimes have forms in *-ra-s* *-la-s*, as *gėd-rū-s* and *gėd-ra-s* 'bright, clear', and *gai-lū-s* *gai-la-s* 'ill-tempered, snappish' (of dogs). The *a*-form appears in most cases to be older than the other, and it must sometimes be pre-supposed, even where it does not occur, e. g. in *asztrū-s* 'sharp' beside O.C.Sl. *ostrū* Skr. *catur-aśra-s* Gr. *ἄρρο-ς* (§ 76 p. 184 and p. 187).

§ 108. The Suffix *-tu-*<sup>1)</sup>. This was a common primary suffix used in forming abstract substantives (verbal nouns, *nomina actionis*) even in the proethnic period. These were masculine; but through the influence of the gender of other abstract nouns, they became feminine universally in Greek, and sometimes in Aryan and Germanic. In Aryan, Latin, Balto-Slavonic (and Keltic, see § 156) they are found attached to the verbal system as infinitives (gerunds, supines); and it is possible that this association with the verb, which gave rise to a large number of new formations, began at least in part before the end of the proethnic period. And in this connexion it is especially important to observe that we find the acc. *-tu-m* used after verbs of motion in precisely the same way in Sanskrit, Latin, and Balto-Slavonic; e. g. Skr. *hōtum ēti* 'he goes make sacrifice',

1) Th. Benfey, Die Suffixe *rv*, *tu* sammt *ātu*, Kuhn's Ztschr. II 215 ff.

Lat. *cubitum* it, Lith. *eĩksz vėlgytũ* 'come and eat', O.C.Sl. *česo izidoste vidětũ?* 'quid existiis visum?'

Only a few masculine and feminine substantives formed with this suffix are other than *nomina actionis*, and their uses can easily be derived from the meaning of an abstract verbal noun. The *nomina agentis* (as Skr. *mán-tu-š* m. 'counsellor' beside *mántu-š* m. 'counsel, advice', Goth. *hliftu-s* m. 'thief', O.Icel. *vqrð-r* m. 'watcher, waiter' beside *vqrð-r* m. 'watch') show the same change of meaning as Lat. *hosti-s* O.Ir. *taid*; and the few adjectives that occur (as Skr. *tapyā-tū-š* 'hot, glowing') are parallel to such forms as Skr. *pū-ti-š* 'stinking'. Cp. § 99 p. 293, §§ 149. 155.

There are a few neuter substantives as Skr. *vās-tu* Gr. ἄσ-τν.

Originally the accent varied in the different cases in connexion with differences in ablaut, e. g. *\*éi-tu-* *\*i-tu-* (from *\*ei-* 'go'); such a distinction is preserved in Skr. *\*é-tu-m*: *i-to-ā*. In Sanskrit the variation survived in these cases, which had been incorporated into the verbal system, because, through the difference in their use, their connexion in form was forgotten, but in the complete declension of any one noun the differences were levelled; in some cases the type *\*ei-tu-* was adopted (e. g. *mántu-š*), in others *\*itu-* (e. g. *ṛtū-š*). Other survivals of the old gradation are seen in (e. g.) Gr. *κλει-τν-ς* and *κλι-τν-ς*, Lith. *lẽ-tu-s* and *ly-tũ-s*. In Latin and Lithuanian the supine was influenced by the *to*-participles and the abstract nouns in *-ti-*, so that the type *\*itu-* prevailed: e. g. Lat. *da-tu-m* *da-tũ* like *da-tu-s* (*da-to-s*) *da-tiō*, Lith. *mĩlsz-tũ* like *mĩlsz-ta-s* *mĩlsz-ti* (*✓ melg-*). On the other hand, the corresponding form in Slavonic generally shows the type *\*eitu-* and itself influenced the *ti*-infinitive (e. g. O.C.Sl. *mlės-tũ* and *mlės-ti*); this is certainly connected with the comparative disuse of the *-to-* participle in this group of languages (§ 79 p. 336).

These nouns could be based upon any form which served as a verbal stem, not merely on the root (in the strict sense); hence forms like Skr. *vāmi-tu-m* inf. 'to vomit'. Lat. *vomi-tu-s* m., Skr. *jīvā-tu-š* f. 'life' (cp. Av. *jyā-tu-š* f. 'life'), Gr. *βον-τν-ς*

f. 'cry', Lat. *appārā-tu-s* m. *andī-tu-s* m., O.Ir. *scarad* 'a severing' Goth. *vratō-du-s* m. 'journey', Lith. *jėszkó-tū* O.C.Sl. *iska-tū* 'to seek'.

*-e-tu-* is found like *-e-to-* § 79 p. 219 and *-e-ti-* § 100 p. 294), e. g. Skr. *kr-á-tú-ṣ* 'power, strength' *vah-a-tú-ṣ* m. 'brida' procession', Gr. *ἔrv-μo-ς* 'truthful' from \**ē-rv-* instead of \**h-ετ-v-* 'existence' (✓ *es-*).

Indo-Germanic. Skr. inf. *bhāvi-tu-m* gerund *bhā-tv-ā* from *bhāva-ti* 'he becomes, is', Lat. *fu-tu-ō*, sup. Lith. *bū-tū* O.C.Sl. *by-tū* 'to be'; we may add, with hesitation, Gr. *qī-rv-ς* 'begetter' *qī-rv* 'shoot, scion' (see I § 56 p. 46). Skr. *juṣ-ṭv-ā* gerund of *jōṣa-ti* 'has pleasure in something', Lat. *gūs-tu-s* m., Goth. *kus-tu-s* m. 'trial, proof'. Skr. *pi-tú-ṣ* m. 'sap, drink, food' nourishment' *pītu-dāru-* m. 'pine tree' n. the resin of this tree, Gr. *πi-rv-ς* 'pine', Lat. *pītu-ūta*, O.Ir. *i-th* m. 'corn', Lith. *pė-tūs* pl. 'midday meal, midday'. Skr. inf. *vēttu-m* *vēttav-ē* ger. *vitto-ā* from *vinda-ti* 'finds, becomes possessed of', *vēdi-tu-m* *vidi-tv-ā* from *vētti* 'perceives, knows' (the root is the same), Lat. *visu-s* m., O.Ir. *fiss* m. 'knowledge'. Avest. *pešu-š* m. 'ford' (*-š-* for *-rt-*, see I § 288 p. 229 f.), Lat. *por-tu-s* m., O.H.G. *fur-t* m. 'ford' (it has lost its character as a *u*-stem) O.Icel. *fjqrđ-r* m. 'firth, gulf'. Skr. *gán-tu-ṣ* *gā-tú-ṣ* m. 'course, way', inf. *gán-tu-m* *gán-tav-ē* ger. *ga-tv-ā*, Lat. *ad-ven-tus* m., sup. *ven-tu-m* *ven-tū*, Lith. sup. *gim-tū* 'to be born' (cp. I § 249 p. 204), ✓ *gem-*. Skr. *mán-tu-ṣ* m. 'counsel, counsellor' inf. *mán-tav-ē* ger. *ma-tv-ā*, Lith. sup. *miñ-tū* 'to think of', ✓ *men-*. Skr. inf. *śási-tu-m* ger. *śas-tv-ā* from *śása-ti* 'he recites', Lat. *cēnsu-s* m. instead of \**cens-tu-s* (cp. § 100 p. 295), ✓ *kens-*. Skr. inf. *pák-tum* *pák-tav-ē* ger. *pak-tv-ā* from *páca-ti* 'cooks', Lat. *coc-tu-m* *coc-tū*, O.C.Sl. sup. *peštī* 'to bake' for \**pek-tū* (I § 462 p. 338). Lat. sup. *rēc-tu-m* *rēc-tū*, O.Ir. *rech-t* n. 'right', O.Icel. *rētt-r* n. 'right'. Skr. *dhā-tu-ṣ* m. 'constituent part, element', inf. *dhā-tu-m* ger. *dhi-tv-ā* *hi-tv-ā*, Lat. *con-ditu-s* m. sup. *con-ditu-m* *-ditū*, sup. Lith. *dē-ta* O.C.Sl. *dě-tū* 'positum'. Skr. *aktú-ṣ* m. 'salve, light, night' ground-form \**ṛq-tú-s*, Lat. *ūnc-tu-m* *ūnc-tū*. Skr. inf. *ap-tu-m* ger. *ap-tv-ā* from *ap-nō-ti* 'attains, gains', Lat. *ad-eptu-s* m. Skr.

*vds-tu* n. 'dwelling-place, house', Gr. *ῥάσ-ρυ ἄσ-ρυ* n. 'city'. Skr. *yā-tu-ṣ* m. 'traveller, time' (no doubt identical with *yātú-ṣ* 'ghost', see below), Lith. *jó-tū* 'to ride'. Lat. sup. *nō-tu-m nō-tū* (*ignō-tu-m ignōtū*), O.C.Sl. sup. *zna-tū* 'to know'.

Aryan. Skr. *pi-tú-ṣ* m. 'sap, drink, food, nourishment' Avest. *pi-tu-ṣ* m. 'food': Gr. *πί-ρυ-ς* etc., see above p. 325. Skr. inf. *car-tu-m cari-tu-m* ger. *cīr-tv-ā car-tv-ā cari-tv-ā* from *cāra-ti* 'goes, travels', Avest. *car'-tu-ṣ* m. 'horse's course, distance a horse can gallop'. Skr. *gán-tu-ṣ gā-tú-ṣ* m. 'course, way', Avest. *gā-tu-ṣ* 'place, room, throne' O.Pers. *gāpu-* 'place, room, throne' (*p* arose regularly in the cases which had *gā-pu-* — see I § 473 p. 348 f. — and from these it spread to the rest): Lat. *ad-ven-tu-s* etc., see above p. 325. Skr. *jan-tú-ṣ* m. 'creature, being, child, people, family, stock', Avest. *zan-tu-ṣ* m. 'alliance, stock', Skr. inf. *jāni-tōṣ*, adv. *jā-tu* 'generally': Lat. *geni-tu-s* m., sup. *geni-tu-m geni-tā*, *nā-tu-s* m., √ *gen-*. Skr. *dā-tu* n. 'part, task' Avest. *vī-dātu-ṣ* m. 'breaking up of the body, dissolution, death', beside Skr. *dā-ti dyā-ti* 'cuts off': cp. Gr. *δα-ρύ-ς* 'meal' (orig. 'portion') *δαρυ-υών* 'guest'. Skr. *sē-tu-ṣ* m. 'connexion, bond, chain, bridge; binding' (adj.), Avest. *haē-tu-ṣ* m. 'ford, bridge': Lett. sup. *sī-tu* 'to bind', √ *sai-*. Skr. *yā-tú-ṣ* Avest. *yā-tu-ṣ* m. 'ghost, demon', no doubt (like *yātu-* above) from *yā-* 'go, fall upon something' (cp. *yā-tār-* 'pursuer'). Skr. *ṛ-tú-ṣ* m. 'fixed time', *tān-tu-ṣ* m. 'cord' (was O.Ir. *tēt* Mod.Cymr. *tant* 'string' an *u*-stem?) *ō-tu-ṣ* m. 'woof'; *sū-tu-ṣ* f. 'pregnancy' inf. *sū-tav-ē* ger. *sū-tv-ā*: O.Ir. *su-th* n. 'fetus'. Avest. *mer'-tu-ṣ* m. 'thought'; *jyā-tu-ṣ* f. 'life'. Skr. *jīvā-tu-ṣ* f. 'life' (no doubt with the same *a* as Avest. *jyā-tu-ṣ*; though we might also regard it as *a* = Idg. *o*, cp. Lith. *gyva-tā* O.C.Sl. *živo-tū* Gr. *βίο-το-ς*), inf. *a-švā-sayi-tu-m* 'to cause to breathe again, console' from *a-švās-aya-ti* 'makes to breathe again, consoles'.

With *-e-tu-*: Skr. *kr-á-tu-ṣ* m. 'power, strength, power of mind', Avest. *xr-a-tu-ṣ* m. 'understanding, insight', from *kar-* 'set at work'. Skr. *vah-a-tú-ṣ* 'bridal procession', *tan-ya-tú-ṣ* m. 'thunder', *tap-ya-tú-ṣ* 'hot, glowing'. Avest. *r-a-tu-ṣ* 'fixed time' beside Skr. *ṛ-tú-ṣ*.

In classical Sanskrit the accusative, in Veda also the dative and genitive-ablative served as infinitives; e. g. *śrō-tu-m*, *śrō-tav-ē*, *śrō-tōṣ*. The formation of compounds like *śrōtu-kāma-* 'desire to hear' shows that even in later times the feeling that the form in *-tum* was a case had not quite died out. The instrumental (*śru-tvā*, orig. 'with hearing') was used as the (so-called) gerund, logically connected with some noun in the sentence to denote an action accompanying or (generally) preceding the action of the verb, e. g. *śrutvā cabruvan* (*ca abruvan*) 'and hearing (or having heard) they spoke'. All such forms could be used in this way, except those derived from thematic stems (*kr-ā-tu-* etc.).

Armenian. Amongst the *tu*-stems (e. g. *zar-d*, gen. *zar-du* 'adornment') there seem to be none which can be ascribed with certainty to proethnic Indo-Germanic. Hübschmann (Arm. Stud. I 46) with some hesitation connects *ort*, gen. *ortu*, 'calf' with Skr. *prthu-ka-s* 'the young of an animal, child, boy' (Gr. πόρ-τι-ς πόρ-ταξ 'calf').

Greek. The Substantives in *-tv-ς*, except the late form *φι-tv-ς* (p. 325), are all feminine, and occur for the most part in the Ionic dialect. *κλι-tv-ς κλει-tv-ς* 'slope, hill': Skr. *śri-tv-ā* ger. of *śráy-a-ti* 'leans'. *πί-tv-ς* 'pine': Skr. *pi-tú-ṣ* etc., see p. 325 above. *ῥ-tv-ς* 'circumference, circle of a wheel, fellow', Lat. *vi-tu-s* m., sup. Lith. *vý-tū* O.C.Sl. *vi-tū* 'to wind'. *βρω-tv-ς* 'food, meal': Lith. *gér-tū* 'to drink'. *γραπ-tv-ς* 'a scratch', from *γράφω*. *ἀρ-tv-ς* 'bond': Lat. *ar-tu-s* *ar-tu*. *ἀπ-εστύ-ς* 'absence'. *δαι-tv-ς* 'meal'. *ἀπο-δαστύ-ς* 'division'. *κτιστύ-ς* 'founding' from *κτίζω*, *ἀκοντιστύ-ς* 'javelin-throwing, fight with missiles', from *ἀκοντίζω*, *ληιστύ-ς* 'making of booty' from *ληίζομαι*, *φραστύ-ς* 'reflection' from *φράζω*, *ἀσπαστύ-ς* 'greeting' from *ἀσπάζομαι*, cp. Germ. *-assu-s* from verbs in *-atjan* p. 331. *ἀρπακτύ-ς* from *ἀρπάζω* fut. *ἀρπάξω*. *ἀγορητύ-ς* 'harangue' from *ἀγορεύομαι*, *βοητύ-ς* 'cry, call' from *βοάω*, *ποθητύ-ς* 'desire' from *ποθέω*.

Neuters: only *φι-tv* and *ἄσ-tv*, see above pp. 325, 326.

In the other Indo-Germanic languages, we find numerals in *-ti-ς*, as *\*penq-ti-s* f. 'fivefold character, the number five'



(§ 101 p. 306 f.). The corresponding forms in Greek are feminines in *-τή-ς*; as *πεντηκοστή-ς*, *ἐκατοστή-ς* *τριτή-ς* (*τριτῆ-ς* is due to the influence of *τριττό-ς*) also *τρικτῆ-ς* *τετρακτῆ-ς*, cp. Baunack, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 249 ff.

*ἔτυ-μο-ς* 'truthful' from *\*ἔτυ-* 'existence' (instead of *\*h-ε-τυ-*, cp. Dor. *ἐνρες*, Lesb. *ἔρου*) ground-form *\*s-e-tu-*, from *√es-* 'esse'.

Italic. The Substantives in *-tu-s* are masculine. Lat. *ac-tu-s*, Umbr. *ahtu* 'actui'. Lat. *adi-tu-s*: Skr. *svāitu-ṣ* (*spā-ētu-ṣ*) 'having its own course' inf. *ē-tu-m* ger. *i-tv-ā*, Lith. *eĩ-tū* O.C.Sl. *i-tū* 'to go'. *rūc-tu-s*: Lith. *rūk-tā* 'to belch', *√reug-*. *duc-tu-s*. *or-tu-s*. *morsu-s* beside *mordeō*. *ē-ven-tu-s*: Skr. *gān-tu-ṣ* etc., see above p. 325. *sēnsu-s* beside *sent-iō*. *con-spectu-s*. *tex-tu-s*: 'Lett. *tes-tu* 'to hew with an axe'. *ēsu-s*: Skr. *āttu-m* 'to eat', Lith. *ēstū* 'to devour', O.C.Sl. *jastū* 'to eat', *√ed-*. *sta-tu-s*, sup. *sta-tu-m* *sta-tū*, *prae-stitu-m* and *prae-stātu-m*: Skr. inf. *sthā-tu-m* ger. *sthi-tv-ā* from *tīṣṭhā-ti* 'he stands', Lith. *pa-stótū* 'to become' O.C.Sl. *sta-tū* 'to place oneself'. *sa-tu-s*: Lith. *sė-tū* 'to sow'. *fē-tu-s*. *cap-tu-s*. *rap-tu-s*. *can-tu-s*. *quaes-tu-s*. *auc-tu-s*: Lith. *duk-tū* 'to grow', *√aug-*. *haus-tu-s*. *flā-tu-s*. *flē-tu-s*. *gemi-tu-s*. *fremi-tu-s*. *strep-i-tu-s*. *crepi-tu-s*. *domi-tu-s*. *habi-tu-s*. *exerci-tu-s*. *conā-tu-s*. *ap-parātu-s*. *audī-tu-s*. *vestī-tu-s*. Words like *jūdicātu-s* (*jūdicare* *jūdex*) gave rise to an independent suffix *-ātu-* for denoting an office or an official organisation, as *principātu-s*, *ducātu-s*, *pontificātu-s*, *senātu-s* (cp. German. *-ōpu-* *-ōđu-*).

The *tu-*stems (i. e. the so-called supines) form a very large group in Latin. *-tu-m* was orig. acc., *-tū* loc. or instr. Most of the substantives in *-tu-s* were also used as supines, e. g. *ēsu-s* 'eating' and *ēsu-m* *ēsū*; on the other hand, it is only a small proportion of the supines beside which we find independent declinable substantives. The freedom with which supines were formed was practically unlimited.

The gender of the neut. subst. *ar-tu-* beside masc. *ar-tu-s* was no doubt fixed by that of *membru-m*, and *testu-* n. (*\*ters-tu-*, *√ters-* 'dry') by that of *testu-m* (stem *testo-*).

Old Irish. Masculines. *bi-th*, gen. *betho*, 'world'; Mod.Cymr.

*by-d*, Gall. *Bitu-rīgēs* ('world-kings'): Lith. *gy-tū* 'to revive' O.C.Sl. *ži-tū* 'to live', √ *gei-*. *i-th* 'corn': Skr. *pi-tú-ṣ* etc., see above p. 325. *fiss* 'knowledge, knowing', ground-form \**uid+tu-*: Skr. *vēthu-m* etc., see above *ibid.* *gu-th* 'voice'. *cru-th* 'form' *mess* 'judging, judgement' beside *midiur* 'I judge'.

Neut. *su-th* 'fetus': Skr. *sū-tu-ṣ* f. 'pregnancy'. *sru-th* 'stream', √ *srey-*. *rech-t* 'right': Lat. sup. *rēc-tu-m* etc.; see above p. 325.

Like *fiss* and *mess*, the numerous masculines in *-ad* (for *-ā-tu-*) formed from verbs of the 2. conj. are used as infinitives (cp. § 156), as *nertad* 'strengthening' from *nertaim* denom. verb from *nert* 'strength' (cp. Gr. *ἀνορτύν-ς*, Lat. *cōnātu-s*), and similarly those in (*i*)*ud* (for (*i*)*e-tu-*) formed from verbs of the 3. conj., as *der-choiniud* 'despair, despairing' from *der-choinim* 'I despair', *foillsigud* 'showing' from *foillsigim* 'I show' (cp. Skr. *vaha-tú-ṣ* *anya-tú-ṣ*).

*-tu-* is a secondary suffix in the termination *-es-tu-* (*-os-tu-*). *ais aes ois* (gen. *aisso aisa aesa*) m. 'age' ground-form \**āiyes-tu-s*, cp. Gr. *ai(f)ḗs* 'always'; yet Mod.Cymr. *oes*, since *u* is not usually lost in Cymric, perhaps indicates that the word is to be derived from a stem corresponding to the Skr. *āyus-*, which afterwards, we must assume, was confused with the *es*-stem. *senchas* m. 'antiquity' (O.Cymr. *hencass*, pl. *hencassou* 'old tale') may be an extension of \**seno-go-* (cp. Skr. *sana-ká-s* etc., § 88 p. 263), the ground-form being \**seno-q-os-tu-*, or a compound \**seno-cassu-*. *dorus* n. 'door' (cp. Mod.Cymr. *drws* Corn. *daras*), dat. pl. *doirsib* for \**doressaib*, and therefore from a stem \**dyores-tu-* in proethnic Keltic. *follus* 'clear'.

Germanic. In West Germanic most of the *tu*-stems (which were common in proethnic Germanic) lost their distinctive character; there was a confusion between the (masc.) *tu-* and the (fem.) *ti*-stems, e. g. O.H.G. *luf-t* m. and f., A.S. *lyf-t* m. and f. The original form of the *tu*-stems is best preserved in Gothic.

O.H.G. *fri-du* A.S. *fri-thu* m. 'joy' pr. Germ. \**fri-þu-z*, from Germ. *fri- fri* 'cherish, spare' (which appears in Goth. *freidjan* 'to spare' and other words. Goth. *li-þu-s* m. 'limb', cp. O.Icel. *li-m-r* 'limb'. Goth. *kus-tu-s* m. 'trial, proof', O.Icel.

*kos-t-r* (acc. pl. *kosto kostu*) m. 'condition', O.H.G. *kos-t* A.S. *cys-t*: Skr. *jutṣ-ṭv-a* etc. see above p. 325. Goth. *luf-tu-s* m. O.H.G. *luf-t* m. 'breeze, air'. O.H.G. *fur-t* m. 'ford' O.Icel. *fjör-ð-r* 'firth, gulf': Avest. *pešu-s* etc., see p. 325 above. O.H.G. *durs-t* A.S. *ðurs-t* (*ðyrs-t*) m. 'thirst', ✓ *ters-*. Goth. *vul-þu-s* m. 'glory'. Goth. *lus-tu-s* O.H.G. *lus-t* m. 'desire', for \**ls-tu-s*, if it is connected with Skr. *la-las-a-s* (I § 299 p. 238, II § 100 p. 302). Goth. *þūh-tu-s* m. 'thought', from *þugkjan* 'to think'. O.Icel. *rētt-r* m. 'right': Lat. *rēc-tu-m* etc., see above p. 325. O.Icel. *hǫtt-r* *hatt-r* m. 'way, sort, kind', beside *haga* 'to arrange'. Goth. *vahs-tu-s* O.Icel. *vǫxt-r* m. 'growth'. Goth. *dáu-þu-s* O.H.G. *tō-d* m. 'death'. O.H.G. *blas-t* O.Icel. *blǽst-r* *blást-r* n. 'blast'. Goth. *flō-du-s* O.H.G. *fluo-t* m. 'flood'. With the meaning changed to that of a *nomen agentis* we have e. g. Goth. *hlif-tu-s* 'thief', O.Icel. *vörð-r* 'watchman'.

*-s-tu-* is rare (cp. *-s-ti-* § 100 p. 303 and *-s-tyo-* *-s-tro-* etc., see § 61 p. 117). Goth. *math-s-tu-s* O.H.G. *mist* m. 'ordure', beside O.Icel. *mīga* 'mingere'. O.Icel. *lǽst-r* m. 'mistake' for \**lax-s-tu-*, beside O.H.G. *lastar* n. 'crime, vice' (suffix *-s-tro-*, § 62 p. 121), cp. O.H.G. *lahan* 'to blame'.

The termination *-ð-þu-* (also *-ð-ðu-* through the original variation of accent), which appears in derivatives of the weak verbs in *-ðn*, became an independent suffix (cp. Lat. *-ātu-* p. 328). Goth. *gáunðþu-s* m. 'sorrow' from *gáunðn* 'to sorrow', *vratōdu-s* 'journey' from *vratōn* 'to travel'; O.H.G. *wegōd* m. 'help' from *wegōn* 'to help', *klagōd* m. 'lament' from *klagōn* 'to lament'; O.Icel. *laðað-r* m. 'invitation' from *laða* 'to invite'. The following are examples of nouns beside which there is no corresponding verb in *-ðn*: Goth. *gabaurjōþu-s* 'desire' *mannis-kōdu-s* 'humanity', O.H.G. *strūtōd* 'strife' *leichōd* 'hymenaeus, concubitus', O.Icel. *unað-r* 'delight'. In O.H.G. the formations in *-isōd inōd -ilōd -alōd* are especially common, as *richisōd* 'lordship' from *rīchisōn* 'to govern', *ellinōd* 'zeal, emulation' from *ellinōn* 'to be zealous', *swintilōd* 'giddiness' from *swintilōn* 'to become giddy', *hantalōd* 'laying on of hands' from *hantalōn* 'lay hands on, handle'. On the other hand in Anglo-Saxon and

Norse we find the termination *-nǫþu-*, which came from verbs in *-nǫn* *-nan* (e. g. A.S. *haftnǫð* 'hold' beside *hæftnian*, O.Icel. *batnað-r* 'improvement' from *batna*); this became fertile and usurped the place of the older *-ǫþu-*; e. g. A.S. *fuzelnoð* instead of, and parallel to, *fuzeloð* 'fowling', from *fuzelian*, O.Icel. *dugnað-r* 'strength, help', from *duga*.

The weak verbs in *-atjan* (Gr. *-αζειν*) gave rise to the suffix *-assu-* (Gr. *ἀσπαστίς* from *ἀσπάζομαι*, p. 327), which was very fertile in all branches of Germanic except Norse, especially in the extended form resulting from its addition to *n*-stems, *-n-assu-* (Goth. *-in-assu-*). In West Germanic we have also *(-n)-iss(u)-* and *(-n)-uss(u)-*, whose *i* and *u* are variously explained (von Bahder, Verbalabstr. 119 ff.); and further various modifications of the final *-u-*, due to the analogy of feminine and neuter abstract substantives: fem. *(-n)-iss-ō* *(-n)-uss-ō*, *(-n)-iss-jō* *(-n)-uss-jō*, *(-n)-ass-ī* *(-n)-iss-ī* *(-n)-uss-ī*, neut. *(-n)-ass-ja* *(-n)-iss-ja* *(-n)-uss-ja*. Examples are Goth. *ibnassu-s* 'equality, fairness' (A.S. *emness*), beside A.S. *emnettan* 'adaequare' = Goth. *\*ibnatjan*; *ufarrassu-s* 'overflow, abundance' from *ufar*. These forms are especially frequent in connexion with verbs in *-inǫn*; as *hōrin-assu-s* 'adultery' beside *hōrinǫn*, which gave the type for words like *blōt-inassu-s* 'divine service' (from *blōtan*). O.H.G. *rāt-ussa* f. 'riddle' *offan-ussi* f. 'opening'; *ir-suochnissa* f. 'experimentum' *gi-miscnissi* f. 'mixture' *gi-hörnissi* f. 'hearing'. *-nissa* *-nissi* had often the appearance of a denominative suffix, and hence it gave rise to a large number of formations like O.H.G. *got-nissa* f. 'godhead' *rein-nissa* f. 'purity' *churt-nassi* f. 'shortness'. In Upper Germany these suffixes were extended by *-īpo-* (§ 80 p. 240), hence *-nissida* *-nussida*, as in (O.H.G.) *fir-loranissida* 'loss'. *fūlnussida* 'idleness'.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *ly-tù-s* *lẽ-tu-s* m. 'rain' (supine *lý-tū* 'to rain' *lẽ-tū* 'to pour'): Lat. sup. *li-tu-m* *li-tū*, Goth. acc. sing. *lei-þu* O.H.G. *lī-d* m. n. 'fruit-wine'. Lith. *pẽ-tū-s* pl. 'midday meal, midday': Skr. *pi-tú-ṣ* etc., see p. 325 above. It is a moot point whether the adjectives in *-tù-s*, as *sta-tù-s* 'blunt, impolite', *drums-tù-s* 'dark, troubled' (of water), were

originally abstract substantives (p. 324), or whether they were modifications of old adjectives in *-ta-s* (see p. 317). O.C.Sl. *kra-tū* 'a time, occasion' (*dūva kraty* 'twice'): Skr. acc. pl. *kṛ-tv-as* 'so many times'; Lith. *kaṛta-s* may have also been originally a *u*-stem, from which we could then directly derive the form in *dù kartù* 'twice' *szeszis kartūs* 'six times' and the like.

The largest group of *tu*-stems are the infinitives (supines), which were formed at will from any verb. The Lithuanian supines in *-tu -tū* (the quantity differs in different dialects), which should properly be written *-tu* (their final nasal is still kept in the compound form of the optative, e. g. 1. pl. *sùktum-bime*), and the Slavonic forms in *-tū*, are acc. sing.; cp. Lat. *-tu-m*. Lith. *dā-tū* O.C.Sl. *da-tū* 'to give', *bū-tū* *bý-tū* 'to be', *ěstū* 'to devour' *jastū* 'to eat', *jěszkó-tū* *iska-tū* 'to seek', *sédě-tū* *sédě-tū* 'to sit', *ganý-tū* *goni-tū* 'to tend, pasture'; cp. also Pruss. *dā-tun* *dā-ton* 'to give' *maitā-tun* 'to nourish' with other examples. In Old Church Slavonic there is a rare parallel form in *-tu*, (as *by-tu*), which may be regarded as gen. or loc., and Prussian has dative forms in *-twei*, as *dā-twei*.

#### IV. The Suffix *-ī-* (*-iē-*)<sup>1)</sup>.

§ 109. This suffix was used to form feminines in the proethnic and later periods. It served to differentiate the gender in the same way as *a* beside *o* (§ 59 ff.). In this function it was a secondary suffix, since these feminines were derived from the masculine and neuter stem. When a feminine of this kind was formed from *o*-stems, the stem-final *-o* was dropped in exactly the same way as before the suffix *-iō-*; e. g. Skr. *vyk-ī* 'she-wolf' the feminine of *vyka-s* 'wolf' (cp. § 63 p. 126, Rem. 3 p. 132). More rarely *-ī-* has the appearance of a primary suffix,

1) E. Sievers, Über die Feminina auf urgerm. *ī*, Paul-Braune's Beitr. V 136 ff. O. A. Danielsson, Om die indoeuropeiska femininstammarne på *-ī*, Upsala universitets Årsskrift 1881. W. Burda, Das slav. Suffix *ynja*, nom. sg. *yni*, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VI 194 ff.

as in Skr. *śām-i* 'work' Gr. *qύζα* 'flight' (for *\*qυγ-λα*); it cannot be shewn with certainty that such primary feminine forms existed in the proethnic language.

It is difficult to determine what was the strong form of the suffix *-i-* in the Indo-Germanic paradigm. For though as a rule the classes of feminine nouns which contain the suffix are easily distinguished in the different languages, yet they show important differences in form which cannot have arisen simply and solely through the operation of phonetic laws. Indeed it is obvious that its declension has been influenced in very many ways by that of other stems. To me it seems most probable that *-iē-* (sometimes *-iḡē-*) was the form of the strong-grade in Indo-Germanic. Cp. *-iē-* *-iḡē-* : *-i-* in the optative, as in Lat. *s-iē-s* : *s-i-mus*, and the masculine suffix *-iē-* *-iō-*, *-iḡe-* *-iḡō-* : *-i-*, *-i-* (§ 63 p. 122 f.).

Remark 1. The following conclusions seem to me fairly probable. In proethnic Indo-Germanic the nom. sing. ended in *\*-i*; Gr. *-iā* was formed on the analogy of *-iā*; Lat. *-iēs* Lith. *-(i)ė* (beside *-i*) come from the extension of the form *-iē-* (*-iḡē-*) to all the cases. The acc. sing. ended sometimes in *\*-i-m* (Skr. *-i-m*) sometimes in *\*-iḡ-m* cp. the opt. 3. pl. Lat. *s-i-ent* for *\*s-iḡ-ēt*, I § 226 p. 193), from the latter we have Lat. *-iem* (*māter-iem*), Skr. *-iyam* (*str-iyam*), Gr. *-iav* (*πότν-ια*), the Skr. and the Gr. form having *-m* → added on the analogy of the terminations *-i-m* *-ā-m* etc. Similarly the acc. pl. generally, perhaps always ended in *\*-iḡ-ns* Skr. *-iyas* (*str-iyas*), Lat. *-iēs* (*māter-iēs*): in Gr. *-iḡ-ns* is perhaps represented by *-iās*, the by-form of *-iav*; *-iā*; before consonants The so-called Weak Cases with a case-suffix beginning in a consonant had *-i-*, as loc. pl. *\*-i-su* (Skr. *-i-śu*). Elsewhere the form was *-iē-* or *-iḡē-*, e. g. gen. sing. *\*-(i)ḡēs*. This form of the suffix is regularly represented in Latin, Balto-Slavonic, and Aryan, Lat. *māter-iē-*, Lith. *žem-ė-* for *\*žem-iḡē-* (I § 147 p. 121), O.C.Sl. *zem(i)-ju-* (cp. *stajati* for *\*stojēti*, I § 76 p. 66), Skr. *viduṣ-yā-*. The Ablaut is thus precisely parallel to that of the optative suffix *-iē-*, e. g. Lat. *rab-iēs* (gen. sing.): *rab-i-em* : *datr-i-x* = *s-iēs* : *s-i-ent* : *s-i-mus*. In several languages confusion with the *iā-* stems led to the substitution of *-(i)ḡiā-* for *-(i)ḡiē-*: e. g. gen. sing. Gr. *ποτν-ιάς* *iḡiā*; (this change was probably due in part to the influence of the heavier form of the acc., sing. and pl. *-iav*; *-iav*.) O.Ir. *Brigte* (cp. Skr. *bṛhatyās*), Goth. *máuḡōs* beside nom. sing. *πότνια* *iḡiā*, *Brigit* (Skr. *bṛhatī*), *mavi*; so also Lith. *marczyōs* beside *martī*. Different views as to the form of the strong grade in this suffix have been maintained by Kluge, Paul-Braune's Beitr. VI 391 f., and by Osthoff, Zur Gesch. d. Pers. 338 f.

*-i-* was the regular form of the suffix when other suffixes were

added to it: e. g. Skr. *pātni-vant-* 'accompanied by one's wife', Gr. *πολι-τη-* beside Dor. *πολιῶ-τα-* Ion. *πολιῆ-τη-* 'citizen', Lat. *vīctri-x*.

There was a confusion with the *i*-stems (§ 92 ff.) as well as with the *iā*-stems. Compare e. g. Skr. *nār-i-* and *nār-i-* 'woman' (see Benfey, Nachr. von der göttl. Ges. d. Wiss. 1876 p. 644 ff., Lanman, Noun-Inflexion p. 370), Gr. *ληστέ-ι-* (gen. *ληστέιδος*) 'female robber' beside *παλτε-υ-* 'girl who plays the guitar', Lat. *nept-i-s* beside O.H.G. *nift* (= Goth. *\*nift-i*) Skr. *napt-i-*, *suāvi-s* for *\*suād-υ-i-s* beside Skr. *svād-ī-*, Skr. *āti-ṣ* Lith. *danti-s* beside Gr. *νῆσσα* 'duck' for *\*νατ-τα*. In these cases the *-i*-declension was the older, but the converse change occurs in Sanskrit, stems in *-i* being inflected in the same way as those in *-i-* in order to mark their feminine gender, e. g. gen. sing. *gātyās* beside *gātīṣ* from nom. *gātī-ṣ*. nom. sing. *bhūmī* gen. sing. *bhūmyās* beside nom. *bhūmī-ṣ* (§ 97 p. 289), *yuvatī* beside *yuvatī-ṣ* (§ 101 p. 307).

Finally these stems were confused with the inflexion of monosyllabic stems, such as Skr. *bhī-* Gr. *κί-*, in which *-i-* and *-iē-* alternated (nom. *bhī-ṣ* gen. *bhiy-ds*, Gr. *κί-ς* *κί-ός*). Hence e. g. Skr. nom. *napt-i-ṣ* gen. *napt-iy-as*, Gr. *πολι-ς* *πολι-ος*.

Remark 2. To this last remark I must add a corollary, lest it should be taken to imply the existence of a third *i*-suffix, *-i-* *-iē-*, in Indo-Germanic (*-i-* in all cases whose case-suffix began with a consonant, *-iē-* where it began with a sonant) in addition to *-i-* (*ei-*) and *-i-* (*iē-*). There would be just as much and just as little reason for supposing a parallel suffix *-ū-* *-uy-* on the strength of such forms as Skr. *śvaśrū-ṣ* *śvaśrūv-am* O.C.Sl. *svěkrj svěkrjūv-e* Gr. *νέκυ-ς* *νέκυ-ος*. As a matter of fact it seems to me very probable that all these polysyllabic *-i-* *-iē-* stems and *-ū-* *-uy-* stems have simply abandoned their original inflexion in order to conform to the type of such monosyllabic stems as Skr. *bhī-* Gr. *κί-*, Skr. *bhrū-* Gr. *ὄφει-*, in which *-i-* and *-ū-* are part of the 'root' (cp. § 8 Rem. 1 and 2 p. 20 f.). This change of inflexion will call for further notice when we come to the formation of the cases.

§ 110. Differentiation (Motion or Feminine-formation) of *u*-stems (§ 103 ff.). Originally the no doubt nom. sing. was *-ey-i* gen. sing. *-u-iēs* (yet notice also Avest. *vaəhu-yā*), loc. pl. *-u-i-su*. Skr. *svād-ī-* Gr. *ήδεῖα* for *\*ofādeF-ia* Lat. *suāv-i-s*, beside masc. Skr. *svādū-ṣ* Gr. *ήδύ-ς* 'sweet'. Skr. *gurv-ī-* Gr. *βαρεῖα* 'gravis'. Skr. *pythv-ī-* Avest. *per\*pyō-i-* Gr. *πλατεῖα* 'broad, wide'. Skr. *tano-ī-* Lat. *tenu-i-s*. In Germanic and Baltic post-consonantal *u* was dropped before *-iē-* (*-iā-*): Goth. *kaurj-ō-* 'gravis' (acc. sing. *kaurja* nom. pl. *kaurjōs*) for *\*kurū-iō-* (cp. O.Icel. *ylg-r* I § 444 p. 329); Lith. *saldži-ō-* (gen. sing. *saldžiōs*) for *\*saldū-iō-*, on the analogy of which was formed the nom. *saldī* instead of *\*saldū-i*; Goth. *hard-j-ō-* 'hard' Lith. *karczi-ō-*

'bitter' (nom. *kartī*) from masc. *hard-u-s kart-ū-s*. In this class of adjectives, the unextended form, without *-i-*, could also be used for the feminine; e. g. Skr. *tanú-ś*, Gr. ἡδύ-ς θῆλυ-ς (in Homer and elsewhere), Goth. *kaúru-s* (only *-u-s* is ever found in the nom. sing.). The nom. in *-ī* is found in Gothic in the subst. *mavi* 'girl' for *\*mazū-ī*, beside the masc. *magu-s*; the analogy of the cases with this form of the stem, *\*ma(ʒ)u-ī-* gave rise to the gen. *máujōs* instead of *\*magjōs*.

Differentiation of *n*-stems (§ 112 ff.). Skr. *tak-ṣṇ-ī* Gr. τέκταινα (for *\*τεκταν-ια*): Skr. *tákṣan-* Gr. τέκτων 'worker in wood, carpenter'. Skr. *rājñ-ī* from *rājan-* 'king' O.Ir. *rīgain* 'queen', whose ground-form was *\*rēgñn-ī*. Skr. *yūn-ī* from *yūvan-* 'young, young man' Lat. *jūn-ī-x*. We may probably infer from Skr. *pátnī* Gr. πότνια 'lady' and Gr. δέσποινα 'mistress' for *\*-πορνια* (I § 488 p. 360), as compared with the masc. Skr. *páti-ś* Gr. νόσι-ς, that *-n-ī-* could be used as an independent suffix even in the proethnic period.

Skr. *śun-ī* from *śván-* *śún-* 'dog'. *pañca-dāmn-ī* from *pañca-dāman-*. *maghōn-ī* from *maghāvan-* *maghōn-* 'giving bountifully, dispenser'. Avest. *ašaon-ī* from *ašavan-* *ašaon-* 'pure' (Skr. *ṛtāvan-* 'holy, pious'). With Skr. *pát-nī* we should no doubt compare Skr. *pálik-nī hárík-nī*, beside *palitá-* 'gray, hoary' *háríta-* 'tawny' (as to *k* for *t*, see the Author, Morph. Unt. II 198), *páruś-nī* beside *paruś-á-* 'knotty'.

Gr. γέταινα from γείτων 'neighbour'. Θεράπεινα, beside Θεράπ-ν-η, both from Θεράπων 'servant', λέαινα from λέων 'lion' (these masculines were originally *n*-stems; see § 114, under Greek). *-aina* was taken into general use as an independent suffix, denoting female creatures: λύκαινα, κάπραινα, ἡμι-θείαινα, etc. Notice further φάγαίνα 'voracity, ravenousness' beside φαγών 'devourer'. ἄγκοινα (Att.) beside ἄγκών 'bend of the arm'; we should no doubt compare Hom. ἐπ-ηγγεν-ιδ-ες 'side-planks of a ship'.

Lat. *jūn-ī-x*, see above. *corn-ī-x* beside Gr. χορών-η 'crow', cp. also Umbr. *corn-ac-o* 'cornicem'.

O.Ir. *rīgain* 'queen': see above.



In Germanic we have *-un-i-* *-in-i-* (Idg. *-yn-i-* *-en-i-*) and *-n-i-*. *-un-i-* is contained in Goth. *lauh-mun-i* 'flash', O.H.G. *wirtun* (beside *wirtin*) 'hostess', O.Icel. *apynja* from *ape* O.H.G. *affo* 'ape', and, without any masc. *n*-stem, *as-ynja* 'goddess' (masc. *as-s*) and other forms. *-in-i-* appears in Goth. *Saur-ini* 'Syrian woman' (m. *Saur*); it is frequent in West-Germanic, as O.H.G. *herzohin* from *herizogo* 'duke'; hence came new formations like *chuning-in* from *chuning* 'king', *esil-in* from *esil* 'ass'. *-n-i-* in O.H.G. *birn* (*Hrod-birn* etc.) from masc. *bero* 'bear', Mod.H.G. *ricke* 'roe' (female) for *\*rik-nī* (I § 214 p. 181, § 530 p. 388) beside O.H.G. *rēh* n. 'roe' (male and female) pr. Germ. *\*raiχ-a-*.

The Slavonic feminines in *-ynji* no doubt belong originally to this class (*j* has come in from the other cases, as acc. *-ynja*): *bogynji* 'goddess' *blagynji* 'kindness'. They appear to have arisen through an analogical extension of the use of *-n-i-* (cp. the Author, *Morph. Unt.* II 200).

The original inflexion of these feminines was perhaps nom. sing. *-en-i*, gen. sing. *-n-iēs* and *-ŋ-iēs* loc. pl. *-n-i-su*.

Differentiation of *r*-stems (§ 119 ff.). The original endings were doubtless nom. sing. *-er-i*, gen. sing. *-r-iēs*, loc. pl. *-r-i-su*. Skr. *dā-tr-i* Gr. *δό-τειρα* for *\*δο-τερο-ια* Lat. *dā-tr-i-x*, beside Skr. *dā-tār-* Gr. *δο-τήρ* *δω-τωρ* Lat. *dā-tor* 'giver'. Skr. *jāni-tr-i* Gr. *γενέ-τειρα* Lat. *gene-tr-i-x* 'mother'. Skr. *bhar-tr-i* Avest. *bar\*pr-i* *ber\*pr-i* 'supporter, mother'. Skr. *s-tr-i* Avest. *s-tr-i* 'wife, woman'. Skr. *nē-tr-i* 'she who guides', *dēṣ-ṭr-i* 'she who shows', *cōdayi-tr-i* 'she who drives on'; *dhō-tār-i* f. 'shaking'. Gr. *ἐννῆ-τειρα* and *ἐννῆ-τρο-ια* 'wife', *σώ-τειρα* 'saviour lady', *ψάλ-τρο-ια* 'guitar girl'; we also have *-iς* *-iδ-ος*, as *λῆστορ-iς* 'female robber', *ἀλε-τρο-ίς* 'female miller', *αὐλή-τρο-ίς* (beside *αὐλή-τρο-ια*) 'flute-girl'. Lat. *obstē-tr-i-x*, *mere-tr-i-x*, *imperā-tr-i-x*, cp. also the Osc. *Fuu-tr-ei* 'Creatrici, Genetrici'. It is still doubtful whether this Indo-Germanic formation in *-tr-i-* can be directly connected with the West-Germanic feminines like A.S. *baecestre* 'baker-woman', O.Sax. *agastria* 'magpie' O.H.G. *wagastria* 'lance', Goth. *hviļf-tri* f. 'coffin' and Lithuanian feminines like *áuklė* 'children's attendant' (i. e. *\*áuk-klė*, from *áugu* 'I grow up')

*perē-klē* 'brood-hen' (see Kluge, Nom. Stammb. p. 24 and J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 29). They can also be explained as extensions of stems with the suffix *-tro- -tlo-* (§ 62 p. 118 ff.).

Differentiation of *nt*-stems (§ 125 ff.). It is certain that the feminine participles of non-thematic tenses which end in a consonant had *-nt-* in all their cases, e. g. *\*s-nt-ī* f. 'being'; similarly the feminines of *-uent*-stems had *-unt-ī*. On the other hand, we find *-nt-* throughout the paradigm in forms like Gr. *ἄεσσα γροῦσα* (from *ἄημι* 'I blow' *ἔγνων* 'I perceived') ground-forms *\*uē-nt-ī* *\*gnō-nt-ī* (for Skr. *vātī*, which seems to contradict this, see below). It is not clear how far there was any variation of ablaut in the elements immediately preceding the *-ī*-suffix in the *-o-nt-* participles; but it is certain that *-nt-* sometimes appeared even here.

Skr. *sat-ī* Avest. *hait-ī* Gr. Dor. *ἔασσα* Att. *οῦσα* O.C.Sl. *sąšti*, beside masc. Skr. *s-ánt-* etc. 'being', indic. 3. sing. Skr. *ás-ti* 'is'. Skr. *bṛhat-ī* Avest. *ber'zaitī*-, O.Ir. *Brigit* (O.Celt. *Brigantiae* dat. sing. with Latinised ending), from masc. Skr. *bṛh-ánt-* 'being great, exalted'. Skr. *vánt-ī* (*vāt-ī* Avest. *vātī* is no doubt a re-formation following the analogy of *sat-ī*: *sánt-am*; see V. Henry, Revue Crit., 1887, p. 100), Gr. *ἄεσσα*, beside masc. Skr. *vā-nt-* Gr. *ἄεϋ ἄεϋτ-* 'blowing'. Skr. *tu-dá-nt-ī* and *tudat-ī* beside *tudá-nt-* 'tundens', Gr. *ἰδοῦσα* beside *ἰδών ἰδó-ντ-* 'beholding'. Skr. *bhára-nt-ī* Avest. *bare-nt-ī* Gr. *φέρουσα* O.C.Sl. *berąšti*, beside *bhára-nt-* Gr. *φέρων φέρο-ντ-* O.C.Sl. *bery* 'ferens'. Goth. *hulund-i* 'cave' ('covering, hiding'), *frijōnd-i* 'female friend'; the participles which were in actual use as such had passed over to the *in*-declension, as *batrandei* gen. *batrandeins*. Lith. *sukant-ī* gen. *sukancziūs* from masc. *sukąs* 'turning'. O.C.Sl. *berąsti*, instead of *\*berąti*, where *š* has forced its way in from the other cases, as gen. *berąšte*; in these *-št-* came regularly from *-ti-* (I § 147 p. 132 f.).

*-unt-ī*. Skr. *ápa-vatī* from *ápa-vant-* 'rich in water', Gr. *ὀπό-σσα* from *ὀπό-εις ὀπό-ντ-* 'rich in sap'; in Greek *-φερ-* appears

for *Far-*, see § 127. Skr. *sáras-vat-i* 'rich in water' f. Avest. *haraxwaiti-* O.Pers. *haraupati-*.

Differentiation of *s*-stems (§ 131 ff.).

-es-i. Skr. *ródas-i* from *ródas-* 'world', *śavas-i* f. 'the strong one' from *śavas-* 'strength'. Gr. Att. *ἀναιδία* 'shamelessness' *ἀλήθεια* 'truth' from *ἀν-αιδής ἀληθής*. Lat. *temper-iēs* from *tempus*.

The original forms of the part. perf. act. were doubtless nom. sing. -*ues-i* gen. sing. -*us-iēs* loc. pl. -*us-i-su*. Skr. *vid-úṣ-i* Avest. *vid-uš-i-* Gr. *ιδ-νῖα*, beside masc. Skr. *vid-vān* Avest. *vid-vā* Gr. *ιδ-ώς* 'knowing'. Similarly Lith. *vilk-us-i* O.C.Sl. *vlūk-ūši* 'having drawn'. A feminine of this kind is implied in Goth. *bēr-us-jōs* 'parents' (those who have borne): on the model of the feminine (\*-*usi -usjōs*) was formed a masculine with -*ja-*. It is natural to infer a nom. sing. -*ues-i* from the Gr. (Dor. Att.) by-forms in -(f)εῖα, as *γεγον-εῖα*, *ἐρρηγ-εῖα*: *γεγονεῖα* \**γεγονυῖα* was levelled on the hand to *γεγονεῖα -εῖας*, on the other to *γεγονυῖα γεγονυῖας* (cp. § 136 Rem. 2).

Similarly in primary comparative forms: -*iēs-i* -*is-iēs* -*is-i-su*. Skr. *jyā-yas-i* from *jyā-yān* 'mightier'. Avest. *frā-yah-i-* from *frā-yā* 'more'; an isolated -*iṣi* is perhaps contained in Skr. *māhiṣi mahiṣi* beside *māh-iyas-i*; see J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 386. Goth. *jūh-iz-ei* 'younger' (cp. *baírandei* p. 337). O.C.Sl. *boljiši* beside neut. *bolje* 'greater': nom. *boljiši* gen. *boljišę* instead of \**bolješi* \**boljšę* (cp. § 135 Rem. 1).

Differentiation of *o*-stems (§ 59 ff.). -*i-* was in use as well as -*ā-* in proethnic Indo-Germanic. Skr. *vyk-i* O.Icel. *glg-r* O.H.G. *wulpa* 'she-wolf' (pr. Germ. \**uul-b-i* \**uulz(u)jōs*, I § 444 p. 329), beside Skr. *vyka-s* Goth. *vulf-s* 'wolf'; cp. also A.S. *wylf* f. beside *wulf*. Skr. *dēv-i* 'goddess' Avest. *daçv-i-* 'witch' Gr. *Ἰθα* 'divine lady' for \**ἰθ-ια* Lith. *deiv-ė* 'ghost' *dēv-ė* 'goddess', beside Skr. *dēv-ā-s* Lith. *dēv-a-s* 'god'. Skr. *pīvar-i* Gr. *πίσα*, beside *pī-varā-s* Gr. *πιερό-ς* 'fat' (cp. § 74 p. 182, § 76 Rem. 1 p. 201). Skr. *dūt-i* 'female messenger' from *dūtā-s* 'messenger', *yam-i* from *yamā-s* 'akin'. Gr. *ἑταῖρα* 'female companion' instead of \**ἑταιρα*, beside *ἑταρο-ς* 'companion' (Wheeler,

Nominal acc. 59). Goth. *þiv-i*, gen. *þiu-jōs*, 'female servant', beside *þiu-s*, gen. *þivis*, 'servant', O.Icel. *mer-r* 'mare' beside *mar-r* 'horse'.

Sporadic examples. Sanskrit. *nap-tī* 'female descendant' O.H.G. *nift* (Goth. *\*nift-i*) 'neptis, privigna', beside Skr. *nāpāt* 'offspring'. Skr. *-ghn-ī* beside *-han-* 'killing'. Greek. *μνῖα* for *\*μυσ-ια* Lith. *mus-ė* 'fly', beside Lat. *mus-ca*. *ῥῆσσα* 'female labourer' for *\*ῥῆτ-ια*, beside masc. *ῥῆς*, gen. *ῥῆτ-ός*. *πέζα* (for *\*πεδ-ια*) 'foot, lowest part', beside *πούς* 'foot' (cp. § 160, 1). *πίσσα* Att. *πίττα* 'pitch' (for *\*πικ-ια*), beside Lat. *pix*. *κίσσα* Att. *κίττα* 'jay' (for *\*κικ-ια*), beside Skr. *kiki-ś* 'jay'. *φάσσα* (for *\*φак-ια*), 'wild pigeon', beside *φάψ* (gen. *φάβ-ός*) the same, cp. I § 486 Rem. p. 359, § 495 Rem. 364. *μία*, gen. *μῦς*, 'una' for *\*σμ-ι-*, beside *έν-* (nom. *ένς* *είς*) 'unus' for *\*sem-* (I § 204 p. 172, II § 160, 1). Latin. *pauper-iē-s* beside *pauper*, like *barbar-iē-s* beside *barbaru-s*. O.Ir. *s-i* 'ea' Goth. *s-i* 'ea': cp. Skr. *s-yā*. *sētig* 'female companion, wife' for *\*sentīc-ī*. Gothic. *vas-t-i* 'garment', *hvōf-t-uli* 'fame'; A.S. *hunticge* 'huntress' beside *hunta* 'hunter' and the like, see Kluge, Nom. Stamm. p. 22. Lithuanian. *žēm-ė* O.C.Sl. *zem(l)-ja* 'earth', beside Skr. *kṣām-jm-* Av. *z'm-* Gr. *χθών* (I § 204 p. 172, II § 160, 2). Lith. *sai* O.C.Sl. *si* 'haec' beside *sžl-s* *sī* 'hic' (gen. *sziō*, *sego* instead of *\*sego*). Lith. *patī*, gen. *pacziōs*, 'lady, ipsa', beside masc. *patī-s* (*pàts*) gen. *patēs*. Lith. *martī*, gen. *marcziōs* 'bride'. O.C.Sl. *ladiji* (*aldiji*) 'ship', and with masculine gender (which is not original) *baliji* 'physician' *sadiji* 'judge' (cp. the Slavonic masculines in *-a*, § 59 p. 109); *-ī-* like *-ī-* (Lith. *mō-jī-s*) p. 122 footnote 2 and *-jin-* § 115 (under Aryan).

§ 111. Of the words in which *-ī-* appears to be a primary suffix, none show it in more than one language simultaneously. Examples are: Skr. *śām-ī* 'work'. *śác-ī* 'strength'.

Gr. *φύζα* 'flight' for *\*φυγ-ια*. *σχίζα* 'wood split small, billet' for *\*σχιδ-ια*.

Lat. *ac-iēs*. *scab-iē-s*. *spec-iē-s*. *prō-geniēs*. *dī-luviē-s*.

Lith. *žinė* 'knowledge'. *srov-ė* 'stream'. *rėk-ė* 'slice of bread'. *dūb-ė* 'hollow, pit'.

Many examples are doubtful, as Gr. *ῥσσα* 'rumour, prophecy'

(beside ὅψ 'voice, speech'), μοῖρα 'appropriate share, fate' (beside μόρος 'lot, fate'), Goth. *bandi* 'bond, chain' (beside O.H.G. O.Sax. *band* n. 'bond').

#### V. Suffixes in *-n*<sup>1)</sup>.

§ 112. The parent language had four suffixes ending in a nasal: *-en-*, *-ien-*, *-uen-*, *-men-*<sup>2)</sup>. They have a good deal in common with *-o-*, *-io-* *-i-* *-ī-*, *-uo-* *-u-*, *-mo-*, and it is not improbable that the forms *-ien-*, *-uen-* and *-men-* were formed in the proethnic period merely by the addition of *-(e)n-* to such older suffixes.

This process of extension can be seen at work in the separate languages as well; and we must there regard it as a continuation, or renewal, of a tendency which first appeared in proethnic times. Compare, for instance, the developement of the *n*-declension in Germanic.

The oldest point of contact between the four *n*-suffixes and the corresponding *o*-suffixes is found in the representation of *n*-stems by *o*-stems in compound words, which began in the proethnic period; e. g. Gr. αἶμο-βαφής and ἄν-αιμο-ς beside αἶ-μυ (ἄν-αίμων); further examples are given in § 12 p. 26 f. This shews that there were even then many parallel stems in *-n* and *-o-* with no difference of meaning; for some reason or other the *o*-form of these words was preferred in composition, and by degrees this established a general rule for compounds

1) H. Ebel, Suffix *-ion* and *-tion* [in Old Italic]. Kuhn's Ztschr. V p. 420 f. R. Fisch, Substantiva personalia auf *ō*, *ōnis* [in Latin], Archiv für lat. Lexikogr. und Gramm. V 56 ff. W. Meyer, Das lat. Suffix *ō*, *ōnis*, ibid. 223 ff. H. Osthoff, Zur Geschichte des schwachen deutschen Adjectivums (Forschungen im Gebiete der idg. nominalen Stammbildung II) 1876. Idem, Zur Frage des Ursprungs der german. *n*-Declination, Paul-Braune's Beitr. III 1 ff. The Author, Die schwache Form der Nominalstämme auf *-n* in suffixalen Weiterbildungen und Zusammensetzungen, Morph. Unt. II 148 ff.

2) One form with *m* is quite unique; \**ghiem-* \**ghiem-* (Avest. *zyā* Lat. *hiem-s*), which, having due regard to Skr. *hēman* Gr. *χρῖ-μα*, we ought apparently to divide \**ghī-em-* \**ghī-em-*. I have attempted to explain this rare word in § 160, 2.

of *-n*-stems. Another principle of formation, exemplified in most of the languages in forms like Skr. *āśm-īya-s* beside *āś-man-*, Gr. *χειμ-ίη* beside *χει-μα χει-μίων*, seems to have arisen in the proethnic period. Further in almost all the languages, in some of them very frequently, we find parallel forms in *-n-* and *-o-* each of which is completely declined, some of them indeed having a slight difference of meaning (to this point we shall return later on); e. g. Skr. *vāk-van-* and *vāk-va-* 'turning, rolling' (intr.), *dhār-man-* and *dhār-ma-* 'law, ordinance', Gr. *στράβ-ιων* 'squinter' and *στραβ-ός* 'squinting', *οὐραν-ίων* 'heavenly being' and *οὐράν-ιος* 'heavenly', *ἐθελή-μων* and *ἐθελή-μός* 'willing', Lat. *in-cub-ō* and *in-cub-u-s*, *lan-iō* and *lan-iu-s*, *alluvi-ō* and *alluv-iu-m*, Goth. *sa ráuda* 'the red one' and *ráuþ-s* 'red', *in-gard-ja* 'member of a household' and *in-gard-ja-* 'in a house' (adj.), O.Fris. *ēth-ma* beside O.S. *āthom* 'breath', O.C.Sl. *ra-me* beside *ra-mo* 'shoulder'. And it often happens that the two forms do not appear in the same branches of the Indo-Germanic family; e. g. Goth. *ga-juk-a* 'companion' beside Lat. *con-jug-u-s*, Skr. *āy-un-* 'life, time of life' Gr. *αἰ-(f)ών* 'space of time, eternity' and Lat. *ae-vo-m*, Gr. *πυθ-μήν* 'ground, earth' and O.H.G. *bodam* 'ground'.

In Aryan, single cases of the *-o-* *-ā-* *-i-* *-u-* *-ī-* and *-r-* stems were transferred into the inflexion of the *n*-declension; e. g. Skr. nom. acc. neut. *yugāni* (from sing. *yugā-m* 'yoke', on the analogy of *nāman-i*), gen. pl. Skr. *dēvānam* Avest. *daēvanam* (Skr. *dēvā-s* 'god'). See J. Hanusz, Über das allmähliche Umsichgreifen der *n*-Declination im Altindischen (Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad. d. Wiss. CX.), 1885. Similarly in West Germanic we have O.H.G. gen. pl. *gebōno* (from nom. sing. *geba* f. 'gift').

The words formed with these suffixes are generally masculine or neuter, as Skr. *tákṣ-an-* m. 'carpenter' *yak-án-* n. 'liver'.

A large group of feminines appears in Italic, Keltic, and Germanic consisting of abstract substantives formed with *-ien-* (*-iōn-*); as Lat. *cap-iō men-tiō*, O.Ir. *er-mitiu* 'honour', Goth. *ga-run-jō* 'flood of water' *ra-þjō* 'ratio'. It may be assumed that these *n*-stems, which represent a comparatively modern stratum of

formation, owe their feminine gender to their character of abstract nouns. And all the other feminine *n*-stems which appear in Germanic, are as such undoubtedly modern; they are due to a connexion which grew up between the Indo-Germanic suffixes *-ōn- -iōn- -īn-* and the Germanic feminine forms in *-ō- -iō-* (= Idg. *-ā- -iā-*) and *-ī-*, through the analogy of the relation between Germ. *-an- -ian-* on the one hand and Germ. *-a-* on the other. In many words, where the languages vary between masculine and feminine, the masculine is clearly the older; this is true of Skr. *si-mán-* 'boundary' (cp. § 117), Gr. *κίον* 'pillar', Lat. *margō*. In Skr. *yōṣān-* f. 'virgin' (beside *yōṣā yōṣānā*) the gender was determined by the sex. In Skr. *vṛṣāṇa tvācam* acc. 'streaming, raining cloud', Gr. *ἀρηγῶν θεᾶ* 'adiutrix dea' *τηρήρων πέλεια* 'timid dove', as in the case of Skr. *tanú-ṣ* Gr. *ῥόδύ-ς*, we see the masculine form used unaltered in connexion with feminine words (§ 110 p. 335). And in other examples there are similar reasons for regarding the feminine gender as a modern developement so that we may fairly assume that nouns formed with *n*-suffixes were originally only masculine and neuter. For the feminine there was the special form with *-ī-*, as Skr. *takṣ-ṇ-ī* Gr. *τέκτ-αινα*, § 110 p. 335.

§ 113. From the earliest times the *n*-suffixes show a very complex variation of Ablaut. What are called the strong cases had *-en- -on- -ēn- -ōn-*, *-ien- -ion- -iēn- -iōn-* (*-iien- -iion-* etc.) and so forth; the weak cases *-n- -ṇ-*, *-in- (-īn-) -iṇ- (-iṇṇ-), -un- (-ūn-) -uṇ- (-uṇṇ-), -mn- -mṇ-*.

In the weak cases, the form of the suffix ending in a consonant preceded the case-endings beginning with a sonant, e. g. Skr. gen. sing. *tákṣ-ṇ-as* 'of the carpenter' *nā-mn-as* 'of the name'; and conversely the form ending in a sonant preceded the case-endings beginning with a consonant, e. g. loc. pl. *táks-a-su nā-ma-su* (*-a- -ma-* for *-ṇ- -mṇ-*). Originally also the weak form of the suffix was regular in all extensions of the stem, e. g. *takṣ-ṇ-ī* fem. of *tákṣan-* (§ 110 p. 335), *yuva-śás* 'youthful' from *yúv-an-* 'young' (§ 83 p. 251), *śró-ma-ta-m* 'hearing' beside Avest. *srao-man-* 'hearing' (§ 82 p. 249). This deserves especial

notice, because in several languages the weak forms of the suffix were banished from the actual declension by levelling and other kinds of re-formation, so that it is only in derivatives that we have any evidence to shew that such forms ever existed in the paradigm. Thus we have e. g. Gr. γειτ-ν-τᾶ 'neighbourhood' beside γειτ-ων -ον-ος, πῑ-τ-(F)αῖνω 'I make fat' for \*γῑ-τ-ῑδ- beside πῑ-τ-(F)ων -(F)ον-ος, ποι-μν-η ποι-μν-ιο-ν 'herd' ποι-μαῖνω 'I pasture' beside ποι-μήν -μέν-ος, Lat. jū-n-ī-x beside juv-en- (juv-en-is juv-en-um etc.), colu-mn-a beside colu-men -min-is, O.H.G. -birn 'she-bear' beside ber-o -in 'bear', hliu-mun-t 'call' beside Goth. hliu-ma -min-s 'hearing', Lith. él-n-i-s 'stag, elk' beside O.C.Sl. jelen- (gen. sing. jelen-e) 'stag'.

It is more difficult to determine how the strong forms of the suffix were originally distributed. The following points may be regarded as certain.

1. The nom. sing. masc. (fem.) ended sometimes in -ō(n), and sometimes in -ē(n), cp. Armen. šun Gr. χύ-ων πῑ-τ-(F)ων ἄχ-μων, Lat. ed-ō men-tiō ter-mō O.Ir. cū er-mi-tiu brithem Gall. casa-mo, O.H.G. egg-o skī-mo, Lith. szũ for \*szũũ ak-mũ O.C.Sl. ka-my and Gr. αὐχ-ήν ποι-μήν, Lat. li-en, O.Icel. ox-e ux-e (Skr. ukṣ-ā) skī-me.

2. The nom. acc. neut. had -ō(n) and -ē(n) beside -ῑ-ῑ, cp. Goth. vat-ō na-mō hairt-ōn-a, Lith. vand-ũ (originally neut.) and O.C.Sl. i-me (cp. Avest. nā-man Skr. nā-mān-i).

3. A certain number of masculine stems had in the acc. sing. and nom. du. pl. -en-, cp. Gr. αὐχ-έν-α ποι-μέν-α, Lith. pē-men-ī O.C.Sl. ka-men-ī (compare the exceptional forms ukṣ-ān-am arya-mān-am in Sanskrit).

4. There were locatives singular in -en -en-i, cp. Gr. αὐχ-έν-ι αἰ-(F)έν ποι-μέν-ι δό-μεν, Goth. aúhs-in (cp. Skr. ukṣ-ān-i nā-man-i).

Further the following assumptions seem to me probable.

1. A certain proportion of the masculine stems had -on- in acc. sing. and nom. du. pl., cp. Gr. τέκτ-ον-α πῑ-τ-(F)ον-α ἄχ-μων-α, Gall. Ling-ōn-es (nom. pl.), Goth. ah-an ah-man, Skr. tákṣ-ān-am áś-mān-am. The variation between *e* and *o* in these



cases, like that between  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{o}$  in the nom. sing., depended upon the different position of the accent in the word; we have e. g. nom. pl. *-én-es* and *'-on-es* like nom. sing. *-ĕ(n)* and *'-ō(n)*, cp. Gr. *φο-έρ-ες* *φο-ήν* as contrasted with *ἄ-φο-ορ-ες* *ἄ-φο-ων*. Cp. I § 311 p. 248 f.

2. The loc. sing. always ended in *-en* or *-en-i*, even where the strong cases had *-on-*. Notice especially the Goth. loc. *ah-in* *ah-min* contrasted with acc. *ah-an* *ah-man*, as Skr. *rājān-i*: *rāj-ān-am*. Compare also Gr. *αἰ(F)έρ* *αἰ(F)ών*.

In certain instances, the  $\bar{o}$  (and  $\bar{e}$ ?), which appear in the European languages in other cases than the nom. sing. masc. and the nom. acc. sing. and pl. neut., had perhaps encroached upon the province of the other forms of ablaut before the end of the protoethnic period (should we regard this as a dialectic variation in the parent language?); cp. e. g. acc. sing. Gr. *οὐραν-ίων-α*, Lat. *libell-iōn-em* *rat-iōn-em*, Goth. *ga-run-jōn* *ra-þjōn*, O.C.Sl. nom. pl. *graždan-e* for *\*gord-īan-e(s)*. Yet this form of the stem cannot have spread through the whole case-system, as we see from such forms as Umbr. abl. *tribris-in-e* *na-tin-e*, O.Ir. dat. *er-mit-in*.

We should compare with this the ablaut of the *-er-* and *-ter-*stems, which is on the whole parallel; see § 120.

**Remark.** For different views as to the strong forms see Collitz, Bezzenberger's Beitr. X 1 ff., and the authorities there cited. It is perhaps not superfluous to insist here that even if Collitz should be right in supposing the existence of Indo-Germanic locatives in *-on(-i)* (cp. Gr. *ἄζονι*), this would not be an argument against the hypothesis that in open syllables Idg. *o* became  $\bar{a}$  in Aryan. For the *n*-stems had originally locatives without *i*, and e. g. Skr. loc. *kar-man* can be derived as regularly from original *\*-mon* as from original *\*-men*.

§ 114. The Suffix *-en-*. This was used from the earliest period to form primary *nomina agentis*, as Skr. *tákṣ-an-* Gr. *τέκτ-ων* 'carpenter, worker in wood, architect'. The root-syllable is usually in the weak grade, but the accent varies between the suffix and the root; cp. Skr. *ukṣ-án-* beside *vṛṣ-an-*, Gr. *-φο-ήν* (*πολύ-ροήν*) gen. *ἄρ-ν-ός* and *φαγ-ών* 'jawbone' beside *ἄρσ-ην* and *σφράβ-ων*, Germ. *\*tuz-én-* beside *\*tūχ-en-* (O.H.G.

*heri-zogo* and *heri-zoho*), \**rub-én-* (O.Icel. *eið-rofe*) beside \**ris-en-* (O.H.G. *beti-riso*). Cp. Kauffmann, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XII 544. The *-en-* stems were substantives when there were adjectives in *-o-* parallel to them, and hence in some groups of languages, particularly in Germanic, this suffix acquired the function of forming substantives from any given adjective; it had the effect of specialising the idea conveyed by the adjective, by applying it to some one person or thing that possessed the particular quality in an exceptional degree. Hence it is often found in personal names, whether they were formed from a noun consisting of a single stem, or obtained by abbreviation from a compound consisting of two stems (cp. § 18 p. 34 and Osthoff, Forsch. auf dem Geb. der Idg. Nominalstamm-bildung, II 50 f.). Thus Gr. *στραβ-ός* 'squinting': *στράβ-ων* 'squinter', *Στραβ-ων* proper name, Lat. *multi-bib-u-s*: *bibō*, *rūf-u-s*: *Rūf-ō*, Goth. *rāup-s* 'red': *rāud-a* 'the red one', Lith. *rūd-a-s* 'reddish brown': *rud-ũ* m. 'autumn'. Thus *-en-* came to be used as a secondary suffix, as Avest. *mar<sup>e</sup>-t-an-* 'mortal' (subst.) beside *mar<sup>e</sup>-ta-* 'mortal', Gr. *τη-ο-ων* *πέλεια* beside *τη-ρός* 'timorous, shy', Lat. *Ca-t-ō* beside *ca-tu-s*. Cp. further Lat. *hom-ō* Goth. *gum-a* O.Lith. *žm-ũ* 'human being, man', properly 'the earthly one', beside Skr. *kṣám- jn-* Avest. *z<sup>e</sup>m-* Gr. *χθών* Lat. *hum-u-s*, Gr. *γαστρ-ων* 'glutton' from *γαστήρ* 'belly', Lat. *cachinn-ō* from *cachinnu-s*, *capit-ō* *Capit-ō* from *caput*, Goth. *vaurstv-a* 'worker' from *vaurstv* 'work'.

Almost all the neuter forms containing *-en-* denoted some part of the body (cp. § 57 p. 105). In some of them, as we shall see *-en-* was a secondary suffix.

Indo-Germanic. Masculine. Skr. *tákṣ-an-* (*-an-am*) Gr. *τέκτ-ων* (*ον-ος*), beside Skr. *tákṣ-a-ti* 'does carpenter's work'. Skr. *ukṣ-án-* (*-án-am*) Mod.Cymr. *ych* (pl. *ychen*) Goth. *auhs-a* 'ox', orig. 'the impregnator', beside Skr. *ukṣ-á-ti* 'emanat, emicat'. Avest. *arš-an-* (*-an-em*) 'male, man', Skr. *ṛṣa-bhá-s* 'bull', for \**ṛs-ṇ-bho-s*, Armen. gen. *arñ* 'of the man' (nom. *air*), Gr. *ἄρσ-ην* *ἄρρ-ην* Ion. *ἔρσ-ην* (*-εν-ος*) 'male', orig. 'making fruitful', beside Skr. *árṣ-a-ti* 'flows, streams'; cp. Skr. *vṛṣ-an* (*-an-am*) 'man, bull', beside *várṣ-a-ti*

makes to stream, rains'. \**kū-en-* \**kuy-en-* (\**kū-n-* \**kū-ŋ-* \**kuy-ŋ-*) 'dog' (according to Benfey 'that which produces young often and in great numbers' compared with Gr. *κῦ-ος* 'fetus' Skr. *śī-śu-ṣ* 'young creature'): Skr. *śv-án-* *śuv-án-* (acc. sing. *śv-án-am* gen. sing. *śú-n-as* loc. pl. *śv-á-su*), Armen. *sun* gen. *šan* (I § 405 p. 301), Gr. *κῦ-ων* (voc. *κῦ-ον* gen. *κῦ-ν-ός*), O.Ir. *cū* (gen. *con*), Lith. *szū* (gen. *szu-ñ-s*). Avest. *spas-an-* 'watchman' O.H.G. *speho* 'spy', √ *spek-*. Lat. *ed-ō* (-*ōn-is*), O.H.G. *ezg-o* 'devourer', √ *ed-*. Lat. *as-sedō cōn-sedō* (-*ōn-is*), O.H.G. *ana-sezzo* 'assessor' O.Icel. *drött-sete* 'lord high steward', √ *sed-*.

Denominatives. *hom-ō* (-*ōn-is* -*in-is*) Goth. *gum-a* O.Lith. *žm-ũ*<sup>1)</sup> 'human being, man', see above. Gr. *ζούγ-ων-ερ* (= Att. \**ζυγ-ων-ες*). *βόες ἐργάται*. *ἀάκωνες* Hesych., Goth. *ga-juka* 'comparison', beside *ζυγός-ν* *juk* 'yoke'.

In some Indo-Germanic words in which *-en-* is primary there is no trace of any original use as *nomen agentis*. \**iūn-en-* \**iūn-* \**iuy-ŋ-* 'young, young man': Skr. *yūv-an-* (acc. sing. *yūv-ān-am* gen. sing. *yū-n-as* loc. pl. *yūv-a-su*), Lat. *yuv-en-* (-*en-is*), cp. also the form \**iuy-ŋ-kós* which is more widely used, § 83 p. 251; the word is no doubt connected with Lith. *jaũ* O.C.Sl. *ju* 'already' see § 66 ad fin. p. 149<sup>2)</sup>. Skr. *ás-an-* 'stone, sling-stone', Gr. *ἄκ-ων* (-*ον-ος*, by a change of declension, see p. 350) 'javelin', cp. also Gr. *ἄκ-όρ-η* 'whetstone' and *ἄκ-αυα* 'point, thorn'. Skr. *mārdh-án-* m. A.S. *mold-a* m. 'head' (ground-form \**m̥dh-en-* \**m̥dh-en-*, cp. also I § 306 p. 243). Skr. *plīh-án-* *plīh-an-* *plih-an-* Lat. *li-en* (-*ēnis*) 'spleen' are among the neuter words which denote parts of the body.

Neuter. Skr. *ud-án-*, Goth. *vat-ō*, Lith. *vand-ũ* and *und-ũ* (which have become masc.), Gr. *ῥδ-α-το-* with *α* = *ŋ* (nom. *ῥδ-ωρ*), 'water'. Skr. *údḥ-an-* (nom. *údḥ-ar*) Gr. *οὔθ-α-το-* (nom. *οὔθ-αρ*) 'udder'. Skr. *yak-án-* Gr. *ῥπ-α-το-* (nom. *ῥπ-αρ*) Lat. *jec-in-* (in

1) *žm-onà* 'wife' and *žm-ónés* 'human beings' are not parallel to this but contain the suffix of the Latin *hūm-ānu-s* (cp. § 160).

2) I see little probability in Danielsson's assumption (Gramm. and etymol. Stud. I 49) that the word is merely an ablaut-variant of Gr. *αἰ(φ)ώρ* Skr. *āyun-*.

*jecin-or-is* etc., the *-or-* having forced its way in from the nom. *jec-ur*, cp. also I § 431 c. p. 321) Lith. *jeku-os* f. pl. 'liver'. *-en-* was secondary in the word for head: Skr. *śīrś-an-* n. Gr. *κράω* n. for *\*κράω-s* (*-a* = *-ŋ*), *ἀμφι-κράω-s* 'two-headed' for *\*κράω-v-o-*, *κράω-v* 'head' for *\*κράω-s-v-o-v* (cp. the Author, Morph. Unt. II 173 f. 227 ff., Solmsen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 69, Danielsson, Gramm. und etymolog. Stud. I, 1888, p. 40 ff.), Lat. *cernuo-s* for *\*cers-n-uo-s*, O.Icel. *hjars-e* m. 'head'; the words contain a neuter stem *\*ker-es-* (*\*kŷr-es-* *\*kr-es-*), cp. Skr. *śīras-Av. sar-ah-* 'head' Lat. *cerebru-m* for *\*ceres-ro-* (I § 570 p. 428) and below § 134. In like manner, Gr. *ὠτο-* n. for *\*oŷ-ŋ-to-* Goth. *áus-ō* n. 'ear' no doubt implies a neuter *-es-* stem, which appears in Greek in the nom. *ὠς* Dor. *ὠς*, if this represents *\*oŷ-os* and not *\*oŷs-os* (O.C.Sl. *uch-o*) (J. Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 141, Solmsen ibid. 92). Skr. *akṣ-án-* Armen. *ak-n* Goth. *áug-ō* (cp. I § 444 Rem. 3, p. 331) 'eye', O.C.Sl. *ok-n-o* n. 'window' <sup>1)</sup>). For the use of *-i-* stems to supplement these neuters in *-en-* as Skr. *áskṣ-i* gen. *akṣ-ŋ-ás*, see § 93 p. 279. For the nominatives in *r*, like Skr. *údh-ar*, see § 118.

If the Greek infinitives in *-ειν-* (Dor. Lesb. *ην*), like *φέρειν* 'to bear', are to be derived from *\*-εσεν* (which is more in accordance with known phonetic laws than to assume they came from *\*-ε-φεν*), we may infer an Indo-Germanic inf. in *\*-s-en* *\*-s-en-i*, which was loc. sing. Compare the Skr. inf. in *-s-an-i*, as *nē-ṣ-án-i* from *nī-* 'lead', *gr-ŋt-ṣ-án-i* beside *gar-* (pres. *gr-ŋd-mi*) 'praise'.

Aryan. Masculines (and the few Feminines that occur) are rare in Aryan as compared with the classical languages, Celtic and Germanic. Skr. *tákṣ-an-* 'carpenter' Avest. *taš-an-*

1) The *ṣ* of Skr. *akṣ-án-* presents certain difficulties. It has been assumed that this is also an extension of an *-es-* stem (cp. O.C.Sl. *oko* gen. *očes-e*); but this theory is not supported by Avest. *aši-* = Skr. *akṣi-* (cp. I § 401 with Rem. 1 p. 296 f., § 556, 1 p. 411; it must be admitted however that *ṣ* is sometimes written for *xṣ*, see Bartholomae, Handbuch § 100 Rem. 2 p. 43) nor by Gr. Boeot. *ὀκταλλο-s* 'eye' (cp. I § 554 p. 408). Compare also I § 427 Rem. 2 p. 314.

'sculptor', see above p. 345. Skr. *ukṣ-án-* Avest. *uxš-an-* 'ox', see above p. 345. Skr. *śv-án-* Avest. *sp-an-* 'dog' see above p. 346. Skr. *yúv-an-* Avest. *yv-an-* (read *yuvan-*, Bartholomae's Hdb. § 91 a p. 40) 'young, young man'; see above, p. 346. Skr. *ás-an-* Avest. *as-an-* 'stone'; see above, p. 346. Skr. *rāj-an-* 'king' beside *rāj-án-* 'government': cp. O.Ir. *rīgain* § 110 p. 335; cp. also Lat. *rēgnu-m* § 65 Rem. p. 139. Skr. *mūrdh-án-* (*-án-am*) 'head': A.S. *mold-a*, see above p. 346. Skr. *vi-bhv-án-* *vi-bhv-an-* 'excellent' beside *vi-bhū-* and *vi-bhv-a-*, words of similar meaning. Avest. *arš-an-* 'male, man' O.Pers. *xšayāršan-* 'Xerxes' (for *xšaya-* 'ruler' + *aršan-*); see above, p. 345.

In Avestic there are a few examples of *-en-* in secondary use: *mar<sup>e</sup>-t-an-* beside *mar<sup>e</sup>-ta-* 'mortalis'. *puṣr-an-* 'father of a family' beside *pu-ṣra-* 'son'. *vīs-an-* 'member of a clan' beside *vīs-* 'clan'. *hazanh-an-* 'robber' beside *hazah-* 'deed of violence'. Forms like these originally existed in Sanskrit<sup>1)</sup>, but they were driven out by the forms in *-in-*, see § 115.

Remark 1. In Sanskrit, the nom. sing. in *-ā* sometimes led to a transference to the *ā*-declension; e. g. *plih-ā-* f. beside *plih-an-*. Cp. *-mā* § 117 Rem. 2, *-tā* § 122 Rem. 1, and Gr.Ion. *πάτηρ*, which in the oldest period was neuter (see p. 347 above), but appears later as feminine (gen. *πάτηρος*; etc.).

Neuters. Skr. *ud-án-* *údih-an-* and other words; see above, p. 346. Skr. *mah-án-* 'size': compare no doubt Gr. *μέγ-α* 'magnum', which must be a substantive used adjectivally (*μέγας* *μέγαν* are later forms). *dadh-án-* 'sour milk' (nom. *dádhi*): cp. Pruss. *dadān* 'milk' (an *a*-stem?). *asth-án-* 'bone' (*ásthi*), *sakth-án-* 'thigh' (*sákthi*), *as-án-* 'mouth', *dōṣ-án-* 'fore-arm', *cákṣan-* 'eye' (cp. *akṣ-án-*). *áh-an-* 'day' (nom. *áhar*), *gámbh-an-* 'depth'. Avest. *ay-an-* 'day' (beside *ay-ar<sup>e</sup>*), *nānh-an-* 'nose'.

For the Sanskrit infinitives in *-s-an-i*, see p. 347 above.

Armenian. *arñ* 'of the man' (Avest. *arš-nō*), see p. 345 above. *šun*, gen. *šan*, 'dog', see p. 346 above. *akn*, gen. *akan*,

1) The assumption of a nom. sing. *krāṇā* in Vedic (stem *krāṇ-an-*), from *krāṇā-* 'working, active', is based upon a wrong view of the particular passages where the word occurs.

'eye', see p. 347 above. *gar'n*, gen. *gar'in*, 'Lamb' for \**γῆρ-en-*: Skr. *úr-an-a-s* 'ram' (transferred to the *o*-declension), Gr. *-φο-ην* in *πολύ-ροην* 'rich in sheep' nom. *ἀρήν* gen. *ἀρ-ν-ός* etc. 'ram' (I § 290 p. 232, § 291 p. 233). *eln*, gen. *elin*, 'stag': O.C.Sl. *jel-en-* (gen. *jelen-e*) 'stag'; it is also found in the extended forms Gr. *ἐλ-α-φος* 'stag' *ἐλλός* 'young stag' for \**ἐλ-ν-ος* (I § 204 p. 170 f., II § 78 p. 216), Mod.Cymr. *elain* 'hind', Lith. *él-n-i-s*, gen. *élnio*, 'stag, elk'.

Greek. The masculine (rarely feminine) *-en-*stems are numerous. Through the generalisation of certain forms of the suffix five types of inflexion arose: *ἀρ-ν-* 'ram' (acc. *ἄρ-ν-α* gen. *ἀρ-ν-ός*)<sup>1</sup>); *ἀδ-έν-* 'gland' *ἄρσ-εν-* 'male' (*ἀδ-έν-α* *-έν-ος*, *ἄρσ-εν-α* *-εν-ος*); *ἀηδ-όν-* 'nightingale' *τέκτ-ον-* 'carpenter' (*ἀηδ-όν-α* *-όν-ος*, *τέκτ-ον-α* *-ον-ος*); *πευθ-ῆν-* 'inquirer' (*πευθ-ῆν-α* *-ῆν-ος*); *ἀγ-ῶν-* 'struggle' *κλύδ-ων-* 'wave' (*ἀγ-ῶν-α* *-ῶν-ος*, *κλύδ-ων-α* *-ων-ος*). No difference of function however was attached to these different forms of the suffix.

Nomina agentis. *τέκτ-ων*, *ἄρσ-ην*, *κύ-ων*, see above p. 345 f. *ἀρηγ-ών* (*-όν-*) 'helping, helper'. *ψυθ-ών* (*-όν-*) 'liar, slanderer'. *φαγ-ιόν* (*-όν-*) 'jawbone' (*φαγ-εῖν* 'to eat'). *τερεγ-ών* (*-όν-*) f. 'turtle-dove' (*τερέειν* 'to coo'). *κραγγ-ών* (*-όν-*) f. 'jay' (*κράζω* 'I cry'). *αἰθ-ων* (*-ον-* and *-ων-*) 'burning'. *στράβ-ων* (*-ων-*) 'squinter'. *γνίφ-ων* (*-ων-*) 'niggard'. *σκήπ-ων* or *σκήμπ-ων* (*-ων-*) 'staff' (*σκήμπ-ειν* 'I support'). *κραυγ-ών* (*-ών-*) 'cryer, wood-pecker'. *πευθ-ῆν* (*-ῆν-*) 'inquirer'. Often it is used as a denominative suffix, denoting one who stands in some special relation to what is denoted by the original word. *τερήρων* (*-ων-*) epithet of the dove, 'little trembler' beside *τερηρός* 'timorous'. *πόρδ-ων* (*-ων-*) 'pēditor', beside *πορδή* 'pēditum'. *κίβδ-ων* (*-ων-*) 'workman who purifies metals from the dross', beside *κίβδη* 'dross'. *δρόμ-ων* (*-ων-*) 'runner', term applied to a light kind of ship and a kind of lobster, beside *δρόμος* 'course'. *γάστρ-ων* (*-ων-*) 'glutton', beside *γαστήρ* 'paunch'. *γνάθ-ων* (*-ων-*) 'thick-cheek, puff-cheek', beside

1) The nom. *ἀρήν* occurs in an Att. inscr. earlier than 450 B. C., C.I.A. I 4, 22.

γνάθος 'cheek'. φύσκων (-ων-) 'fat-paunch, pot-belly', beside φύσκη 'stomach, great-gut'. We should add a number of personal names, such as Στράβων (στράβων, στραβός), Χρέμων (cp. O.H.G. *Grimmo*), Ἀγάθων (ἀγαθός), Φίλων (φίλος), Δρόμων (δρόμων, δρόμος), Λύκων (cp. O.H.G. *Wolfo*).

Other *-en-*stems are more isolated, and it is not clear how they are to be connected with the different uses of the suffix which we can trace in the parent language. Acc. πύκ-ν-α gen. πυκ-ν-ός (nom. πνύξ is a new formation) a place of public assembly in Athens (cp. the Author, *Morph. Unt.* II 169). τέρ-ην (-εν-) 'tender'. ἀνχ-ήν(-έν-) 'neck'. εἰκ-ών (-όν-) 'image'. σταγ-ών (-όν-) f. 'drop'. πηγ-ών (-όν-) f. 'length of an ell'. ἀγ-ών (-ῶν-) 'contest'. κλύδ-ων (-ων-) 'wave, billow'. λειχ-ήν (-ήν-) 'scab, eruption'.

In consequence of the similar termination of the nom. -ων, stems of this kind sometimes followed the inflexion of stems in -οντ-. ἄκ-ων, see above, p. 346. θεράπ-ων (-οντ-) 'servant' beside θεράπ-ν-η θεράπ-αινα 'maid-servant'. λέων (-οντ-) 'lion' beside λείο-παρδο-ς 'leopard' (like αἰμο-βαφής ἀκμό-θετον § 112 p. 340), λέαινα 'lioness' and Lat. *leo* (-ον-). Cp. the Author, *Morph. Unt.* II 168 f. 197.

The neuters were associated with the neuter stems in -μεν- and -μεν- and all alike underwent a change of inflexion due originally to their extension by the suffix -το-. See § 82 p. 250. κάρᾱ 'head' for \*καρᾱσ-α gen. καρᾱ-τός, κρή-δεμνο-ν 'head-band'; ὕδ-α-τος, nom. ὕδ-ωρ. 'water'; οὖθ-α-τος, nom. οὖθ-αρ 'udder'; ἥπ-α-τος, nom. ἥπ-αρ 'liver'; οὖ-α-τος ὠ-τός, nom. οὖς 'ear'; see p. 347 above. ἄλειφ-α (also ἄλειφ-αρ), gen. -α-τος, 'oil for anointing', like Lat. *ungu-en*.

Infinitives in -ειν for -ειν-; for these forms see above, p. 347. It is possible, but it can hardly be proved, that the Doric infinitives like φέρειν are the locatives of an abstract root-noun in -εν- (ἄγ-εν for instance, beside ἀγ-ών, as αἰ-(f)έν beside αἰ-(f)ών, § 116).

Italic. Masculine (rarely feminine) *-en-* stems are numerous. Lat. *car-ō car-n-is* f., Umbr. *kar-u* 'pars' *kar-n-e* 'carne

carni' Osc. *car-n-eis* 'partis', beside Umbr. *kar-tu* 'dividito, distributo': O.Ir. *car-n-a* 'flesh'. Lat. *hom-ō -ōn-is* and *-in-is*, Umbr. *hom-on-us* (*ō*) 'hominibus' Osc. *humuns* (*ū*) nom. 'homines': Goth. *gum-a* etc., see p. 346. Umbr. *abr-un-u* (*ū*) 'aprum' (like Lat. *burdō* beside *burdu-s* and the like); cp. Lat. *aprun-culu-s*. Osc. *sverrun-éi* (*ū*) dat. sing. the title of a magistrate.

If we except *carō*<sup>1)</sup>, the different forms of the suffix were levelled in Latin in such a way that all the cases but the nom. sing. had either *-en-* *-in-* or *-ōn-*. *-en-* is found only in *juven-*, but there it is not phonetically regular, see I § 65 Rem. 3 p. 53. We cannot determine how far Lat. *-in-* represents Idg. *-en-* or Idg. *-on-* respectively.

In Latin it forms primary *nomina agentis*, all with *-ōn-*. *ed-ō ed-ōn-is*, *as-sedō*, see p. 346 above. *in-cub-ō*: O.H.G. *huf-o* 'heap'. *ger-ō*. *vol-ō*. *bib-ō*. *rap-ō*. *mand-ō*. *err-ō*. *-ōn-* is also found in denominatives, some of which are also *nomina agentis*, while some denote persons or things which stand in some other special relation to the thing denoted by the original word; such formations were suggested by groups of words like *cachinn-ō* beside *cachinnāre* *cachinnu-s*, *fābul-ō* beside *fābulāri* *fābula* and others. Examples are: *gerr-ō* from *gerrae*. *simpul-ō* from *simpulu-m*. *mer-ō* from *meru-m*. *linte-ō* from *linteu-m*. *nebul-ō* from *nebula*. *bucc-ō* from *bucca*. *cox-ō* from *coxa*. *petr-ō* from *petra*. *strig-ō* from *striga*. The same *-ōn-* forms many personal names, as *Capit-ō* from *caput*, *Nās-ō* from *nāsu-s*, *Cat-ō* from *catu-s*, *Rūf-ō* from *rūfu-s*. The following nouns denoting inanimate objects are nearly related to these appellatives: *pīsō* (*-ōn-* in oblique cases and so in all these words) 'mortar' (*pī(n)sere*), *runc-ō* 'hoe' (*runcāre*), *sabul-ō* 'coarse sand' from *sabulu-m*, *pēr-ō* 'a boot rather too loose at the top' from *pēra* (cp. O.H.G. *gēro* from *gēr* and the like p. 354); and no doubt *pont-ō* 'pontoon' from *pōns*. — In *hom-ō -ōn-* gave way to *-in-*, when the consciousness of its original meaning (see p. 346) had died out.

1) Cp. also *cor-n-* in *cor-n-īx* beside Umbr. *cur-n-ac-o* 'cornicem' Gr. *χορ-ών-η* 'crown'.



Other *-en-*stems are more isolated in point of meaning. *juv-en-* (nom. *juven-i-s*, see § 93 p. 281), cp. *juven-cu-s* Umbr. *ivengar* pl. 'iuvencae' § 83 p. 251, *juven-ta* § 80 p. 239, *jūn-t-x* § 110 p. 335: Skr. *yūv-an-* etc., see p. 346. *pect-en (-in-)*, *li-en (-ēn-)* (Skr. *plth-ān-*, p. 346), perhaps the Idg. nom. ended in *\*-ēn*; cp. also *sanguen*, the older nom. of *sangu-in-is* etc., afterwards replaced by *\*sanguin-s*, whence *sanguīs*. *turb-ō (-in-)*. *ōrd-ō (-in-)*. Some few were feminine, as *aspergō (-in-)*, *compagō (-in-)*, *grandō (-in-, also m.)*, *margo (-in-, also m.)*, *virgō (-in-)*. Lastly, there are some masculines formed with *-ōn-*, which may or may not be connected with the class of *-ōn-* forms just discussed, as *cūdō*, *carbō*, *truō*.

Neuters. *ungu-en (-in-)* Umbr. *um-en* 'ungen' (*umen* is otherwise explained by Pauli, Altital. Stud. V 102 f.): O.Ir. *imb imm*, gen. *imne* (stem *imb-en-*) n., O.H.G. *anch-o* m. (no doubt originally neuter) 'butter'. *ingu-en (-in-)*: Gr. *ἀδ-ήν* gen. *ἀδ-ήν-ος* 'gland', common ground-form *\*p̥g-en-*, cp. also O.Icel. *ekk-r* 'swelling'. *pollen (-in-)*, originally *\*pol-en* *\*pol-n-is*; see I § 208 p. 175. *jecur* *\*jecin-is* produced the form *jecin-or-is*; see above, p. 346 f.

Old Irish. The masculines (and the rarer feminines) have partly *-on-* (Gall. *Lingon-es*, *Senon-es* and the like), partly *-ōn-*. We do not find any thing like a large group of *nomina agentis*.

The following have pr. Celt. *-on-*, nom. sing. in *-ō* (cp. *-tiu* for *-tiō*, § 115). *cū* (pl. *coin*) Mod.Cymr. *ci* (pl. *cwn*) 'dog': Skr. *śvā* etc., see p. 346 above. *esc-ung* 'eel' ('bog-snake'): cp. Lat. *angu-en* n. beside *angui-s*. *derucc* (gen. *derc-on*) 'acorn'. *Miliuc* (gen. *Milc-on*), *Glaisiuc*, proper names. Cp. also *triath*, gen. *trethan*, 'sea' = Gr. *Τριτ-ων*.

The following have pr. Celt. *-ōn-*, nom. sing. in *\*-ōn-s* (cp. Osc. *-iuf -īf*, § 115 Rem. p. 360). *ar-u* (pl. *arain*) 'kidney' is no doubt to be compared with Lat. Praenest. *nefrōn-ēs* Lanuv. *nebr-un-din-ēs*, O.H.G. *nior-o* (pr. Germ. *\*ne(ʒ)ur-en-*) 'kidney', even though the form of the root-syllable in Celtic (Mod.Cymr. *eirin*) is difficult to explain. *lecc-o* 'cheek'. *id-u* 'pangs of travail'.

*fiad-u* 'witness'. *lach-u* 'duck'. *Ān-u* 'mater deorum Hibernensium'. Many of the substantives of this group were feminine; but I do not know how far the gender has been ascertained in particular instances.

It is not probable that *ing-e* 'nail' (gen. *ingan*) is a formation of the same sort as *men-me* 'mens' (gen. *menman*) for *\*-men-s* (§ 117).

Remark 2. "It can scarcely be maintained that the word for 'nail' in O.Ir. was an *n*-stem. In any case Stokes' paradigm [Bezzenb. Beitr. XI 92] does not agree with the facts in Old Irish. The following is much more likely; — Insular Celt. *\*engyūnā* Cymr. *ewin* f., O.Ir. nom. *ingen*, a gloss to 'ungula' (hitherto taken as gen. sing.), dat. *ingin*, dat. pl. *ingnib* for *\*inginaib*. In Mid.Ir. the word was declined, though not entirely, as an *n*-stem. The nom. sing. was *inga inge* just as *persa* = O.Ir. *persan* (persona). For the nom. pl. we still have *ingne*, which is regularly developed from *\*ingina*, but cannot be satisfactorily explained as any case of the *n*-inflection". Thurneysen.

Neut. *imb* 'butter': Lat. *ungu-en* etc., see above p. 352.

Germanic. Here the *-en*-suffix attained its widest use in a mass of new formations. Its fertility is especially remarkable in the class of *nomina agentis* and the nouns connected with them, in which *-en-* appears as a secondary suffix with what may be called an 'individualising' function, i. e. that of converting adjectives into substantives. Any adjective could be so converted by adding *-en-* to its stem. These derived forms were brought into close syntactical connexion with the definite article (demonstrative-stem *\*to-*), and so arose what is known as the 'weak' declension of adjectives. Further Idg. and Germ. *-ōn-* was associated with Germ. *-ō-* (Idg. *-ā-*) on the analogy of the relation between Germ. *-an-* and *-a-*, and so a weak declension was developed for the adjectival *ā*-stems parallel to that of the *o*-stems.

Masculine. *Nomina agentis*. Goth. *áuhs-a* O.H.G. *ohs-o* O.Icel. *ox-e ux-e* 'ox': Skr. *ukṣ-án-* etc., see p. 345 above. O.H.G. *speh-o ezz-o -sezz-o* see p. 346 above. Goth. *skul-a* O.H.G. *scol-o* 'debtor'. Goth. *un-vita* 'ignorant one, fool' O.H.G. *wizz-o* 'knower, sage'. Goth. *nula* 'fisher'. O.H.G. *herj-zogo* O.Icel.

*her-toge* 'duke' pr. Germ. *\*tuz-én-* and O.H.G. *heri-zoho* pr. Germ. *\*tūz-en-*. O.H.G. *bot-o* O.Icel. *boð-e* 'messenger'. O.H.G. *geb-o* O.Icel. *-gjaf-e* 'giver'. O.H.G. *wār-queto* 'veridicus' O.Icel. *hröðr-kveðe* 'praedicator laudis' pr. Germ. *\*kved-én-*. Mid.H.G. *schad-e* O.Icel. *skað-e* 'damager' pr. Germ. *\*skáp-en-*. Goth. *han-a* O.H.G. *han-o* 'cock', beside Lat. *can-ere*. O.H.G. *sceid-o* 'sequester'. Further we find denominative forms, some of them also *nomina agentis*, and some denoting persons or things which stand in some other special relation to the idea of the original word (including many epithetised compounds with *ga-*). Goth. *gum-a* O.H.G. *gomo* O.Icel. *gum-e* 'human being, man': Lat. *hom-ō* etc.; see above, p. 346. Goth. *vaurstō-a* 'worker' from *vaurstō* n. 'work'. Goth. *spill-a* 'announcer' from *spill* n. 'tale'. Goth. *ga-razna* 'neighbour' from *razn* 'house'. O.H.G. *stiur-o* O.Icel. *stjör-e* 'steersman' from *stiura* f. 'rudder'. O.H.G. *urteil-o* 'judge' from *urteil* 'sentence'. O.H.G. *hūw-o* 'spouse' O.Icel. *hý-e* 'attendant' beside Goth. *heiva-* 'house'. O.H.G. *heim-o* 'cricket on the hearth' from *heim* 'house, home'. O.H.G. *gi-lanto* 'fellow-countryman' from *lant* 'country'. Further we have names of peoples, such as *Teutōn-es*, O.H.G. *Sahso*, *Franko*, and names of persons, such as O.H.G. *Wolfo*, *Harto*, *Berhto*. The following have a close connexion with the *nomina agentis*: A.S. *drop-a* 'drop' ('dripper'), O.H.G. *chleb-o* 'sticker, glue' and the like.

The following are substantives formed from adjectives: Goth. *liuta* 'hypocrite' from *liut-s* 'hypocritical', *veiha* 'priest' from *veih-s* 'holy', O.H.G. *wīzago* 'soothsayer' from *wīzag* 'marking, surmising', and others.

Through the popularity of the *-n*-declension substantival *o*-stems denoting persons were sometimes made into *-en*-stems without any alteration of meaning, e. g. Goth. *svaithra* beside O.H.G. *svehur* Skr. *śvāśura-s* Gr. *ἐκγρό-ς* 'father-in-law'.

We find another class of denominatives, akin to those already discussed, denoting objects of the same shape or form as the thing described by the original substantive (cp. Lat. *sabulō*, *pērō* p. 351). O.H.G. *gēr-o* O.Icel. *geir-e* 'wedge-shaped piece, instrument, or territory', from *gēr* 'spear'. A.S. *mūd-a*

O.Icel. *mun-e* 'orifice', beside *muð* 'mouth'. Mid.H.G. *kamb-e kamm-e* 'comb-like instrument', from *kam* 'comb'. O.Icel. *nagl-e* 'nail', from *nagl* 'finger-nail'. O.Icel. *odd-e* m. 'triangle', from *odd-r* 'spear-point'. Add certain words in *-ðn-* (f.), as O.H.G. *bart-a* 'axe, broad-axe' beside *bart* beard'. Cp. Kluge, Nomin. Stammbildungslehre § 79 p. 37.

The most numerous of the remaining substantives are the abstract nouns and the names for parts of the body. Abstract nouns: Goth. *ah-a* 'thought, understanding', *ga-taira* 'cleft', O.H.G. *scad-o* O.Icel. *skað-e* 'harm', O.H.G. *smerz-o* 'pain', *gi-feho* 'joy'; add also some words in *-ðn-* (f.), as Goth. *lub-ð* 'love', *brinn-ð* 'fever', O.Icel. *tak-a* 'taking in, assumption'. One or two of the names for parts of the body are proethnic: A.S. *mold-a* 'head' see p. 346, O.Icel. *hjars-e* 'head' see p. 347, O.H.G. *nior-o* (O.Icel. *nýr-a* n.) 'kidney'; see p. 352. With these, others were associated: Goth. *lōf-a* 'flat of the hand', O.H.G. *nabol-o* O.Icel. *nafl-e* 'navel', O.H.G. *dūm-o* (cp. § 72 p. 171). Also feminine forms in *-ðn-* as O.H.G. *gall-ā* 'gall' (on the other hand A.S. *zealla* is m.), Goth. *tugg-ð* O.H.G. *zung-a* O.Icel. *tung-a* 'tongue', O.H.G. *zēh-a* 'toe'.

Feminine. The original stems in *-ðn-* were associated in Germanic with those in *-ā-*, not so intimately indeed as were the *-iðn-* stems, but closely enough to be attracted into the feminine gender, though we must observe that some of the abstract nouns in *-ðn-*, like those in *-iðn-*, may have been feminine before they passed into Germanic. On their analogy feminines in *-ðn-* were formed at will from the masculine *-en-* stems which denoted living beings. O.H.G. *maga-zoha* 'nutrix' from *-zoho -zogo*. O.Icel. *kveld-riða* 'noctivaga, strix' from *-riðe*. Goth. *ga-raznð* 'neighbour (f.)' from *ga-razna*. O.H.G. *gi-mahha* 'wife' from *gi-mahho*. O.H.G. *hīwa* 'wife' from *hīwo*. O.H.G. *wīzaga* 'sooth-sayer (f.)' from *wīzago*. Goth. *svaithrō* 'mother-in-law' from *svaithra*. Goth. *qinō* O.Icel. *kona* 'woman' contrasted with Gr. *γυνή*, Goth. *viduð* 'widow' contrasted with Lat. *vidua*. As an example of the weak adjectives we may take Goth. *blind-ð* beside masc. *blind-a* 'caecus'.

Neuters, in the genitive and other cases always with *-en-*. Goth. *vat-ō* 'water', Goth. *áus-ō* O.H.G. *ōr-a* 'ear', Goth. *áug-ō* O.H.G. *oug-a* 'eye', see above p. 347. Goth. *hairt-ō* O.H.G. *herz-a* 'heart'. O.H.G. *wang-a* 'cheek'. O.Icel. *nýr-a* 'kidney' beside O.H.G. m. *nior-o* (on the other hand O.Icel. *hjars-e* m. beside Skr. n. *śirś-án-*, cp. also O.H.G. *anch-o* m. 'butter' beside Lat. *ungu-en* n. O.Ir. *imb* n.). Along with these names for parts of the body we find a few other substantives, as Goth. *þáirk-ō* 'hole', *áuga-daúrō* 'window' and *kaúrnō* 'corn' (a derivative of *kaúrn*, parallel to masculines like O.H.G. *gēr-o* and to feminines like O.H.G. *bart-a* p. 354 f.). In the weak adjectives: Goth. *blind-ō* beside masc. *blind-a*.

Balto-Slavonic. Here the *-en-* stems are rare; a large part of them have fallen out of the *n*-declension through various processes of re-formation. Generally the suffix appears in the form *-en-* in all cases except the nom. sing.

Lith. *el-n-* in *éln-i-s* 'stag, elk' O.C.Sl. *jelen-* m. (nom. *jelen-ī*) 'stag': Armen. *elñ* etc., see p. 349 above. Lith. *szirsz-ũ* m. O.C.Sl. *srīš-en-ī* m. 'horse-fly, hornet', common ground-form *\*kys-en-*: cp. O.H.G. *hornaz* 'hornet' pr. Germ. *\*χurz-n-ata-z* (I § 303 p. 240). From an original *\*dej-en-* (*\*diē-en-* *\*dī-en-*) *\*di-n-* (*\*dej-n-*) 'day' were developed Lith. f. *dē-n-à* Pruss. acc. *dei-n-a-n* O.C.Sl. gen. *dī-n-e* (nom. *dī-nī* m.): cp. Skr. *dīn-a-m* Lat. *nūn-dīnae* (J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 23).

Lith. *szũ* (aus *\*szu-ũ*, I § 184 p. 160), gen. *szu-ñ-s* acc. *szũ-n-ī*, m. 'dog', also *szun-i-s* m.: Skr. *śv-ā* etc., see p. 346 above. *rud-ũ* m. 'autumn' beside *rūd-a-s* 'reddish-brown': cp. Lat. *Rūf-ō* Goth. *ráud-a*, see p. 345 above. We have an old neuter in *vand-ũ* m. 'water' (Lett. *úd--e'n-s*): Skr. *ud-án-* etc., see above p. 346.

O.C.Sl. *step-en-* m. 'step', *kor-en-* m. 'root', nom. *stepen-ī* *kgren-ī*. *vod-a* f. 'water' (inflected as an *a*-stem) perhaps comes from an Indo-Germanic nominative in *-ō*.

§ 115. The Suffix *-ien-*<sup>1)</sup>. This Suffix, which appears in the forms *-ien-* *-ion-* *-iēn-* *-iōn-*, *-ijen-* *-iion-* *-iiēn-* *-iiōn-* and *-in-* *-īn-* (*-iŋ-* *-iŋŋ-*) arose in derivatives from the stems in *-io-* *-i-* and *-ī-*. We must distinguish two strata in this class of nasal stems.

1. Forms corresponding to denominatives like Lat. *hom-ō* Lith. *rud-ũ* Av. *mar't-an-* (§ 114), as Skr. *abhimātīn-* 'plotting' (*abhī-māti-ṣ* 'plot'), *ὁὐρανίω* 'the heavenly one' (cp. *ὁὐρανός*), Lat. *vulpīō* (*vulpēs*), Goth. *arbja* 'heir' (*arli* n. 'heritage').

2. Abstract Substantives like those mentioned on p. 341 f. e. g. *cap-iō*, which, if we may judge from *δατίω-η* and other examples, once existed in Greek as well as elsewhere.

The custom of extending all kinds of stems by an *-n*-suffix remained in full force through most of the stages in the history of the separate languages, and hence the class of stems which we are now considering was continually enlarged. But we are justified in referring all such nouns as Goth. *arbja* to the suffix *-ien-* rather than to *-en-* (§ 114) — although *a priori* the word might be analysed either *arbjan-* or *arbja-n* quite as naturally as *arb-jan-* (cp. e. g. *vaúrstv-an-* or *vaúrst va-n-*) — simply because they created no new variety of suffix, that is, none which was not in existence in the proethnic period, but merely reproduced the original *-ien-* type in one or other of its forms.

On the other hand it must be admitted that this suffix had only just begun to be used independently before the separation of the languages. Indeed there appear to be no examples of particular words that contain it which are certainly proethnic; notice however such parallels as Skr. *praśn-in-* 'questioner' A.S. *friczea* 'herald' and abstract nouns like Lat. *ratiōn-* = Goth. *raþjōn-*, Lat. *mentiō* = O.Ir. *er-mitiu*, which are mostly derived from Indo-Germanic stems in *-ti-*, see § 100 p. 294.

Aryan. Here we find only denominatives with the suffix

1) Cp Leo Meyer's treatise quoted p. 294 footnote.

in the form *-in-*<sup>1)</sup>, which spread through all the cases in the proethnic period of Aryan; e. g. nom. pl. *-in-as* instead of *\*-iān-as*, loc. sing. *-in-i* instead of *\*-iān-i*. During the same period *-i-* replaced *-ja-* (= *-iṣ-*) in the 'middle' cases (e. g. Skr. *arct-bhyas* Avest. *kaini-bjō*) and *-ī-* replaced *-iā* in the nom. sing. (Skr. *arcti* Avest. *kaini*) on the analogy of the *-en-* stems (Skr. dat. abl. pl. *-a-bhyas*, nom. sing. *-ā*).

Skr. *arctn-* 'beaming from *arcti-* 'beam', *cittin-* 'intelligent' from *citti-* 'understanding', *ūrmīn-* 'billowy' from *ūrmī-* 'billow', *atithin-* 'wandering' from *ātithi-* 'guest'. Avest. *kainin-* f. 'girl' from *kanyā-* Skr. *kanyā* 'girl'. Gr. *καινό-ς* 'new' (*\*καρ-ιό-ς*); for the meaning of the suffix compare Lat. *pūs-iō* 'little boy'. But we find that the use of *-in-* as a derivative suffix has spread by analogy to other than *-o-* stems, almost exclusively however to those in *-o-* (cp. Gr. *μαλακ-ίων* from *μαλακό-ς*, Lat. *libell-ōi* from *libellu-s*, Goth. *vaúrsto-ja* from *vaúrsto*); it ousted *-an-*, which remained only in Avestic (see § 114 p. 348). Skr. *parṇ-in-* Avest. *per'n-in-* 'winged', beside Skr. *parṇā-m* 'wing'. Skr. *yav-in-* 'rich in corn'. Avest. *yev-in-* m. 'fields', beside Skr. *yáva-s* 'corn'. Skr. *śvan-in-* 'leading dogs', from *śvan-* 'dog'. O.Pers. *vīp-in-* 'belonging to a clan' (Avestic shows the older form *vis-an-*), from *vīp-* 'clan'. Skr. *-yin-* after vowels, e. g. *svadhā-yin-* 'he to whom the svadhā belongs' is like *-i-* (Lith. *mō-jī-s*) p. 122 footnote 2, and *-i-* § 110 p. 336.

In Sanskrit forms like *mad-in-* 'intoxicating, rejoicing' (from *māda-s* 'intoxication, joyous excitement') were referred to kindred verbs (*māda-ti*), and hence *-in-* acquired the character of a primary suffix. See Whitney, Skr. Gram. § 1183.

*-min-*, and *-vin-* were no doubt special formations in Sanskrit; examples are *rg-min-* 'singing, jubilating' (beside *rg-miya-* 'worthy of praise'), *namas-vin-* 'paying reverence.' Cp. below Gr. *στα-μίν-*.

1) Prof. W. Streitberg was the first scholar who clearly recognised that Ar. *-in-* was derived from the original *-ien-*. I have followed him also in regarding *-i-* as the weak form of *-iō-*, in § 116.

Greek. *-ιον- -ίων-* appear beside *-ιο-*, as in *οὐραν-ίων* (*-ίων-*) 'the heavenly one, dweller in heaven' beside *οὐράν-ιος* 'heavenly', *Κρον-ίων* (*-ιον-* and *ϊών-*) 'the descendant of Kronos' beside *Κρόν-ιος* 'belonging to Kronos'. Generally however *-ίων-* is an independent suffix. *Ἀτρε-ῖων* 'son of Atreus', from *Ἀτρεΐ-ς*. *μαλακ-ίων* 'weakling', from *μαλακός* 'weak'. *δειλακρ-ίων* 'wretch, miserable creature', from *δειλακρο-ς* 'very wretched'.

*-ιν-* appears in *Ἀδρηστ-ίν-η* 'daughter of Adrestos' *Εὐην-ίν-η* 'daughter of Euenos' beside *Ἀκρισ-ιών-η* 'daughter of Akrisios'. Further, in *δωτίν-η* 'gift' beside *δῶ-τις* 'gift', cp. Lat. *datiō* beside *dōs*. This form justifies us in classing here the words *δελφίν-* m. 'belly-fish, dolphin' (cp. Skr. *garbh-in-* 'pregnant'), *ἀκτ-ίν-* f. 'beam, of light', *πηρ-ίν-* f. 'scrotum', *ὠδ-ίν-* f. 'travail', *γλωχ-ίν-* f. 'point, end' (cp. *γλώσσα* for *\*γλωχ-ια*). The weak form of the suffix was adopted in all the cases, as *-in-* in Aryan. Closely parallel to these are words in *-μῖν-*: *στα-μῖν-* and *στα-μῖν-* m. 'wood that stands upright', *ἐηγ-μῖν-* f. 'surge, breaker' (beside *ἐηγ-μα* 'a breaking'), *ύσμῖν-* f. and *ύσμήν-η* 'flight' (for the *-σ-* cp. § 72 p. 173.). The nom. sing. ends in *-is* for *\*-ίν-ς-*, for which *-ιν* was substituted in later Greek.

Italic. *-iōn-* in the masculine is seen in Lat. *vulpīō* from *vulpēs*, *pellīō* from *pellis*, *restīō* from *restis*, *cūrīō* 'head of a curia', from *cūria*, *centurīō* from *centuria*, *lanīō* from *lanius*; and it is common as an independent suffix, e. g. *libell-iō* from *libellus*, *cūr-iō* 'one wasted by sorrow' from *cūra*, *tenebr-iō* from *tenebrae*, *mīr-iō* from *mīrus*, and the substantives formed from the numerals, *ūn-iō* *bīn-iō* *tern-iō* and so forth. Some of these masculines had a diminutival sense, as *homunc-iō* *senec-iō* *pūs-iō* *pūmil-iō*, cp. Avest. *kainin-* p. 358. The Umbr. *Vuf-ion-e* *Vof-ion-e* should be mentioned here.

Secondly we have the feminine abstract nouns in *-iōn-*, and *-in-* (*-in-?*) in Umbro-Samnite; this establishes a variation in the form of the suffix in different cases for the proethnic Italic period. Lat. *com-mūniō* beside *com-mūni-s*; Goth. *ga-máinei* 'community' beside *ga-máini-* 'communis'; *al-luv-iō* beside *al-luv-iu-m*, *al-luv-iē-s*, *con-tāg-iō* beside *con-tāg-iu-m* ob-



*-sid-iō* beside *ob-sid-iu-m*, cp. Goth. *ga-riud-jō* beside *ga-riud-i*. The following examples show *-iōn-* in independent use, so that it appears as a primary suffix: Lat. *leg-iō re-ligio* Osc. *leg-in-ei* 'legioni, cohorti' *leg-in-um* 'legionem, cohortem', Lat. *cōn-spīc-iō*, *reg-iō*, *cap-iō ūsū-capiō*, *opīn-iō*; Umbr. *fer-in-e* perhaps 'feretro', *tribriū* 'ternio' abl. *tribris-in-e*, Osc. *tang-in-om* 'sententiam' gen. *tang-in-eis*, *tribarakk-iuf* 'aedificatio'.

The form *-tiōn-* *-tin-* (*-tīn-?*) is especially frequent and largely superseded Idg. *-ti-*: Lat. *men-tiō* (O.Ir. *er-mitiu* 'honour'), *ra-tiō* (Goth. *ra-þjō* 'ratio'), *da-tiō* (cp. Gr. *δο-τῆν-η* 'gift'), *jūnc-tiō*, *occupā-tiō*, *tribū-tiō*; Umbr. *na-tin-e* 'natione, gente', Osc. *medica-tin-om* 'indicationem', *úit-tiuf* 'usio, usus', *frukta-tiuf* 'usus, fructus', *statif* 'statio, statua'. Cp. § 100 p. 300. With Lat. *exerci-tiō* compare *exerci-tiu-m*, with *dic-tiō* the Osc. *med-dixud* 'iuris dictione', which no doubt comes from *\*med-dihtio-* as *Bansae* from *\*Bantiā-* (I § 502 p. 368 f.); see § 163 under *Italic*.

**Remark.** The Umbrian nominative termination *-iu* stands for pr. Ital. and pr. Idg. *-iō*. On the other hand. Osc. *-iuf* and *-iff* stand for *\*iōns* *\*-ins* (*\*-ins?*). The latter were later dialectic formations (cp. Lat. *sanguis* Gr. *βαῖμα*; and other similar forms, and see § 114 p. 352, § 117 under Old Irish). The late origin of the ending *-ns* explains the special treatment of this group of sounds in these words see I § 209 p. 177, § 655 p. 506.

In the Sabine dialect we find also the form *-iēn-* *ner-iēn-em* 'fortitudinem', nom. *ner-io*, gen. also *Nηρίν-ης* (Lydus de mens. IV 42), parallel to *ner-ō* 'brave' *Nerō* (cp. Gr. *ἄνδρ-ων*) from Idg. *\*ner-* 'man'. *An-io* gen. *-iēn-is* (amongst the Romans declined after the Latin fashion, *-iōn-is*). Should such forms be regarded as derivatives from words with the suffix *-iē-* (§ 109) (cp. *Ner-ia*), which would explain the *ē*?

Old Irish. Besides *Eriu* 'Ireland' (gen. *Erenn*; for the *nn* cp. § 117 Rem. 3) the only certain examples are the forms which correspond to the Latin feminine abstract nouns in *-tiō*: *air-itiu* f. 'accipere': Lat. *ēptiō*, *aig-thiu* f. 'fear' and others. All the cases, except the nom. sing., have *-tin-*; there is only the dat. (loc.) sing. with its by-form in *-te* to vouch for *\*-tion* in early Irish. See § 100 p. 301.

In Gallic *-iōn-* is common: we have names of towns like *Brigantio* (compared with the participial stem *brigant-* 'projecting', O.Ir. *Brigit* = Skr. *bṛhat-i* § 110 p. 337), *Divio*, *Cabellio*; names of tribes like *Suessiōn-es*, *Κοῦκουρ-ες*.

Germanic. Masc. *-jan-* (like *-an-*). Goth. *arbja* O.H.G. *arpeo* 'heir, beside Goth. *arb-i* n. 'heritage'. Goth. *bandja* 'prisoner', beside *band-i* f. 'chain'. Goth. *vái-dēdja* 'evildoer' Mid.H.G. *übel-tete* A.S. *yfel-dēda* 'evildoer', beside Goth. *ga-dēdi-* f. 'deed'. Goth. *ga-máinja* 'partaker', beside *ga-máini-* 'communis'. The suffix is more frequently independent. Goth. *mana-maúrþrja* O.H.G. *murdr-eo* 'murderer', from Germ. *\*murþra-* 'murder'; Goth. *timr-ja* 'carpenter', beside O.H.G. *zimbar* 'timber'; *fisk-ja* 'fisher', beside *fiska-* 'fish'; *vaúrstv-ja* 'worker', beside *vaúrstv* 'work'; O.H.G. *scirn-o* 'buffoon', beside *scern* 'jest'; *scar-io scaro* 'head of a troop' beside *scara* 'troop'. It has the character of a primary suffix in e. g. Goth. *arbi-num-ja* 'inheritor, heir', O.H.G. *nōt-num-eo* 'raptor', O.H.G. *sceph-eo scaffo* 'conditor', *fer-io fero* 'sailor'. Feminines (cp. O.H.G. *maga-zoha* etc. § 114 p. 355): Goth. *arbjō* 'heiress', O.H.G. *ge-betta* O.Icel. *bedja* 'bedfellow (f.), wife'.

The form *-iōn-* became incapable of denoting male persons (notice that masculines like Gr. *ἀγρῶν-ς* Lat. *agricola* O.C.Sl. *sluga* are foreign to Germanic). It was preserved on the other hand in names of things which in form are parallel to Goth. *arbja* etc. (also in a few names of animals), which then became feminine. Goth. *snōrjō* 'basket woven out of string', beside O.H.G. *snuori-* f. 'string'. O.H.G. *bulga* 'leathern sack', beside *balgi-* m. 'bag'. O.H.G. *hār-ra* 'hair garment', beside *hār* 'hair'. Goth. *ga-timrjō* O.H.G. *zimbirra* 'building', beside O.H.G. *zimbar* 'timber'. O.Icel. *birkja* 'birch-sap', beside *björk* 'birch'. O.Icel. *gedda* 'pike', beside *gadd-r* 'thorn, spine' (cp. Lat. *stellio* m. 'star-lizard, newt' from *stella*).

Feminine abstract nouns in *-iōn-*, whose gender dates from the pre-Germanic period. Goth. *gariudjō* 'modesty', side by side with *ga-riud-i* n. (same meaning) (cp. Lat. *alluviō* and *alluviu-m*), beside *ga-riup-s* 'modest, decent'. O.Icel. *vitra* 'sagacity' beside

*vit-r* 'sagacious'; *sēlu* 'luck', beside *sēll* 'lucky'. The suffix has the character of a primary suffix in Goth. *ga-runjō* 'inundation', *sakjō* 'strife', A.S. *æsce* 'question', O.Icel. *þykkja* 'love'. We also find *-tjōn-*, but this was not fertile in Germanic, which contrasts with its history in Italic and Irish: Goth. *ra-þjō* 'reckoning' (Lat. *ra-tiō*), O.Icel. *þrætta* 'strife'. Parallel to *raþjō* is O.H.G. *redia*, a strong feminine, cp. Lat. *exercitiu-m* beside *exercitiō*. Side by side with *-jōn-* is the form *-in-*, found in abstract denominatives; especially in those derived from adjectival stems: Goth. *agláitei* 'rudeness' side by side with *agláiti* n. (the same), *magapei* 'maidenhood' beside *magapi-* 'maiden', Goth. *gamáinei* O.H.G. *gimeinī* 'community' beside Goth. *ga-máini-* 'communis' (Lat. *communiō* f. beside *com-mūni-s*), Goth. *gōdei* O.H.G. *guotī* 'goodness, excellence' beside Goth. *gōþ-s* 'good', Goth. *managei* O.H.G. *menigī* 'crowd' beside Goth. *manag-s* 'many, much'. We have seen reason for believing that the same *-in-* is contained in the suffix *-in-ga-*, as in O.H.G. *Berhting*, § 88 Rem. 3 p. 267.

Slavonic. We find *-jōn-* in the plural of denominative names of inhabitants and classes, as *zemljan-e* 'countrymen' from *zemlja* 'land', *graždan-e* 'citizens' for *\*gord-jān-e* from *gradū* 'city', *seljan-e* 'country folk' from *selo* 'cultivated land', *mir-jan-e* 'laici' from *mirū* 'world'. See I § 585, 3 p. 440.

§ 116. The Suffix *-uēn-*. This appears in the forms *-uēn-* *-uon-* (*-uēn-*) *-uōn-* and *-un-* *-uþ-*, and appears to be derived from the *u-* and *uo-* stems, just as *-ien-* from those in *-i-* and *-io-*.

The meaning of the suffix cannot be reduced to any general definition. Amongst the substantives it forms are *nomina actionis*, which were used as infinitives in Aryan and Greek.

Indo-Germanic. Skr. *dy-un-* (e. g. instr. *dyun-ā*) n. 'life', Gr. αἰ-(F)ών (-ων-) m. 'space of time, eternity' αἰ-(F)έν (loc. sing.) 'always', common ground-form *\*ai-uēn-* (cp. I § 611 p. 461): compare Lat. *ae-vo-m*, Goth. *ái-v-s* m. 'time, eternity' ground-form *\*ai-uo-* (cp. I § 612 p. 462, § 614 p. 464). Skr. *pī-van-* Gr. πῖ-(F)ων (-ον-) 'fat': compare *\*pī-ue-ro-* Skr. *pīva-rá-s* Gr. πῖ-ρό-ς 'fat' Skr. *pī-vas-* n. Gr. πῖό-της etc., see § 74 p. 182.

Skr. *pār-van-* n. 'knob, joint, pause, break', Gr. ἀ-πείρων (-ον) 'boundless' for \*περ-φων, *πειραίνω* 'I bring to an end' for \*περ-φυν-ιω, Skr. *pārvata-s* Gr. πέποιτα πείρατα (see § 82 p. 249): beside these we have Gr. ἄ-πειρος. Skr. *agrādvān-* 'eating first', Gr. Hom. ἔδ-φατ- or ἔδδατ- n. 'food' (ἔδδατ- is a wrong spelling, cp. I § 166 p. 147 on *δεῖδιμεν*). Skr. *grā-van-* m. 'soma-stone' O.Ir. *broo brō*, gen. *broon brōn*, 'millstone'.

Datives in *-men-ai* are used as infinitives (this appears to have been a modification of the original *-un-ai* *-un-ai* introduced in the proethnic period on the analogy of the loc. in *-men(-i)*; cp. *-men-ai* § 117). Skr. *dā-vān-e* 'to give', Gr. Cypr. *δο-φεν-αι* Att. *δοῦναι*. Avest. *vīd-van-ōi* 'to know', Gr. *εἰδέναι* for \**φειδ-φεν-αι* (cp. § 136 Remark 1).

Aryan. The original relations of ablaut are preserved most nearly in Skr. sing. nom. *maghā-vā* ('generous') acc. *-vān-am* loc. *-van-i* instr. *maghōn-a*, Avest. sing. nom. *aša-va* ('pure') acc. *-van-em* gen. *ašaon-ō*. In Sanskrit, levelling took place in two different directions. On the one hand the form with *-van-* spread into the weakest cases: e. g. *āthar-vā* *-vān-am* *-van-i* produced *-van-a* *-van-as* instead of \**un-a* etc. (cp. the form *apaurun-ē* dat. preserved in Avestic), a change which was supported by the parallelism of the *man-*stems (*āś-man-a* etc.). And the *v* of forms like *ṛtā-vn-a* (we should expect \**ṛtāun-a*) came from the other forms with *-van-* *-vān-* (cp. I § 160 p. 144), while such a form as *pī-vn-*, and (here also) the type of the *-man-*stems (*arya-mn-a*) may have influenced the re-formation. On the other hand, in some neuter words (e. g. *dy-un-*) a new paradigm was formed by a confusion with *u-*stems which were parallel to them, (from which came e. g. the nom. acc. *dyu*, cp. Goth. *aju-ka-* in *ajuk-dūp-s* 'eternity'). An interesting survival of *-un-* on Indian ground appears also in *mīth-un-ā-* 'paired' beside Avest. *mīp-wan-* n. 'pair'. Cp. the Author, *Morph. Unt.* II 187 ff.

Skr. *tāk-van-* beside *tak-vā* *tāk-u-* 'shooting on, quick'. *fbh-van-* beside *fbh-va* *fbh-ū-* 'capable, aristic'. *fk-van-* beside *fk-vā-* 'singing, praising'. *pād-van-* m. beside *pād-va-* m. 'way'. *ār-van-* 'runner' beside Avest. *aurva* 'quick' A.S. *ar-u* 'prompt,

ready'. *dhán-van* n. beside *dhán-u-* f. 'dune, sandy land'. Avest. *er'd-wan-* 'raiser, helper' beside *er'd-wa-* 'uplifted, raised up'.

Skr. *ádāh-van-* m. Avest. *ad-wan-* m. 'way'. Skr. *yā-d-van-* 'going, traveller' Avest. *yaon-a-* m. 'path, way'. Skr. *pāt-van-* 'flying', *śāk-van-* 'able', *rā-van-* 'bestowing'. Avest. *is-van-* 'able', *der'z-van-* m. 'fetter'. Skr. *snā-van-* n. 'bond, sinew', *tūg-van-* n. 'rapid stream', Avest. *karš-van-* n. (nom. acc. *karš-var'*) name of the seven divisions of the earth.

*-t-van-*: Skr. *kṛ-t-van-* 'effecting' Avest. *ker'-p-uran-* 'one who brings about', Skr. *sū-t-van-* 'pressing', *sa-jī-t-van* 'victorious'. These are based on *t*-stems like *-k-ṛ-t-* 'effecting', see § 123.

Skr. *ṛtā-van-* 'holy, pious' Avest. *aša-van-* 'pure', Skr. *áthar-van-* Avest. *āpura-van-* (*apaur-un-*) 'fire-priest', Skr. *dhītā-van-* 'rich in gifts', *amatī-vān-* 'suffering want', *samād-van-* 'eager for the fray'.

Infinitives. Skr. *dā-vān-ē* 'to give', Avest. *vīd-van-ōi* 'to know', see above p. 363.

Armenian. *siun*, gen. *sean*, 'pillar' for early Armen. *\*sē-van-* or *\*sē-van-*: Gr. *κίον* m. f. (*-ον-*) 'pillar' for *\*κί-ῥιον*. *n*-cases were no doubt originally formed from *albeur*, gen. *alber*, 'spring' (I § 263 p. 214): cp. Gr. *φορέας φορέατος* (p. 365).

Greek. *αί-(ῥ)ών αἰ-(ῥ)έν*, *πί-(ῥ)ων*, *ἀπείρων* for *\*-πιρ-ῥων*, see p. 362 f.

*κενε-(ῥ)ών* (*-ων-*) m. 'hollow space' from *κενε-φό-ς* 'empty' (§ 64 p. 135), with which we must certainly class the masculine names of places as *οἰνεών οἰνών* 'wine-bin', *παρθενεών παρθενών* 'maidens' apartment', *ἀνδροών* 'man's apartment', *ἵππων* 'horse stall', *λασιών* 'place with thick bushes' (*τὰ λάσια* 'thicket').

The form *-un-* is no doubt to be seen in *εὐθύναι* f. 'legal procedure, punishment' for *\*εὐθύν-ια*, *εὐθύνω* 'I guide straight' for *\*-υν-ιω*; cp. Avest. *ašaon-i* fem. of *aša-van-*. Cp. also Hom. *ἑθύν-τατα* 'in the straightest, truest way' beside *ἑθύν-ς*. See Osthoff, *Forsch. auf dem Geb. der Idg. Nominalstammbildung* II 24 ff., and the Author, *Morph. Unt.* II 190. 201 ff. 205 f.

The neuters show the same course of development as those belonging to the *-men-* and *-en-*stems (like *οὐθ-αρ-ατος* § 114

p. 350); but there appears to be no nom. acc. sing. in *-fa* = *-φη*. *πείρα-τα* for *\*περ-φα-τα* (: Skr. *pár-va-ta-s*) and *ἔδ-φα-τα* (*ἔδ-φω*), see above p. 363. *γοῖᾱρ γοῖᾱτος* 'well' with *-εᾱ-* for *-ηα-* (I § 611 p. 462) Hom. *γορήατα* (wrongly written *φρεῖατα*) for *\*γορη-φα-τα*: cp. Armen. *albeur*, see above p. 364. *στέᾱρ στέᾱτος* 'congealed fat', poet. *σεῖα* i. e. *στῆ-α*: Skr. *sthā-varā-* 'standing, immovable'. Other examples of the kind are given by the Author, Morph. Unt. II 225, G. Meyer, Griech. Gramm.<sup>2</sup> p. 325.

Infinitives. *δο-φεν-αι δοῦναι*, *εἰδ-έν-αι*; see above, p. 363. This formation was very fertile in Ionic, Attic and Arcadian. *θεῖναι* 'to place' for *\*θε-φεν-αι*. *ι-έναι* 'to go'. *δε-δι-έναι* 'to fear'. *ἀῆναι* 'to blow' for *\*ἀφη-φεναι*, *γνώναι* 'to recognise' for *\*γνω-φεναι*. From the contracted forms was taken a termination *-ναι*, which usurped the place of *-μεν -μεναι*: thus *δύναι*, *εἶναι* (*εἰ-μεν* for *\*ἔσ-μεν*), *φάναι*, *διδόναι*, *δεικνύναι*. Many scholars refer *φέρειν* to *\*φρεφ-φεν*, see § 114 p. 347.

Old Irish. *broo brō* 'millstone': Skr. *grā-van-*, see above p. 347.

Germanic. Goth. *spar-va* A.S. *spearwa* O.H.G. *sparo* m. 'sparrow', √ *sper-* 'flutter to and fro'.

§ 117. The suffix *-men-*. This was used from the in the proethnic and later periods to form *nomina actionis*, which often varied between the meaning of the thing and the action (as Gr. *ρέυμα* 'a streaming' and 'that which streams'); more rarely to form *nomina agentis*. The *nomina actionis* were used in Aryan and Greek as infinitives. The gender varied between neuter and masculine; sometimes even in the same word, as Gr. *χεῖμα* : *χει-μῶν*.

The root-syllable had generally the strong grade (the *e*-form in the *e*-series). Originally, no doubt, both this and the weak grade stood side by side in each paradigm (cp. Gr. *λει-μῶν* : *λι-μῆν*, *ἄετ-μα* : *ἀντ-μῆν*, O.Icel. *ljō-me* : Goth. *laúh-mun-i*), but a process of levelling ensued, generally in favour of the strong form.

There is difficulty in ascertaining what was the weak form of the suffix in the ground-forms of certain cases of the noun, as Skr. *várt-man-ā várt-man-as* (beside *nā-mn-ā arya-mñ-ā*).

Remark 1. From the analogy of Skr. *arc-in-ā (-ien-)* and Avest. *aṇaur-un-ē (-yen-)* — see § 115, 116 — we should expect *\*vert-mñ-*, and therefore St. *\*rart-an-ā*. This is supported by Goth. *vund-ufn-i* f. 'wound' *vit-ubn-i* n. 'knowledge' (*-fn- -bn-* for *-mn-*, I § 215 p. 182) beside *laúh-mun-i* f. 'flash'. The original paradigm of the latter would have been nom. *\*laúh-ufn-i* gen. *laúh-mun-jōs*, as in Skr. *\*vart-an-ā (-mñ-) vart-ma-bhiṣ (-mñ-)*. See the Author, *Morph. Unt.* II 201. 209. 217 ff. We might therefore suppose that *várt-man-ā* was a re-formation in Aryan due to the analogy of the other cases, *várt-man-i vart-ma-bhiṣ* etc. But although it must be allowed that the weak stem had both these forms in derivatives, yet even in the proethnic period the post-consonantal form *-mñ-* may have been displaced by *-men-*. There is at least a very strong probability that some such levelling process had taken place in proethnic Indo-Germanic in such infinitives as Skr. *vid-mán-ē* Gr. *ιδ-μεν-αι* (cp. also Lat. imper. *legi-mín-i* below). The form of the stem represented by Skr. *várt-man-ā* would then be *vert-men-*. I should give my judgement with greater confidence, if there were a satisfactory explanation, of the absence of *m* in Skr. *bhūná prēná* and the like (Lanman, *Noun-Inflection* p. 533).

Indo-Germanic. *\*kley-men-* from  $\sqrt{\text{kley-}}$  'hear': Avest. *srao-man-* n. Goth. *hliu-ma* m. 'hearing', cp. also Skr. *śrō-ma-ta-m* O.H.G. *hliu-mun-t* § 82 p. 249. Skr. *hō-man-* n. Gr. *χεῦ-μα χύ-μα χύ-μα* n. 'gush'. Gr. *ρεῦ-μα ῥύ-μα* n. O.Ir. *sruaim* n. 'stream' common ground-form *\*srey-men-*. Skr. *bhū-man-* n. 'existence, earth' *bhū-mán-* m. 'crowd, fulness', Gr. *φύ-μα* n. 'growth', Lith. *bu-men-ė* (no doubt with *ū*) f. 'the present'. Skr. *hē-man* loc. 'in winter', Armen. *jiun*, gen. *jean* 'snow', Gr. *χεῖ-μα* 'storm' *χει-μών (-μων-)* m. 'stormy weather, winter'. Skr. *bhár-man-* n. 'support, fostering, care', Gr. *φέρ-μα* n. 'fruit of the womb', O.C.Sl. *brě-mę* n. 'burden'. Skr. *tár-man-* n. 'top of the sacrificial post', Gr. *τέρ-μα* n. 'goal, end' *τέρ-μων (-ων-)* m. 'boundary', Lat. *ter-men ter-mō (-mōn-)*. Skr. *várt-man-* n. 'road', O.C.Sl. *vrě-mę* n. 'time' for *\*vert-mę*. *\*men-men-* 'mind, spirit, thought': Skr. *mán-man-* n., Gr. *θρασυ-μέμων Ἀγα-μέμων* for *\*μεν-μον* (De Saussure, *Mém. de la Soc. de lingu.* IV 432). Skr. *vás-man-* n. 'covering' Gr. *εἶ-μα* n. 'garment, covering' *εὖ-εἶμων* 'well clothed'. Skr. *ád-man* n. 'food', Gr. *ἔδ-μεν-αι* dat. inf. 'to eat', Lith. pl. *ėd-men-ys* (stem *ėd-men-i-*) m. 'mouth, chaps'. Skr.

*dhā-man-* n. 'statute, action, seat, dwelling', Gr. ἀνά-θημα n. 'erection, something set up, offering' ἐν-θήμων 'keeping something in good order' θημών (-μων-) m. 'heap' θέ-μα 'something set up, deposit, pledge', √ *dhē-*. Skr. *dā-man-* n. 'gift' *dā-mán-* m. 'gift, giver', Gr. δό-μα n. 'gift' inf. δό-μεναι, √ *dō-*. Skr. *sthā-man-* n. 'standing-place, strength', Gr. ἐπί-σθημα n. 'what is set up upon something else' στήμων (-μων-) 'warp in the upright loom', Lat. *stā-men* n., Goth. *stō-ma* m. 'constituent part, element', Lith. *stō-mũ* m. 'stature, height of body', √ *stā-*. Skr. *ás-man-* m. 'stone, heaven' Gr. ἄκ-μων 'anvil, thunderbolt'. Skr. *āj-man-* n. 'road, train', Lat. *agmen* n. for \**ag-men* (the vowel owes its length to the following *-gm-*) and *ex-āmen* n. for \**-āg-men* (I § 506 p. 371<sup>1</sup>). Skr. *ōj-man-* m. 'strength', Lat. *aug-men* n., Lith. *aug-mũ* m. 'excrescence upon bodies or trees'. Skr. *sī-mán-* m. 'parting of the hair, crown of the head' f. 'boundary, mark' (as to the fem. gender see Rem. 2 below), O.Sax *sī-mo* m. 'bond, cord, rope', cp. also Gr. ἱ-μαν-τ- (ῖ) 'strap' ἱ-μον-ία 'well-rope' (§ 82 Rem. p. 249 f.); Gr. αἰμασίᾱ 'enclosing wall, hedge' seems to be derived from a stem \**saī-men-*. Skr. *syū-man-* n. 'bond, stripe, row' Gr. ὑ-μήν (-εν-) m. 'hide, sinew', κασσίματα n. pl. 'patchwork, soles; plots' (prep. κάτω), Lat. *as-sūmen-tu-m* 'patch sewn on'. Skr. *nā-ma* n. Armen. *anun* Gr. ὄνο-μα n. Lat. *nō-men* n. O.Ir. *ain-m* n. Goth. *na-mō* n. Pruss. *e-mn-a-* O.C.Sl. *i-mę* n. (I § 219 Rem. 2 p. 187 f.) 'name'. Gr. γνώ-μα n. 'token' γνώμων (-μων-) 'one who knows or shows, sundial, measuring-rod', Lat. *agnōmen* n. for \**ad-gnō-men* (connected by popular etymology with *nōmen*), O.C.Sl. *zna-mę* n. 'token'.

Skr. *jāni-man-* n. 'birth' Lat. *geni-men* (late) beside Skr. *jān-man-*. Of the same sort are Gr. τελα-μών 'shoulder-belt', O.Ir. *men-me* 'mind' and other examples. See I § 110 p. 104.

Datives in *-men-ai* used as infinitives (cp. *-yen-ai* § 116 p. 363). Skr. *vid-mānē* 'to learn, experience' (side by side with

1) In the English translation, l. 6. of this paragraph, instead of 'before originally long vowels', read 'after etc.'.



which we also find other cases of *vid-mán-*), Gr. ᾔ-μεναι 'to know'. Skr. *dā-manē* 'to give' (cp. p. 367), Gr. δό-μεναι 'to give'. Lat. imper. *legimin-ī*, in form identical with Gr. λεγέμεν-αι (see below).

*-men-* seems further to have been used even in the parent language as a secondary suffix: Skr. *arya-mán-* m. 'comrade, friend', Mid.Ir. *Airem*, gen. *Areman Eremon*, beside Skr. *aryá-* 'devoted, attached' O.Ir. *aire* (gen. *airech*) 'princeps, primus'.

*-men-* and *-mo-*, are often interchanged from the proethnic period onwards (see § 112 p. 340 f.); and this led to a certain confusion, which can be sometimes traced in the separate languages, between the *-men-* forms and the substantives in *-mo-* which have the *o*-grade in the root-syllable (see § 72 p. 170). Gr. *oi-μα* n. 'assault' instead of \**ēl-μα* (Skr. *é-man-* n. 'course') through the influence of *oi-μο-ς* *oi-μη*. O.H.G. *lei-mo* m. 'loam' instead of \**lī-mo* (Gr. λει-μῶν) through the influence of the form *lei-m* m.

In all the Indo-Germanic languages *-men-* was a fertile suffix, most of all in Aryan, Greek, and Latin.

Aryan. Skr. *tōk-man-* 'young blade of corn' Avest. *taox-man-* n. 'bud, family, offspring'. Skr. *hē-mán-* m. 'impulse' Avest. *zaē-man-* n. 'zeal'. Skr. *dhā-man-* n. 'statute, action, seat, dwelling' Avest. *dā-man-* i. e. *dā-man-* n. 'creation, creature' (I § 200 p. 168): Gr. ἀνά-θημα etc., see above p. 367. Skr. *ās-man-* Avest. O.Pers. *as-man-* m. 'stone, heaven': Gr. ἄχ-μωρ 'anvil, thunderbolt'. Skr. *nā-man-* n. Avest. *na-man-* (*ā*) n. O.Pers. *nā-man-* n. 'name': Armen. *anun* etc., see above p. 367.

In secondary use: Skr. *arya-mán-* m. 'comrade, friend' Avest. *airya-man-* 'obedient' beside Skr. *aryá-*, see above.

Sanskrit. *dhār-man-* n. 'support' *dhar-mán* m. 'bearer', *bráh-man-* n. 'devotion' *brah-mán-* m. 'one who prays', *svād-man-* n. *svād-mán-* m. 'sweetness, loveliness'; *vāri-man* n. *vari-mán-* m. 'extent'. *ōd-man-* n. 'undulation', *ē-man-* n. 'course', *vārṣ-man-* n. 'height, surface', *sād-man-* n. 'seat, abode', *sā-man-* n. 'hymn', *trā-man-* n. 'protection', *yā-man-* n. 'course'; *jāni-man-* n. 'birth', *bhāri-man-* n. 'a carrying'. *hāvī-man-* n. 'a calling upon'. *ūṣ-*

*-mán-* *uš-man-* m. 'heat', *ō-mán-* m. 'favour, help', *jē-mán-* m. 'superiority'; *prathi-mán-* m. 'breadth'. *dā-mán-* m. 'giver', *sō-mán-* m. 'presser, preparer of the soma'. Forms like *prathi-mán-* were popularly connected with the parallel adjectives such as *prthú-* *práthīyas-*, and hence *-i-man-* became a secondary suffix, as in *draḍh-imán-* m. 'firmness' from *dr̥ḍhá-* 'firm' compar. *dráḍh-īyas-*, *dhūmr-imán-* m. 'dark colour, gloom' from *dhūmrá-* 'dark'.

Avestic. *a-pišman-* 'without art, without skill'. *maṣ-man-* n. 'urine', *daṣ-man-* n. 'eye', *paṣ-man-* n. 'milk, mother's milk', *dūn-man-* n. 'cloud, vapour' no doubt = *dū-man-* (cp. *dā-man* above), beside Skr. *dhū-má-s* 'smoke', *stao-man-* n. 'song of praise, laudation', *bar's-man-* n. 'bundle of consecrated twigs for offering', *caš-man-* n. 'eye'. *ras-man-* m. 'army in line, line of battle': Gr. ὄρεγ-μα n. 'a stretching out, stretch'. *urvās-man-* 'one who makes others glad, joy-giver'.

Infinitival datives. Skr. *vid-mānē*, *dā-manē*, see p. 367 f. above. Skr. *dhār-manē* 'to support', *trā-manē* 'to protect'. Avest. *stao-mainē* 'to praise', *xšnū-mainē* 'to content'. In Avestic the locative also appears as an infinitive, e. g. *caš-man caš-mēnag* 'to behold' beside dat. *caš-mainē*.

Remark 2. The nominative termination *-mā* (m. and n.) appears sometimes to have led to a transference to the feminine *ā*-declension; this process may have been aided by the close connexion between the *-men-* and *-mo-*stems, which dates from before the Aryan period. Thus e. g. Skr. *sī-mā* = *sī-mán-* 'boundary' (*sī-mā* in its turn influenced *sī-mán-* so far as to give it the fem. gender), *dā-mā-* beside *dā-man-* n. 'bond' (also f., according to the grammarians; the change of gender came about in the same way as in *sī-mán-* f.), O.Pers. *tau-mā-* 'family' = Avest. *taox-man-*. Cp. § 114 Rem. 1 p. 348, § 122 Rem. p. 383.

Armenian. *jiun* 'snow', *anun* 'name', see above, p. 366 f.; for the phonetic changes see I § 202 p. 169. *gel-mn*, gen. *gel-man*, 'wool, fleece': to be compared either with Skr. *vár-man-* 'defensive armour' Gr. ἔρ-ιο-ν 'wool' (✓ *uer-*) or with Lat. *vellus*, Goth. *vulla* 'wool' (✓ *uel-*). *marmin* (*-min-* for *-men-*, I § 63 p. 50), gen. *mar-mn-o-y*, 'body, flesh' (which is extended by the suffix *-o-*): Skr. *már-man-* n. 'membrum, joint, open part of the body which is especially exposed to mortal wounds'.

Brugmann, Elements. II.

Greek. The history of the neuter forms is the same as in the case of the *-en-* and *-xen-* stems; see § 114 p. 350.

χει-μα χυ-μα χυ-μα, χει-μα χει-μών, φέρ-μα, τέρ-μα τέρ-μων and others; see above, p. 366 f.

πνευ-μα n. 'breath', πνεύ-μων (-μων-) m. 'lung'. αετ-μα n. (φλόξ, beside αετμό-ν 'πνεῦμα' Hesych.), αυτ-μήν (-μεν-) m. 'breath, exhalation, vapour' (αε-τ-μα? cp. p. 372). ή-μα n. 'missile', ή-μων (-μων-) m. 'thrower, slinger': Lat. *sē-men* n. O.H.G. *sā-mo* m. O.C.Sl. *sē-me* n. 'seed', √ *sē-*. μνη-μα n. 'memorial', μνη-μων (-μων-) 'mindful'. νόη-μα n. 'thought', νοή-μων (-μων-) 'thoughtful'.

ζεϋγ-μα n. 'bond, bridge of boats': Lat. *jūmentu-m* for \**jūg-men-to-*, common ground-form \**jεuγ-men-*. δεῖ-μα 'fear'. λειμμα for \*λειπ-μα 'remnant'. κλί-μα κλί-μα 'inclination'. μίγ-μα 'mixture'. δέρ-μα 'skin torn off, hide': Skr. *dar-mán-* m. 'shatterer'. ἦρ-μα 'ear-ring'. στρω-μα 'something strown, bed, covering': Lat. *strā-men* n., common ground-form \**stř-men-*; cp. Skr. *stārī-man-* n. 'a spreading out, strewing abroad' *stari-mán-* m. 'bed'. πέλ-μα 'sole of the foot': cp. A.S. *fil-men* 'membrana' O.Fris. *fil-men-e* f. 'skin'. φλέγ-μα 'brand'. γέννα f. 'race, family' probably was neuter originally, and stands for \*γεν-μα: Skr. *ján-man-* n. πείσμα 'cable, rope' for \*πενσμα from √ *bhendh-* 'bind'; as to σ for θ see p. 372: cp. Lat. *of-fendi-mentu-m*. βῆ-μα 'step, grade, platform': Skr. *vī-gāman-* n. 'step', common ground-form \**gñ-men-*, √ *gem-*. πέμμα 'pastry' for \*πεπ-μα. υπό-δημα 'something fastened beneath sole' δέ-μα δέ-σμα 'bond': Skr. *dā-man-* n. 'bond'. αἷ-μα 'blood', beside O.H.G. *sei-m* m. 'virgin honey'. οἰδ-μα 'swell of the sea'. ὄμμα 'eye, visage' for \*ὀπ-μα. νᾱ-μα (Dor. form) 'stream', √ *snā-*. βλή-μα 'missile, shot'. ῥή-μα 'utterance' for \**ῥρῆ-μα*. σᾱ-μα σῆ-μα 'token', to be compared no doubt with Skr. *dhyā-man-* m. 'measure' n. 'thought', beside *dhyā-* 'think of' *dhī-* 'appear, resemble, observe, think'. Dor. πᾱ-μα 'that of which one has the disposal, over which one has power, possession', for \**κῡᾱ-men-*, compared with El. ἐμ-πάω 'bring to effect, accom-

plish' and with *κῦ-ρος* (cp. *πάμωχος* 'ὁ κύριος Hesych.)<sup>1</sup>). *σχη-μα* 'demeanour, form'. *ὄρα-μα* 'sight'. *ὀρμη-μα* 'solicitude'. *μισθω-μα* 'stipulated payment'.

The nom. acc. sing. neut. of one or two *-men-* stems ends in *ρ*, as in some of the neuter stems in *-en-* and *-men-*: *ἡμαρ*, gen. *ἡματος*, 'day', *μῦμαρ* *μῶμαρ* 'blame', *λῦμαρ* beside *λῦμα* 'pollution', *τέκμαρ* and *τέκμαρ* 'proof' (*-μωρ* for *-μηρ*, cp. *ὑδωρ* I § 306 p. 243). Cp. § 118.

*κευθ-μῶν* (*-μων-*) m. 'hiding-place'. *πυθ-μῆν* (*-μεν-*) m. 'depth, ground'. *λει-μῶν* (*-μων-*) m. 'damp place' and *λι-μῆν* (*-μεν-*) m. 'harbour'. *ἰδ-μων* (*-μον-*) 'having knowledge of' (*ἰδμο-σύνη*). *ἐπι-λήσμων* (*-μον-*) 'forgetful' (*σ* instead of *θ*, p. 372). *ποι-μῆν* (*-μεν-*) m. 'herdsman': Lith. *pẽ-mũ* m. 'herd-boy'. *τλή-μων* (*-μον-*) 'stead fast, enduring'. *ἀλή-μων* (*-μον-*) 'wandering about' (*ἀλᾶσθαι*). *ἐλεή-μων* (*-μον-*) 'pitiful'. *τελα-μῶν* (*-μων-*) m. 'shoulder-belt, baldrick' properly 'bearer', *√ tel-*. *τερά-μων* (*-μον-*) 'that becomes soft by boiling'. *ἡγε-μῶν* (*-μον-*) m. 'guide'. *κηδε-μῶν* (*-μον-*) m. 'one who cares for' a person. *-μῶν* acquired the character of a secondary suffix, just as Skr. *-i-mān-*: *ἄκρεμῶν* (*-μον-*) m. 'end of a branch, top' from *ἄκρο-ς*, *δαιτυ-μῶν* (*-μον-*) m. 'he who sits at meat, guest' from *δαιτύ-ς*.

The dative, in *-μεν-αι*, and the locative, in *-μεν*, served as infinitives. *-μεναι* occurs in Ionic (epic) and Lesbian. *ἰδ-μεναι*, *δό-μεναι*; see above, p. 367 f. *ἐδ-μεν-αι* 'to eat' (Skr. *ád-man-*, p. 366), *θέ-μεναι* 'to place' (*-θημα* *θέ-μα*, p. 367), *ἀή-μεναι* 'to blow', *βή-μεναι* 'to go' (*βῆ-μα*, p. 370), *δύ-μεναι* 'to press in, enter' (*ἐκ-δύμα* 'garment taken off'), *βλή-μεναι* 'to strike' (*βλή-μα*, p. 370), *δαή-μεναι* 'to be versed' (*δαή-μων* 'versed'). On the model of these were formed: *φανή-μεναι* *τετλά-μεναι*, *ζευγνύ-μεναι*, *αἰδέ-μεναι*, *εἰπέ-μεναι* *ἄξε-μεναι*. *-μεν* is found in Ionic (epic), Doric, N.W.Greek, Elean, Thessalian, and Boeotian. *ἰδ-μεν*, *δό-μεν*, *θέ-μεν*, *ἔ-μεν*, *ἔμ-μεν* (*ἔμμεν* *ἦμεν*), *τετλά-μεν*, *ὀρνύ-μεν*, *φερέ-μεν*, *εἰπέ-μεν*, *ἄξε-μεν*.

1) The nearest cognates of *πᾶμα* are collected by J. Baunack in his Stud. I 73 f.

Corresponding to *-τ-μο -θ-μο- -σ-μο-* (§ 72, 3 p. 173) we find *-τ-μεν- -θ-μεν- -σμεν-*. *-τ-μεν-* occurs in *λαῖ-τμα* 'gulf of the sea', no doubt to be compared with *λαι-μός* 'throat, gullet', and perhaps in *ἄετμα ἀντημήν*. *-θ-μεν-*: *ἵ-θμα* 'course'. *-σμεν-*: *πλάσμα* 'image, figure' from *πλάσσω*, *κλώσμα* 'something spun' from *κλώθω*, *πείσμα* 'cable' for *\*πενθ-μα* (*σ* had not displaced *θ* in the earliest period of Greek, see I § 204 Rem. 2 p. 171), *ἐπι-λήσιμων* 'forgetful' from *λήθω*, *ἔρεισμα* 'support' from *ἐρείδω*, *σχίσμα* 'split' from *σχίζω*, and the neuter forms in *-ισμα* and *-ασμα* compared with derivative verbs in *-ίζω -άζω*, as *νόμισμα* 'usage, institution, from *νομίζω*, *ἄσπασμα* 'caress' from *ἀσπάζομαι*; also *ἄρμοσμα* 'joined work' from *ἀρμόζω*.

Italic. The neuter forms were often extended by *-to-*; see § 82 p. 249 ff.

Lat. *nō-men* n., Umbr. *nome* n. 'nomen' *nomner* 'nominis': Skr. *nd-man-* n. etc.; see p. 367 above. Lat. *prae-dicamentu-m*, Umbr. *tikamne* 'dicatione, invocatione'. Lat. *testā-mentu-m*, Osc. *tristaamentud* abl. 'testamento'. Lat. *Sē-mō (-mōn-)* 'seed-god', fem. *Sē-mōn-ia*, Pelign. *Semunu* 'Semonum', beside Lat. *sē-men* n. Umbr. *ařmune* dat. 'alimoni'.

Lat. *nū-men*, n.: Gr. *νεῦ-μα* 'nod'; *lū-men* for *\*lūc-men*, later *\*lūgmen* (I § 500 p. 367, § 506 p. 371<sup>1)</sup>), or for *\*lūc-s-men* (cp. *illāstri-s* and *lūna* I § 503 p. 369): Goth. *laúh-mun-i* f. 'flash' O.Sax. *lio-mo* O.Icel. *ljō-me* m. 'brightness, light, gleam': the *ū* in *nū-men* *lū-men* may be either Idg. *ū* or Idg. *ey*. *crī-men*: Gr. *κρί-μα κρί-μα* 'decision, sentence'. *ger-men*. *sarmen* for *\*sarp-men*, *sar-mentu-m*. *cul-men*. *sēg-men* for *\*sec-men*, *sēg-mentu-m*. *tēgmen* *tēgmentu-m*. *āgmen*: Skr. *āj-man-* etc., see above, p. 367. *caementu-m* for *\*caed-mentu-m*. *nē-men*: Gr. *νή-μα* 'something spun, yarn',  $\sqrt{\text{snē}}$ . *com-plēmentu-m*: cp. Gr. *πλήσμα* 'filling, what fills'. *flā-men* *flā-mentu-m*. *certā-men*. *mōlī-men* *mōlī-mentu-m*. *volū-men*, *statā-men*, hence were formed *leg-ūmen* *leg-ūmentu-m*, *alb-ūmen* and other similar derivatives.

1) See footnote to p. 367 above.

*regi-men regimentu-m. tegi-men* beside *tēgmen. of-fendi-mentu-m. monu-mentu-m. colu-men (columna)* beside *cul-men*.

Masculine forms are rarer. *ter-mō (-mōn-)* beside *ter-men n.*: Gr. *τέρ-μων* etc., see above p. 366. *ser-mō (-mōn-)*. *pul-mō (-mōn-)*.

The dat. sing. in *-min-ī* was used in Latin as the 2. pl. imp. med.-pass., e. g. *legiminī* (= Gr. *λεγέμεναι*), *sequiminī*. The restriction to the plural, and to the medio-passive meaning was caused by the indicative *legiminī* = Gr. *λεγόμενοι* and = *λεγόμεναι*. See § 71 p. 165.

Old Irish. Neuters. *sriuaím, ainm*; see above, p. 366 f. *deilm* 'noise'. *cuirm* 'beer'. *gairm* 'call, cry'. *druim* 'back' for \**dros-men*, compared with Lat. *dorsu-m. cēimm cēim* 'stepping, step', beside *cingim* 'I step', *lēimm lēim-* 'spring' beside *lingim* 'I spring', *grēimm grēim* 'progressus' beside *in-grennim* 'I pursue' (*grend-*), see I § 523 p. 380. *bēim* 'striking, blow' beside *benim* 'I strike': did this come regularly from \**ben-men-* or was it influenced by the form of these other nouns? With *-a-men-*: *feid-m* 'strain', *fo-naidm* 'bond, compact'.

Remark 3. The origin of *nn* in forms like nom. pl. *an-mann*, dat. pl. *an-mannaib*, is still quite obscure. The latest discussion of this difficult question is by Stokes (Bezzenger's Beitr. XI 93) and Windisch (Über die Verbalformen mit dem Character R p. 40 f.).

*men-me m.* (gen. *men-man*) 'mens' for \**men-a-men-* (cp. Skr. *mán-man-* n. 'mind, thought'). The nom. in \**men-s* was a re-formation like Lat. *sanguis* Gr. *δαλφίς*, for \**δαλφίνς*, cp. also O.Ir. *áru*, § 114 p. 352, § 115 p. 360.

Masculine and Feminine forms with pr. Celt. \**-mō* in the nom. sing. (cp. Gall. *casa-mo, Sego-mo*), gen. Ir. *-mon -man* dat. *-main*. The masculine forms appear to be all denominatives: *Aire-m*: Skr. *arya-mán-* m., see above p. 368, *orbe-m* 'heir' from *orbe n.* (which represents a ground-form \**orbh-ij-o-m*) 'inheritance', *flaith-m* 'ruler' from *flaith* 'rule', *dúle-m* 'creator' from *dúil* 'element', *brith-m* 'judge' from *breth* 'sentence', *olla-m*, gen. *olla-man*, 'princeps poetarum' no doubt connected with *oll* 'great, mighty'. *tala-m* (gen. *talman*), f. 'earth' no doubt for \**tā-mō*, √ *tel-*.

*anim* f. 'soul' (dat. *an-min*) may have been originally a *-mā*-stem (cp. Lat. *animā*-) and have been transferred to this declension through the influence of *menme*.

Germanic. The old variation between neuter and masculine was almost entirely obliterated in favour of the masculine. The neuter survives only in Gothic and Norse in a few examples: Goth. *na-mō* n. 'name' (O.Icel. *na-fn* n. by a transference to the *o*-declension, O.H.G. *na-mo* m.): Skr. *nā-man-* n. etc., see p. 367 above; O.Icel. *st-ma* beside *st-me* m. 'rope' (O.Sax. *st-mo* m.): Skr. *st-mān-* etc., see p. 367 above.

Masculine. Goth. *hliu-ma* 'hearing' O.H.G. *hliu-mun-t* 'call', Goth. *stō-ma* 'constituent part', see p. 366 above. O.H.G. *sā-mo* 'seed', see p. 370 above. O.Sax. *lio-mo* 'brightness', see p. 372 above. Goth. *hiuh-ma* 'heap'. Goth. *skei-ma* 'light', O.H.G. *scī-mo* 'brightness, sheen'. O.H.G. *kī-mo* 'the bursting bud'. O.H.G. *glizemo* 'brightness', Goth. *glit-mun-jan* 'to gleam'. Goth. *milh-ma* 'cloud'. Goth. *ah-ma* 'spirit'. Goth. *blō-ma* O.H.G. *bluo-mo* 'bloom'. This masculine suffix was fertile only in Old Frisian and there only to a limited extent; it became denominative as in Sanskrit etc., e. g. *werth-ma* 'taxation' from *werth* 'value'.

*-s-men-*, like *-s-tro-* *-s-lo-* etc. (see § 61 p. 117). O.H.G. *rosamo* 'aerugo' for *\*rots-mō* beside O.Sax. *rotōn* 'to rust', cp. O.H.G. *rotamo* 'redness'. O.H.G. *dīhsamo* 'prosperity' *fram-dehsmo* 'increasing prosperity', beside *dīhan* 'to wax great'. O.Sax. *blicsmo* 'flash' beside *blican* 'to gleam'. The *s* came from forms like O.H.G. *wahs-amo was-mo* 'growth' (*wahs-an* 'to wax') and O.Sax. *brōsmo* 'soft part of bread, crumb' (A.S. *brȳs-an* 'to break in pieces').

*-t-men-*, like *-t-mo-* § 72 p. 175 f. O.H.G. *wi-damo* 'price of the bride, dowry' from *ūt-* 'bind'; A.S. *blōstma* 'bloom', cp. Mid.H.G. *bluos-t* beside *bluo-t* 'bloom'.

The feminine *-mōn-* is rare and certainly a late formation: e. g. O.H.G. *bluo-ma* beside the masc. *bluo-mo*.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *ak-mũ* m. O.C.Sl. *ka-my* m. 'stone'. Lith. *szel-mũ* m. 'gable' O.C.Sl. *slě-mę* n. 'beam': cp. Lith. *szal-ma*

'long beam'. Lith. *sė-men-s* pl. m. 'seed', especially linseed, O.C.Sl. *sě-me* n. 'seed': Gr.  $\tilde{\eta}$ -μα etc., see p. 370 above.

In Lithuanian only masculines appear (nom. *-mũ* gen. *-meñ-s* etc.); the neuter has died out in the same way as in other classes of stems. *sto-mũ* 'stature, tallness', *aug-mũ* 'excrescence', see p. 367 above. *pě-mũ* 'herd-boy', see p. 371 above. *rau-mũ* 'flesh of the muscles', no doubt to be compared with O.H.G. *rio-mo* 'strap, band', common ground-form *\*rey-men-* (cp. Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 142). *rě-mũ* 'heart-burn'. *lě-mũ* 'trunk, stature'. *szeř-men-s* pl. 'funeral meal' (no doubt from *szer-ti* 'to feed'). *žel-mũ* 'sprout, plant'. *tesz-mũ* 'udder'. *ász-men-s* pl. 'cutting edge'.

O.C.Sl. *brě-me* n. 'burden', *vrě-me* 'time', *i-me* 'name', *zna-me* 'token'; see above, p. . *pis-me* 'letter',  $\sqrt{\text{pejk-}}$  *pleme*, 'stem, family' no doubt for *\*pled-me*, compare *plodũ* 'fruit'. *ra-me* beside *ra-mo* 'shoulder' (cp. I § 306 p. 241). *vyme* 'udder' for *\*vyd-me* (I § 547 p. 400 f., § 666 p. 526). *cisme* 'number' for *\*čit-smę*, cp. *číslo* § 76 p. 211.

*plamy* m. 'flame' for *\*pol-my*, beside *pol-ěti* 'to burn, uri' *pla-naŋti se* 'to blaze out'. In a few other examples the only form of the nom. sing. which occurs is one which shows a transference to the *i*-declension; e. g. *pra-men-ĩ* 'thread' (gen. *pramen-e*, like *plamen-e*); in others we have both forms, *plamen-ĩ* beside *plamy*, *kamen-ĩ* beside *kamy*.

Remark 4. The original weak form of this suffix perhaps appears in such examples as *kaminĭja kamni*, which Leskien has collected in his Handb.<sup>2</sup> § 43 p. 58.

## VI. Suffixes in *-r*.

§ 118. Nom. acc. neut. in *-r* (*-ŕ -ř*). We may fairly class among the elements from which noun stems were formed the *-r* of neuter words like Skr. *údhar* Gr.  $\alpha\tilde{\iota}\delta\alpha\rho$  Lat. *über* (O.H.G. *ūtar* m., but there can be no doubt that it was originally neuter) 'udder' — for further examples see § 114 pp. 347, 350, § 116 p. 364, § 117 p. 371; etymologically it must be connected in most cases with the suffix *-ro-*, in some words perhaps with *-er-* and the comparative suffix *-ero-*. See



§ 74 p. 180. How these forms in *-r* came to be included in the paradigm of *n*-stems (e. g. Skr. *údhār* gen. abl. *údh-n-as* loc. *údh-an-i*) is a question we cannot answer. The difference in meaning, which (to judge from the variation of the stem) must once have existed between the nom. acc. and the other cases, had probably disappeared before the dissolution of the proethnic community. With this we may naturally compare the loss of the distinction in meaning, which once existed over and above the difference in gender, between the stems of the masc. Skr. *pī-van-* Gr. *πī-(F)ov-* and the fem. Skr. *pī-va-r-i* Gr. *πī-(F)εῖρα* f. 'fat'.

In Aryan this nom. acc. form was also used for the pl., just as (e. g.) Skr. *nāma* 'ὄνομα' and *purú* 'πολύ' were plural as well as singular; it also served as loc. sing., cp. loc. *kárman*. This plurality of function may be regarded as proethnic. In Avestic however we have a still freer use; the forms in *-ar°* appear indifferently for cases of the most widely different meaning; e. g. *karšvar°* 'division of the earth' is used for the gen. sing., *dasvar°* 'strength, health' for the dat. sing., as well as for the nominative.

In several branches of language the form in *-r* was made the basis of a new paradigm, though the change never affected any very large number of words. Thus in Avestic we have dat. sing. *zafr-ē* nom. pl. *zafr-a* gen. pl. *-zafr-am* from *zafar°* 'throat, mouth' beside gen. sing. *zafan-ō*; instr. pl. *baēvar°-biš* from *baēvar°* 'myriad', Gr. *ἔαρ* 'blood' gen. *ἔαρ-ος* beside Skr. *asán-* n. 'blood'; Lat. *über* gen. *über-is* beside Skr. *údhan-*; *femur* gen. *femor-is* beside *femin-is*, *jecur* gen. *jecur-is* and *jecin-or-is* beside Skr. *yak-án*; O.H.G. *wazzar* gen. *wazzares* beside Goth. *vatō* gen. *vatins* 'water'.

§ 119. The Suffixes *-er-* and *-ter-*<sup>1)</sup>. The two forms of the suffix are found side by side without difference of meaning,

1) The Author, *Die Nomina auf -ar- und -tar-*, Curtius' Studien IX 361 ff., D'Ooge, *On the use of the suffixes -τερ -τορ -τηρ -τα* in Homer, Leipzig 1873. E. Schäffer, *Über den Gebrauch der Derivativa auf tor und trix*, Prenzlau 1859. 1860.

like the comparative suffixes *-ero-* and *-tero-* (§ 75 p. 188 ff.). It is probable that the form *-ter-* arose through the addition of *-er* to a stem formed with a *t*-suffix.

The nouns in which these suffixes occur are, with comparatively few exceptions, *nomina agentis* or names of kindred. The former class has *-ter-* throughout, e. g. *\*jeuq-ter-* 'harnesser', the latter both *-er-* and *-ter-*, e. g. *\*dajju-er-* 'levir' and *\*pa-ter-* 'father'. *-er-* is also found in a few substantives which belong to neither of the two groups, as *\*n-er-* 'man' and *\*us-er-* 'dawn'.

The *nomina agentis* are masculine, and even in the proethnic period feminines were formed for them by means of *-ī*-*-iē-*, e. g. Skr. *jāni-tr-ī* Gr. *γενέ-τειρα* Lat. *gene-tr-ī-x* 'she that produces, mother', see § 110 p. 336. The names of kindred were masculine or feminine according to the sex they denoted, as *\*pa-te-r* 'father', *\*mā-ter-* 'mother'. It was not till later periods that special grammatical signs were added to mark this, and then only in a few words; e. g. Lat. *jani-tr-ī-c-ēs* beside Skr. *yā-tar-* 'husband's brother's wife' Gr. *εἰνά-τερο-ες* 'women married to brothers'.

§ 120. The forms assumed by the suffix *-(t)er-* in its different grades were very numerous both in the proethnic and later periods. The so-called strong cases had *-(t)er-* *-(t)or-* *-(t)ēr-* *-(t)ōr-*, the weak cases *-(t)r-* *-(t)ṛ-*.

First as regards the weak cases: *-(t)r-* appears before the case endings which begin in a sonant, e. g. Skr. dat. sing. *pi-tr-ē dā-tr-ē*, *(t)ṛ-* before those which begin in a consonant, e. g. loc. pl. *pi-tṛ-ṣu dā-tṛ-ṣu*. The same forms of the suffix were originally regular in derivatives; e. g. Skr. *dātr-ī-ṣu* loc. pl. fem. beside *dā-tar-* *dā-tār-* 'dator', *bhrātṛ-tvā-m* 'brotherhood' beside *bhrd-tar-* 'brother'. In several languages the weak forms of the suffix were soon driven out by the strong in the declension of the *-(t)er-* stems, especially in *nomina agentis*; and all that remain to show that weak forms had ever existed in the case-system are derivatives which contain the weak stem. Compare e. g. Gr. *λησ-το-ίς* 'female robber' *λησ-το-μός* 'inclined to robbery' beside *λησ-τωρ* (*-τορ-*) and *λησ-τηρ* (*-τηρ-*) 'robber', Lat. *dā-tr-ī-x*

beside *da-tor* (*-tōr-*), *mole-tr-ina* beside *moli-tor* (*-tōr-*), Umbr. *uh-tr-etie* 'auctoritate' beside *uh-tur* 'auctor', Lith. *dukr-ėlė* 'little daughter', *pó-dukr-a pó-dukr-ė* 'step-daughter' (Pruss. *po-duc-r-e*) beside *duk-tě* (*-ter-*) 'daughter', Pruss. *swestr-o* O.C.Sl. *sestr-a* beside Lith. *ses-ũ* (*-er-*) 'sister'.

With regard to the original distribution of the strong forms of the suffix the following points may be considered certain.

1. The nom. sing. ended sometimes in *-(t)ē(r)*, sometimes in *-(t)ō(r)*, cp. on the one hand Gr. *πα-τήρ δο-τήρ* Lat. *pa-ter* (I § 655, 4 p. 503), O.Ir. *a-thir* (I § 657, 6 p. 509), O.Icel. *fa-ðer fa-ðir*, Lith. *duk-tě* O.C.Sl. *dŭsti* (Skr. *pi-tā da-tā*) and on the other Gr. *φρά-τωρ μητρο-πάτωρ δώ-τωρ*, Lat. *sor-or da-tor* (I § 655, 4 p. 503), O.Ir. *siur* for *sues-ōr* (I § 657, 6 p. 509), Lith. *ses-ũ* (Skr. *bhrā-tā dā-tā*).

2. A certain number of these stems had in the acc. sing. and nom. du. pl. *-(t)er-*, cp. Gr. *πα-τέρ-α*, O.H.G. *fa-ter*, Lith. *dūk-ter-į* (Skr. *pi-tār-am*).

3. There was a loc. sing. in *(-er) -eri*, cp. Gr. *πα-τέρ-ι* (Skr. *pi-tār-i dā-tār-i*).

Further conclusions which I think probable are as follows. All the *-(t)er-* stems had originally the same inflexion; the difference between *-ē-* : *-ē-* and *-ō-* : *-ō-* was caused solely by difference of accent. Gr. *πατήρ πατέρα* : *μητρο-πάτωρ*, *πάτορα*, *άνήρ* : *άνερα* : *άγ-ήνωρ* - *ήνορα* and so forth, just as *φρήν φρένα* : *ἄ-φρων ἄ-φρονα*. Moreover the same variation appears where the words are uncompound; Gr. *δο-τήρ δο-τήρ* beside *δώ-τωρ*, *ἐν-τήρ* beside *ἐν-τωρ* and the like, and Skr. nom. *da-tā* beside *dā-tā*, *pātā* beside *pā-tā*, Avest. acc. *bar<sup>e</sup>-tār-em* = Skr. *bhartār-am* beside *baśār-em* = Skr. *bhārtār-am* (I § 260 p. 212 f.). In Greek there is no trace of a difference in meaning between these latter pairs of forms; in Sanskrit, on the other hand, the *nomen agentis* as a rule has the character of a participle when the root-syllable bears the accent (the governed nouns being usually in the acc., *vāsūni dātā* 'bona dans'), whereas, when the suffix is accented, it is a noun pure and simple (usually governing the gen., *vāsūnā datā* 'bonorum dator'). This distinction may be original, and

at one time have prevailed in Greek; indeed, the Lat. *da-tūr-u-s* vouches for the fact that these *nomina agentis* had a participial character in the parent language, as they actually have in Iranian. It follows that the difference of accent in this class of words may be originally based on a difference of accent in the sentence. Hence it is probable that

1. The acc. sing. nom. acc. du. had *-(t)or-* under some conditions, parallel to *-(t)er-* under others; cp. Gr. *δά-τορ-α* *φρά-τορ-α* *ἔορ-ες* (§ 122), Mid.Ir. *siair*, Goth. *brō-þar svist-ar* O.H.G. *bruo-dar*, Skr. *dā-tār-am svās-ār-am*.

2. The loc. sing. always ended in *-(t)er-i*, even where *-(t)or-* occurred in the strong cases of the same paradigm, cp. Skr. *dā-tar-i* (with *-ā-* as much as *dā-tār-i*), *svās-ar-i* beside *dā-tār-am svās-ār-am*; cp. Goth. loc. *āh-min*: acc. *ah-man*. Similarly in all the feminine derivatives in *-i* *-iē-* (§ 110 p. 336 f.) *-ter-i* was no doubt the original form in the nom. sing.; cp. Gr. *ἐν-πάτεια* *παμ-μήτεια* (from *ἐν-πάτωρ* *παμ-μήτωρ*) as well as *δμη-τεια* (beside *δμη-τήρ*).

Remark. The assumption that all *-ter-* stems had originally the same inflexion is further supported by the Gr. voc. *σῶ-τερ* from *σῶ-τήρ* (just as *πά-τερ* from *πα-τήρ*).

Considerable readjustment took place in Aryan and Greek in the inflexion of *nomina agentis* which accentuated the suffix. In Sanskrit we have *dā-tār-am* instead of *\*dā-tār-am* through the influence of *dā-tār-am*; similarly in the other strong cases. In Greek, the form *-τήρ* of the nom. sing. spread through all the cases: *δο-τήρ-α* instead of *\*δο-τήρ-α*, *δο-τήρ-ο*; instead of *\*δο-τέρ-ός* and so forth; only a few vocatives singular are excepted, as *σῶ-τερ* above. On the other hand, the *-tér-* of the *nomina agentis* is preserved in the Slavonic *-tel-* (§ 122): nom. pl. *žē-tel-e* 'cutters, reapers' = Idg. *\*ghn-tère-s*.

Amongst the names of kindred, *\*bhrā-tor-* (Gr. *φρά-τορ-α*, Goth. *brō-þar*) seems to have been associated even in the parent language with forms that had *-tér-*, such as *\*pā-tér-*; e. g. an acc. *\*bhrā-ter-m* was formed beside *\*bhrā-tor-m*. Hence in Greek we find the by-forms *φρά-τηρ* *φρά-τερ-ες*, in Sanskrit *bhrā-tar-am*, in Latin *frā-ter*; hence perhaps O.H.G. acc. *bruo-der* as well as *bruo-dar*. Yet while *\*bhrā-ter-m* arose by the side of *\*bhrā-tor-m*, no such form as *\*syéser-m* came into use beside *\*syésor-m* (Skr. *svāsār-am*, Lat. *sor-or*), the reason perhaps being that the absence of *t* in the word prevented its association with forms like *\*pā-tér-* *\*mā-tér-*. But Avestic, West-Germanic and Lithuanian ultimately brought the word 'sister'

into close connexion with the other names of kindred; thus acc. Avest. *xwam̐har-em*, O.H.G. *swester*, Lith. *sẽser-i* (see below).

In Latin the nominative termination *-(t)õr* spread through all the cases: *da-tõr-em da-tõr-is* etc., *sor-õr-em sor-õr-is* etc.

In Greek *-τωρ-* is only found in the nom. sing. except in an isolated example: Hom. *μῆν-τωρ-α μῆν-τωρ-ε;*.

In Gothic *fadar* (contrast *πατήρ-α*) was formed in imitation of *brōþar* (*φρῑτρωρ-α*) *svistar* (cp. *ῥωρ-ε;*); in Old High German the forms with *e*, such as *fater muoter*, had prevailed over *bruodur* etc. before the date of the earliest monuments of the language.

In Lithuanian we have *sesĩ*, but acc. *sẽser-i* gen. *sesẽr-s* and so forth with *-er-*: here the analogy of *dĩk-tõr-i* (*δυγα-τήρ-α*) *duktẽr-s* etc. has influenced the forms, aided perhaps by the original loc. sing. in *\*-er-i* (Skr. *svāsar-i*).

Compare the relations of Ablaut in the *n*-stems, which are on the whole similar, § 113 p. 342 ff. and what is said in the Remark there.

§ 121. Ablaut within the root-syllable varied *pari passu* with the variation in the suffix. *\*pā-tér-* 'father' Skr. *duhitár-* etc. 'daughter' have the weak-grade-vocalism; on the other hand *\*mā-tér-* 'mother' has that of the strong grade. Cp. I § 670 p. 535. Skr. *uṣ-ár-* 'dawn' beside Gr. *ἡρι* loc. 'early' for *\*āṽ(σ)-ερ-* and *ἄριστο-ν* for *\*āṽ(σ)-ερ-* (see § 122 p. 381).

In *nomina agentis*, the strong form of the root generally prevailed in Aryan, and that with either accentuation (*dā-tar-* and *dā-tár-*); a few variations from this type seem to have survived from the period before varying forms were levelled; as Skr. *savyē-ṣṭhar-* 'the warrior who stands to the left of the charioteer' (*-sthar-* = *\*-st-tor-*) beside *sthā-tár-* *sthá-tar-*, Avest. *a-frītar-* 'magician' beside Skr. *prē-tár-* 'benefactor, lover', Avest. *yūx-tar-* beside Skr. *yōk-tár-* 'yoker', Avest. *ker-tar-* beside Skr. *kar-tár-* 'doer'. In Greek we have *δο-τήρ* : *δῶ-τωρ*, *βο-τήρ* : *βῶ-τωρ*, cp. also *πο-τήρ* *-δετήρ* *βα-τήρ* and *ἀφ-ήτωρ*; but we also find *δω-τήρ* *ζευκ-τήρ* and *ἴσ-τωρ* (*ῖσ-τωρ*) with exactly the converse accentuation. In Latin, where *-tēr* was displaced by *-tõr* (*-tor*), we have *sta-tor* and *stā-tor*, *da-tor*, *sa-tor*, *condi-tor* and *põ-tor*, Umbr. *fertur* (Skr. *bhár-tar-* *bhar-tár-*). In the case of *in-ventor cēnsor* and the like it is impossible to say whether we have the weak or the strong grade. The Latin participles

*da-tūru-s* etc. follow the perf. part. (*da-tu-s*). In Slavonic we find both the strong (*da-telŭ*, *sŭ-dĕtelŭ*, *bljus-telŭ*) and the weak grade (*žrŭ-telŭ*).

§ 122. Indo-Germanic. *\*daiuér-* *\*daiuŷ-* and no doubt also *\*daiur-* (I § 155 Rem. p. 140<sup>1</sup>) 'husband's brother, brother-in-law': Skr. *dēvár-*, Armen. *taigr* gen. *taiger* (*g* for *u*, I § 162 p. 145), Gr. *δαήρ* for *\*daifhēr* (I § 96 p. 90), Lat. *lēvir* (gen. *lēvirī*) for *\*lēver* through popular association with *vir* (cp. also I § 369 p. 279 f.), A.S. *tācor* O.H.G. *zeihhur* (for the *c* and *hh* see Bugge, Paul-Br. Beitr. XIII 575), Lith. gen. sing. *dėvėr-s* (nom. sing. *dėvėr-ī-s* whence the by-form of the gen. *dėvėr-ės*; the word is also declined as an *io*-stem; the true nom. *\*dėvė* = Skr. *dēvā* Gr. *δαήρ* no doubt dropped out of use owing to its gender and to avoid confusion with *dėvė* 'goddess') O.C.Sl. *děver-ī*. Skr. *n-ār-*, Gr. *ἀν-ήρ*, gen. *ἀνδρ-ός*, 'man', *δρ-ώψ* 'human being' (Hesych.) for *\*uŷ-* (I § 204 p. 170), Umbr. *ner-f* acc. 'proceres' *ner-us* 'proceribus'. Skr. *uś-ār-* 'early light, dawn' Gr. *ἡρι* adv. loc. 'early' for *\*ἡτερ-ι* *\*āus-er-i* (*ἡτέρ-ιος* 'early'), beside which we have *ἄρι-στον* doubtless for *\*aus-er-* (I § 312 p. 249 f.), cp. also *ἄγχ-αυρο-ς* 'close on morning' *αὐρ-ιο-ν* 'morrow, morning' (for *\*aus-* or *\*āus-*) and Lith. *auszrà* 'red of the morning' (§ 74 p. 180). *\*suésor-* *\*suesŷ-* *\*suesr-* 'sister' (cp. p. 9 footnote, and § 120 Rem. p. 379 f.): Skr. *svásar-* Armen. *koir* gen. *kēr* (I § 560. 561 p. 416 f.), Lat. *sor-or* and *sobr-īnu-s* (I § 570 p. 428), O.Ir. *siur* Cymr. *chwaer* (for *\*chwear-*), Goth. *svistar* instead of *\*svisar* through the influence of *svistr-s* etc. (I § 580 p. 433 f.), Lith. *sesū* gen. *seseŷs*, O.C.Sl. *sestr-a* (I § 585 p. 439); we must no doubt class here Gr. *ἑορ* (vocat.) *θυγάτηρ*, *ἀνεψίος* and *ἑορ-ες* *προσηκόντες*, *συγγενεῖς* Hesych. (*ē-* for *ī-* I § 564 p. 421), where the meaning has changed.

*\*pə-tér-* 'father': Skr. *pitár-*, Armen. *hair* gen. *haur*, Gr. *πα-τήρ* (note its form in compounds, e. g. *μητρο-πάτωρ*), Lat. *pater*, O.Ir. *athir*, Goth. *fadar*. *\*mā-tér-* 'mother': Skr. *mātár-*,

1) In this Remark a full stop should be inserted after the word 'formation'; and in the preceding paragraph (§ 155) l. 4 read 'prim. Ar. *\*atharun-* ('fire-priest') not *\*atharŷn-*, instead of 'for *atharŷn-*'.

Armen. *mair* gen. *maur*, Gr. μήτηρ gen. μητρο-ός (the accent of μήτηρ no doubt follows that of the voc. μητρερ) (προ-μήτωρ), Lat. *māter*, O.Ir. *māthir*, Goth. *muoter*, Lith. *motė* and *mótė* ('woman, wife') O.C.Sl. *mati*. Skr. *duhi-tār-* Gr. θυγάτηρ (like Skr. *dami-tār-* Gr. παν-δαμά-τωρ, p. 383) Armen. *dustr* (the *st* is obscure) Goth. *daúh-tar* (early Norse nom. pl. *doh-tr-i-k* like Gr. Hom. θυγά-τερ-ες) Lith. *duk-tė* O.C.Sl. *dŭšti* 'daughter'.

\**bhrđ-tor-* and later \**bhrá-ter-* 'brother' (cp. § 120 Rem. p. 379): Skr. *bhrđtar-*, Armen. *elbair* gen. *elbaur*, Gr. φράτωρ φράτηρ (member of a φρατρία), Lat. *frāter*, O.Ir. *bráthir*, Goth. *brōþar*, Lith. *broter-ėli-s* ('little brother'), O.C.Sl. *bratr-ŭ* (from which came *bratŭ* by dissimilation, as *prostŭ* from \**pro-strŭ*, Miklosich, Etym. Wtb. p. 321) like *sestr-a*.

Nomina agentis (in Sanskrit the acc. always has *-tār-*, in Gr. *-τωρ-* excepting μήστωρ-, and *-τήρ-*, in Lat. all cases have *-tōr-*). Skr. *pura-ētār-* 'he who precedes, guide', Lat. *praetor*, √ *ei-*. Skr. *vēttar-* 'knower', Gr. ἴστωρ ἰστωρ 'knower, witness', Lat. *vīsor in-vīsor*, O.C.Sl. *sŭ-věsteli* 'conscious, witness' (*ě* in place of Idg. *oi* is not original), √ *mei-*. Skr. *yōk-tār-* Avest. *yūx-tar-* 'yoker', Gr. ζευκ-τήρ 'yoke-strap' ζεύκ-τειρα 'binder (f.)', Lat. *jūnc-tor*, √ *jeug-*. Skr. *bōddhar-* 'he who knows, or understands something', Gr. πειστήρ-ιος 'questioning, inquiring', O.C.Sl. *bljstel-ŭ* 'watchman', √ *bheydh-*. Skr. *bhar-tār- bhār-tar-* 'bearer, supporter, nourisher', Lat. *in-fertor* Umb. *aī-fertur* 'infertor, flamen'. Skr. *gān-tar-* 'he who goes, comes', Gr. βα-τήρ βαίων, βαδιστικός (Hesych.), ἐπι-βήτωρ 'mounter, coverer', Lat. *in-ventor*, √ *gem-*. Skr. *han-tār-* 'he who strikes, kills, murderer', O.C.Sl. *žę-tel-ŭ* 'cutter', √ *ghen-*. Skr. *śās-tar-* 'he who recites', Osc. *cens-tur* 'censor', √ *kens-*. Skr. *pak-tār-*, 'he who cooks, broils, bakes', Gr. πέπ-τω-ια 'cook (f.)' (late), Lat. *coc-tor*, √ *peq-*. Skr. *sāttar-* 'he who sits', Lat. *ad-sessor*, √ *sed-*. Skr. *dhā-tār- dhā-tar-* 'he who places, creator', Gr. θε-τήρ 'placer' (late), Lat. *con-ditor*, O.C.Sl. *sŭ-dětel-ŭ* 'conditor', √ *dhē-*. Skr. *sthā-tār-* 'standing, not moving' *sthā-tar-* 'charioteer' *savyē-ṣṭhar- savya-ṣṭhār-* 'the warrior who stands to the left of the charioteer' i. e. \*-st + tar- (cp. Germ. \**fir-sti* § 100 p. 297), Gr. στα-τήρ a

weight and a coin ἀπο-στατήρ 'apostate', Lat. *Juppiter Stā-tor*, *sta-tor ob-stetr-ī-x*, √ *stā-*. Skr. *pā-tār- pá-tar-* 'drinker', Gr. πο-τήρ 'drinking vessel, goblet' οἶνο-ποτήρ 'wine-drinker', Lat. *pō-tor*. Gr. ἄν-τωρ 'leader' ἐπ-αυτήρ 'he who goes out for prey, hunter', Lat. *āc-tor āc-tr-ī-x*, √ *aġ-*. Avest. *zā-tar-* 'panegyrist' O.C.Sl. *zva-tel-ī*. Skr. *jñā-tār-* 'knower, acquaintance', Gr. γνωστῆρ 'witness for the truth of a statement' (-σ- is an analogical insertion as in γνωστός beside γνωτός), Lat. *nō-tor*, O.C.Sl. *zna-tel-ī* 'knower'.

Skr. *dami-tār-* 'tamer', Gr. παν-δαμά-τωρ 'vanquisher of all', Lat. *domi-tor*. Skr. *jani-tār-* Gr. γενε-τήρ γενε-τωρ Lat. *geni-tor* 'begetter', Lat. *gene-tr-ī-x*.

Aryan. Skr. *dēv-ār-*, Skr. *n-ār*. Avest. *n-ar-* 'man', Skr. *uṣ-ār-*, Skr. *svās-ar-* Avest. *xwānēh-ar-* 'sister' (§ 120 p. 379); see above, p. 381. Skr. *nānānd-ar-* 'husband's sister' is an analogical formation, cp. *nand-inī-* the same. Here should perhaps be classed Avest. *atar-* (acc. *atar-em*, nom. (a re-formation) *atarš*) m. 'fire'; *t* is in place of pr. Ar. *th*, as is shewn by Skr. *ātharvan-* and Avest. *āpravan-*.

Skr. *pi-tār-* Avest. *pi-tar- p-tar* (I § 473, 2 p. 349) O.Pers. *pi-tar-* (gen. *piša*, I § 261 p. 261 p. 213) 'father', Skr. *mā-tār-* Avest. O.Pers. *mā-tar-* 'mother', Skr. *duhi-tār-* Avest. *dug'dar-duydar-* 'daughter', Skr. *bhrā-tar-* Avest. O.Pers. *brā-tar-* 'brother', see p. 382 above. Skr. *jāmātar-* Avest. *zāmātar-* 'son-in-law'.

In proethnic Aryan *napāt-* *napt-* 'offspring, descendant' (§ 123) was associated with the names of kindred, first in the weak cases: Skr. *nāptar-* Avest. *naptr-* (cp. Czech *neti* below); yet the acc. sing. is Skr. *nāptāram* Avest. *naptārem*, like *svā-sāram*. Skr. gen. *pātyur* 'mariti' like *pitūr* (see Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 290).

Remark. In § 114 Rem. 1 p. 348 and § 117 Rem. 2 p. 369 mention was made of the transference of nominatives in *-ā* and *-mā* to the *ā*-declension; we see the same thing in Prākṛit, where *duhidā* 'daughter' and *mādā* 'mother' were inflected like *ā*-stems. Similarly, in Lithuanian *in-tė* 'brother's wife', and in some dialects also *sėšė* 'sister', which is found side by side with *sesū*, were declined as *ē*-stems.



The class of *nomina agentis* was very fertile. Skr. *upa-kṣētár-* 'adherent', Avest. *xšaē-tar-* 'ruler'. Skr. *jé-tar-* 'conqueror'. Avest. *vi-āaētar-* 'one who looks around, spy'. Skr. *śrō-tar-* 'hearer', Avest. *srao-pr-ī-* f. 'hearer (f.)'. Skr. *hō-tar-* Avest. *zao-tar-* 'high priest'. Skr. *stō-tár-* Avest. *stao-tar-* 'one who sings praises'. Skr. *jōṣ-tár-* *jōṣ-tar-* 'lover, protector' O.Pers. *dauš-tar-* 'friend': cp. Gr. *γευσ-τήρ-ιο-ν* 'vessel for tasting, goblet', √ *geus-*. Skr. *vōḍhar-* 'carrier, draught-horse' Avest. *vaš-tar-* 'draught animal' (I § 482 p. 356): Lat. *vec-tor-*, √ *uegh-*. Skr. *han-tár-* 'he who strikes, kills, murderer', Avest. *jan-tar-* 'killer, slayer' O.Pers. *jatar-* (read *jantar-*) 'slayer, foe': O.C.Sl. *žę-tel-ī*, see above p. 382. Skr. *bhar-tár-* *bhár-tar-* Avest. *bar-tar-* *bāsar-* *ber-tar-* 'bearer, supporter' (cp. § 120 p. 378): Lat. *in-fertor*; see above, p. 382. Skr. *dhar-tár-* 'bearer, supporter', Avest. *der-tar-* 'holder'. Skr. *kar-tár-* *kár-tar-* Avest. *ker-tar-* 'doer'. Skr. *draṣ-tár-* 'he who sees', √ *derk-*. Avest. *har-tar-* 'guardian, protector'. Skr. *sáttar-* 'sitter', Avest. *aiwi-sastar-* 'he who sits': Lat. *ad-sessor*; see above, p. 382. Skr. *dágdhur-* 'incendiary' √ *dhegh-*. Skr. *dha-tár-* *dhd-tar-* Avest. *dā-tar-* 'he who places, creator': Gr. *θε-τήρ* etc., see p. 382 above. Skr. *mā-tar-* 'measurer', O.Pers. *fra-mātar-* 'master', √ *mē-*. Skr. *dā-tár-* *dd-tar-* Avest. *dā-tar-* 'giver': Gr. *δο-τήρ* *διω-τήρ* *δω-τωρ* Lat. *da-tor* (*da-tr-ī-x*) O.C. Sl. *da-tel-ī* 'giver', √ *dō-*. Skr. *sthā-tár-* 'standing' *sthā-tar-* 'charioteer, driver' *savyē-ṣṭhar-* *savya-ṣṭár-* 'the warrior who stands to the left of the charioteer', Avest. *raḫaē-štar-* 'the warrior who stands in the chariot': Gr. *στα-τήρ* etc., see p. 382 f. Skr. *pā-tár-* *pā-tar-* Avest. *pā-tar-* 'protector, guardian'. Skr. *yaṣ-tár-* Avest. *yaš-tar-* 'offerer', √ *iaḡ-*. Skr. *vi-bhaktár-* Avest. *bax-tar-* 'divider', √ *bhag-*. O.Pers. *a-yastar-* 'possessor' from Ar. *yat-* 'strive'. Skr. *śās-tár-* Avest. *sās-tar-* 'master'. Skr. *jñā-tár-* 'knower, acquaintance' Avest. *žnā-tar-* 'learner, knower' (according to I § 403 p. 298 we should expect *šnā-tar-*): Gr. *γνωστήρ* etc., see above, p. 383. Skr. *trā-tár-* Avest. *prā-tar-* 'protector'. Skr. *yā-tar-* 'he who goes, is on the way'. Avest. *a-snātar-* name of a priest who is responsible for ablutions.

Skr. *dami-tár-*, *jani-tár-*; see above, p. 383. Skr. *jari-tár-* 'singer', Cp. Avest. *aibi-jar'tar-* 'praiser'. Skr. *pavi-tár-* 'purifier', *vardhi-tár-* 'increaser', *vēdi-tar-* 'knower'. Avest. *daibi-tar-* 'deceiver'. Skr. *prati-grahītár-* 'receiver' *grābhī-tar* 'seizer'. Skr. *taru-tár-* *tāru-tar-* 'subduer'. Skr. *cōdayi-tár-* beside *cōdi-tár-* 'inciter'.

Towards the end of the Vedic period of Sanskrit, the nom. sing. du. pl. masc. of these *nomina agentis* began to be used with the present of *as-* 'esse' as a periphrastic future (cp. Lat. *datūrus sum*), which became a favourite construction in the classical period. In the third person the copula was usually omitted, and the form of the nom. sing. which had become fused with the verb, was generally kept even in the first and second persons of the plural and dual. Sing. *datāsmi* 'I will give' *datāsi datā*, du. *datāsvas datāsthas datārau*, pl. *datāsmas datāstha datātras*. Rarely 3 sing. *datāsti*, 1. du. *datārau svas* and the like.

The adjectival character of the *nomina agentis* created a neuter form for them in Sanskrit; thus nom. acc. sing. *dā-tf* (in Veda also *-tūr*, see I § 285 p. 228), pl. *-tṛṇi* etc. Cp. Lanman, Noun-Infl. p. 421 ff.

Armenian. Here are found only names of kindred, all of which have been already mentioned: *taigr* 'brother-in-law', *koir* 'sister', *hair* 'father', *mair* 'mother', *dustr* 'daughter', *elbair* 'brother'; see above, p. 381 f.

Greek. *δᾱήρ* 'brother-in-law', *ἀνήρ* 'man', *ἡρι* 'early' *ἔορ-ες* 'προσήμερες', see above, p. 381. *ἀήρ*, gen. *ἀέρ-ος*, f. m. 'air', Lesb. *αὔηρ*, compare *αὔρα* 'air'. *αἰθήρ*, *αἰθέρος*, f. m. 'aether', compare *αἰθήρα*.

*πα-τήρ* 'father', *μή-τηρ* 'mother', *θυγά-τηρ* 'daughter', *φρά-τηρ* 'member of a *φρατρία*'; see above, p. 381 f. *εἰνά-τερ-ες* 'women married to brothers': Skr. *yā-tar-* (acc. *-tar-am*) 'husband's brother's wife' (probably for \**yā-ter-*, see I § 253 p. 207), Lat. *jani-tr-ī-c-ēs* (§ 119 p. 377), Lith. *in-tė* (gen. *in-tės*, cp. the Remark on p. 383) 'brother's wife'; it is still doubtful what we should assume as the original form of the root-syllable; there seem to have been both a form with *ə* following the root-syllable,

and a form without, as in Skr. *duhi-tár-*: Goth. *daúh-tar*. γασ-*-τήρ* 'belly'.

The *nomina agentis* in *-τηρ-*, *-τορ-* were a fertile class. ἴστωρ ἴστωρ 'knower, witness', ἐπι-ίστωρ 'conscious': Skr. *vēttar-* etc.; see above, p. 382. φύ-τωρ 'begetter': Osc. *Fuutr-ei* 'Creatrici, Genetrici', cp. also Skr. *bhavi-tar-* 'impending, future', √ *bhe-*. βα-τήρ βαίνων, βαδιστικός (Hesych.), ἐπι-βήτωρ 'mounter, coverer': Skr. *gán-tar-* etc.; see above, p. 382. βο-τήρ βώ-τωρ 'herdsman', πολυ-βόττιρα f. 'much-nourishing'. ἀφ-ήτωρ 'slinger, shooter': Lat. *sa-tor*, √ *sē-*; some scholars add Skr. *s-tr-ī* 'wife' (cp. Lat. *sator* 'begetter') which as regards the form of the root-syllable bears the same relation to *sa-tor* and *-ή-τωρ* as Skr. *savyē-ṣthar-* to Gr. στα-τήρ and Skr. *sthā-tár-* (p. 382 f.). ἀμάλλο-δετήρ 'sheaf-binder': Skr. *ni-dātár-* 'fastener', √ *dē*. ἄκ-τωρ 'leader' ἐπ-ακτήρ 'he who goes out for prey, hunter': Lat. *ac-tor*. ἀλάστωρ 'not forgetful of punishment, avenging deity' beside ἄ-λαστο-ς λήθ-ω. λαμπ-τήρ 'lighter'. ὀπ-τήρ δι-οπτήρ 'watcher, spy'. ζωσ-τήρ 'girdle'. δια-βλήτωρ 'slanderer' (late). κρᾶ-τήρ 'mixing vessel'. δμη-τήρ 'subduer', Δμή-τωρ, δμή-τειρα 'subduer (f.)'. θηρᾶ-τήρ θηρη-τήρ, θηρά-τωρ θηρη-τήρ 'hunter' (θηράω), κυβερνη-τήρ 'steersman' (κυβερνάω), αὐλη-τήρ 'flute-player' fem. αὐλη-τρις (αὐλέω), κοσμή-τωρ 'commander' (κοσμέω), μισθώ-τρι-α 'procuress' (μισθόω). ληιστήρ ληίστωρ 'plunderer, robber' (ληίζομαι). σημαίν-τωρ 'commander' (σημαίνω). φυλακ-τήρ 'watchman' (φυλάσσω for \*-ακ-τω).

παν-δαμά-τωρ, γενε-τήρ γενέ-τωρ, see above p. 383. ἄλ-ε-τρ-ίς 'miller (f.)': ἄλ- for ἡλ-? cp. Lat. *mol-i-tor*.

With *-τωρ-* we find only μής-τωρ, Homer. acc. *-τωρ-α*, 'counsellor' (but as a proper name Μήστορ-α), beside μήςδ-ομαι.

Italic. Lat. *lēvir* modified in form by popular etymology; see above, p. 381. Umb. *ner-f* 'proceres'; see above, p. 381. Lat. *soror* for \**suesōr*, see above, p. 381.

Lat. *pa-ter* Umbr. *Iu-pater* 'Juppiter' Iuve patre 'Jovi patri' Osc. *patir* 'pater' *patereí* 'patri' (I § 627 p. 471) Marruc. *patres* 'patris', Lat. *mā-ter* Umbr. *matrer* 'matris' Osc. *maatreis*

'matris', Lat. *frā-ter* Umbr. *frater* 'fratres' *fratrom* 'fratrum'; see above, p. 382. Lat. *ven-ter*.

In the group of *nomina agentis* we may assume that *-tōr-* had prevailed in all cases even in proethnic Italic; only the derivatives show *-tr-*. The formation seems to have been in active use in all dialects.

Lat. *in-fertor*, Umbr. *añ-fertur* 'infertor, flamen' acc. *ars-ferturo* dat. *-ferture*: Skr. *bhar-tār-*; see above, p. 382. Lat. *ē-versor*, Osc. *ḙεσορεῖ* (o to be read long) \**Versori*, *Ἰρονάλῳ*, √ *uert-*. *cēnsor* (cp. § 79 Rem. 2 p. 231), Osc. *censtur* *keensztur* (for the *zs* see I § 209 p. 176), 'censor': Skr. *śās-tar-*, see p. 382 above. Lat. *in-spector*, Umbr. *speture* 'spectori' *speturie* dat. 'spectoriae': Avest. *spas-tar-* 'watchman'. √ *spek-*. Lat. *auc-tor*, Umbr. *uhtur* 'auctor' *uhturu* 'auctorem' *uhtretie* 'auctoritate'. Osc. *embratur* 'imperator', *regatureī* 'rectori'.

Lat. *pīs-tōr* *pīns-tōr* *pīs-tr-ī-x*: Skr. *pēṣ-ṭar-* 'grinder, crusher'. *fictor*. *vīc-tor*. *duc-tor*. *ūs-tor*. *dē-sertor*. *tortor* for \**torc-tor*, from *torqueō*. *com-mentor*: Skr. *man-tār-* 'thinker', Gr. *Μέν-τωρ*, √ *men-*. *tex-tor*: Skr. *tāṣ-ṭar-* 'foreman, architect, carpenter', √ *teks-*. *ēsor* *ēstr-ī-x*: Skr. *attār-* 'eater', Gr. *ὠμητήρ* 'eating raw food' (late) *νίστιρα* f. 'fasting' (late). *messor*. *cor-rēctor*. *rap-tor*. *can-tor*. *al-tor*. *oc-cīsor*, from *caedō*. *sū-tor*. *sprē-tor*. *im-plētor*. *viē-tor*. *flā-tōr*. *cūrā-tor*, *bellā-tor*; *fīnī-tor*.

Lat. *domi-tor*, *geni-tor*; see above, p. 383. *meri-tōr-iu-s* *mere-tr-ī-x*. *dēbi-tōr*. *moli-tor*. *moni-tor*.

The connexion of the Latin participles in *-tūru-s*, such as *da-tūru-s*, with these *nomina agentis* can not be denied, but the *ū* is obscure (I § 89 p. 85).

In Old Irish only the names of kindred remain.

*siur*, acc. Mid.Ir. *siair*, 'sister'; see above, p. 381; through the influence of names of kindred in *-ter-* arose the forms gen. *sethar* acc. *sethir* dat. pl. *sethraib*.

*athir* 'father', *māthir* 'mother', *brāthir* 'brother', see above p. 381 f. To these the word for 'uncle' was assimilated, Mod.Cymr. *ewi-thr* O.Corn. *cui-ter*, cp. Lat. *avun-culu-s*.

Germanic. *svist-ar* O.H.G. *swest-er* 'sister', see above p. 381.

Goth. *fa-dar dauh-tar brō-þar* O.H.G. *fater muoter tohter bruoder*; see above, p. 381 f. In O.H.G. another word seems to have been associated with these: *swiger*, gen. *swiger*, 'mother-in-law' (Skr. *śvaśrū-*).

2. In Gothic, *-tru-m* (for *\*-tr-mi*) in the dat. pl. and *-tr-uns* (for *\*-tr-ys*) in the acc. pl. gave rise to the nom. pl. in *-trjus*, as *brōþrjus*, after the analogy of the *u*-declension. In Old High German the names of kindred were also declined as *o*-stems and as *a*-stems (according to their gender), but the feminine forms occur only in the pl., and not until a late period. Thus we have gen. sing. *fateres* beside *fater*, gen. pl. only *faterā*, gen. pl. *tohterā* beside *tohter*.

Of the *nomina agentis* we have only doubtful traces. A.S. *bæcestre* f. 'baker (f.)' and the like; see § 110 p. 336. A.S. *bealdor* O.Icel. *baldr* 'chief', O.H.G. *smeidar* 'artifex', see Kluge, *Nominale Stammbildungsl.* § 30. O.H.G. *friu-dil fri-dol* m. 'beloved' O.Icel. *fri-ðill* 'concubinus': O.C.Sl. *prija-tel-i* 'friend' Avest. *ā-frītar-* 'one who pronounces a blessing' Skr. *prē-tar-* 'benefactor, lover': *l* must have arisen in Germanic, as in Slavonic, (*-tel-i*) through dissimilation, cp. *murmūðn* etc. I § 277 p. 221; but there is difficulty in explaining the relation of the vowels in the root-syllable (cp. Brate in Bezenb. Beitr. XI 187).

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *dėver-i-s* gen. *dėvėr-s* O.C.Sl. *děver-i* 'brother-in-law', Lith. *sesū* gen. *sėsėr-s*, also nom. *sėsė* on the analogy of *mótė* etc. (cp. the Remark on p. 383), O.C.Sl. *sestra* 'sister', see above, p. 381.

Lith. *mo-tė* and *mó-tė* 'woman, wife' O.C.Sl. *mati* 'mother', Lith. *duk-tė* O.C.Sl. *dūsti* 'daughter', Lith. *bro-ter-ėli-s* 'little brother'. O.C.Sl. *bra-tr-ū bra-tū* 'brother', see p. 382 above. Lith. *in-tė* (gen. *intės*) 'brother's wife' (O.C.Sl. *ję-tr-y* like *svėkry*): Skr. *yā-tar-* etc., see p. 385 above; a confusion with *genti-s* 'a relative' (m. f.) gave rise to the form *gent-ě* gen. *gentēr-s* or *gentēs* 'husband's brother's wife'. In Czech the inflexion of *neti* f. 'niece' (= Skr. *napt-i*) was assimilated to that of the

names of kindred, partly in consequence of the similar ending of the nom. sing.: thus gen. *neter'-e*, like *mater'-e*; cp. Skr. *nāptar-* p. 383.

The class of *nomina agentis* is found only in Slavonic, where it was fertile. In Lithuanian these forms were displaced by those in *-toji-s* = O.C.Sl. *-tajǎ*, as *ar-tóji-s* = O.C.Sl. *ra-tajǎ ora-tajǎ* 'arator'; as to Lith. *-klė* see I § 281 Rem. 1 p. 224. Slav. *-tel-* arose from *-ter-* by dissimilation; see I § 281 p. 224. *-tel-* without any additional suffix is still found in nom. gen. instr. pl., *-tel-e*, *-tel-ŭ*, *-tel-y* although the two latter forms may also be regarded as belonging to the *o*-decl.); elsewhere we have *-tel-je-*. *sŭ-věsteli* 'conscius, witness', *bljusteli* 'watchman', *žę-teli* 'reaper', *sŭ-dětelī* 'conditor', *zva-teli* 'caller', *zna-teli* 'knower'; see above, p. 382 f. *da-teli* 'giver', see above, p. 384. *prija-teli* 'friend', see above p. 388. *žri-teli* 'offerer, priest'. *vlas-teli* 'commander' (*vladq* 'I command, rule'), *zi-teli* 'inhabitant', *děla-teli* 'worker'. *sŭ-biratelī* 'collector'. *umě-teli* 'one who understands'. *sŭ-vědětelī* 'conscius, witness'. *prosi-teli* 'beggar'. *goni-teli* 'follower'. *-iteli* was also used as an independent suffix: e. g. *po-dad-iteli* 'lender, bail, security', *po-greb-iteli* 'burier'.

## VII. Suffixes in *-t*.

§ 123. The Suffix *-t*<sup>1)</sup>. In the proethnic language this was a primary suffix; and it was most frequently found, as its use in Sanskrit, Greek and Latin shews, in the final members of compound words. These had the force of a participle, which was generally active and could be either an adjective or substantive. But *-t* is used in this way only with roots which end in vowels, liquids, or nasals, such as *ei-*, *dhē-*, *bher-*, *ghen-*. Skr. *arthēt-* (*artha-i-t-*) 'busy, in haste', Lat. *comes* stem *com-i-t-* (properly 'one who goes with'), √ *ei-*. Avest. *fratema-dā-t-* 'one set first, set in front, chief', Gr. *ῥῆς*, gen. *ῥη-ρός*, 'hired labourer', √ *dhē-*. Avest. *praotō-stā-t-* adj. 'in the rivers', Lat. *anti-sti-t-*, √ *stā-*.

1) De Saussure, Le suffixe *-t*-, Mémoires de la Soc. de Ling. III 197 ff.

Here must be classed *\*nepōt- \*nept-* (Skr. *nápāt* 'offspring, descendant' instr. *nádbhiṣ* for *\*nabd-bhiṣ*, Lat. *nepōs*, Mid.Ir. *niae*, gen. *niath*, 'sister's son', O.H.G. *nefo* 'nephew, relative' Goth. *niþ-ji-s* 'cousin, relative', O.Icel. *nið-r* 'offspring', O.C.Sl. *net-ijŕ* 'nephew, cousin', see I § 527 Rem. 1 p. 382, § 545 p. 399), if it belongs to the root of *\*pə-ter-* 'father' and if its original meaning was 'not having (a father's) protection, belonging to the family of uncle or grandfather', and hence 'nephew' or grandson'; see E. Leumann, *Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk* 1888 p. 77 f.

Next should be mentioned *noq-t* 'night' (beside *\*noq-ti-*, cp. the suffix *-tati-* beside *-tat-* § 102 p. 308): Skr. *nák-t* (Gaedicke, *Der Acc. im Veda* 177, B. Kahle, *Zur Entwicklung der Consonant. Decl. im Germ.* 32 f.), Gr. *νύξ νυκ-τό-ς*, Lat. *nox* (which also forms *i*-cases), O.Ir. *in-nocht* 'hac nocte', Goth. gen. *nah-t-s* dat. *nah-t*, O.Lith. gen. pl. *nak-t-u*.

We also find a few substantive numerals (with *by*-forms in *-ti-*, see § 101 p. 306 f.). *\*dekṃ-t* 'decade': Skr. *daśát-*, Gr. *δεκάς* gen. *δεκάδ-ος* (for the *δ* see p. 392), Lith. pl. *dėszimt-s* O.C.Sl. pl. *deset-e*. In this way were formed Skr. *pañcát-* Gr. *πεντάς* *πεντάς* 'a group of five' (I § 427 a p. 312) beside Skr. *pánca* Gr. *πέντε* 'five', and other examples.

Lastly we find a certain number of nouns in different languages with a short vowel between the root and *-t-*; as Skr. *sravát-* f. 'river', Lat. *teges*, gen. *teget-is*, f. 'covering', Goth. *mitaþ-s*, stem *mitad-* f. 'measure', Skr. *vāghát-* 'praying', Gr. *ἀγγέρ-* 'gleaming', Lat. *teres*, gen. *teret-is*, 'turned, round, long'. Not one of these nouns appears in more than one language. Nevertheless it is natural to derive them from a common source.

In several branches of Indo-Germanic, particularly in Aryan, this suffix *-t-* was taken widely into use in combination with others by which it was extended. The new compound suffixes were used independently and became fertile, e. g. Skr. *-t-nu-*.

Aryan. Skr. *arthēt-*, Avest. *fratema-đāt- praotō-stāt-*, see above p. 389. Skr. *viśva-jī-t-* 'obtaining all by conquest', Avest. *iśasem-ji-t-* 'subduing, suppressing one's wish'. Skr. *deva-stú-t-*

'praising the gods', Avest. *ahūm-stu-t* 'praising the world'. Skr. *dēva-śrū-t* 'heard of the gods, audible to them'. Skr. *vajra-bhṛ-t* 'bearing the thunderbolt', Avest. *aš-ber<sup>e</sup>-t* 'enduring much' *ā-ber<sup>e</sup>-t* 'purveyor' (appellation of a priest's assistant). Skr. *su-kṛ-t* 'behaving well', Avest. *yās-ker<sup>e</sup>-t* 'transacting business'. Avest. *taxmār<sup>e</sup>-t* (*taxma-ar<sup>e</sup>-t*) 'pressing on hard'. Skr. *adhva-gā-t* 'on the way, traveller', ✓ *gem-*. Less often in uncompounded words: Skr. *rī-t* 'running', *hrū-t* 'injurer, foe', Avest. *stū-t* 'praiser'. Moreover these -t-stems are found in Aryan as feminine abstract substantives: Skr. *sam-i-t* 'hostile meeting', *ni-yú-t* 'team', *stú-t* 'praise, song', *vṛ-t* 'company, following, troop, band', Avest. *xšnūt* 'wisdom'. For the Skr. *nāpāt-nāpt* 'offspring, descendant' Avest. *napāt-napt*- (fem. Skr. *napt-ī*- Avest. *napt-ī*-) see above p. 390, and for Skr. *nāptar*- Avest. *naptar*- § 122 p. 383.

Extensions of this suffix gave rise to the suffixes -tya-, e. g. Skr. *kṛtya-s* 'faciendus' § 63 p. 123 f., -tnu-, e. g. Skr. *kṛtnú-ś* 'active' § 106 p. 320, -tvan-, e. g. Skr. *kṛtvan*- 'effecting' § 116 p. 364. Compare Skr. *mṛ-t-yú-ś* 'death' § 105 p. 318 f.

Skr. *nák-t* 'night', see above p. 390. Skr. *daśát*- 'a group of ten' *pañcát*- 'a group of five', see above, p. 390.

A few Sanskrit nouns have -at- -it-. *śravát*- f. 'river'. *vahát*- f. 'stream'. *saścát*- f. 'stopping, check'. *vēhát*- f. 'a cow which yeans prematurely, casts'. *vāghát*- 'praying, one who prays'. *sarít*- f. 'river, brook'. *yōṣít*- f. 'girl, maiden'. *harít*- 'tawny'. There is one word in -út-: *marút*- name of the storm-gods.

Greek. *θής*, gen. *θη-τ-ός*, 'hired labourer', see p. 389 above. *πλώς*, gen. *πλω-τ-ός*, 'swimmer' name of a fish. *ὀμο-βρώς*, gen. *-βρω-τ-ος*, 'devouring raw flesh' (✓ *ger-*, cp. I § 306 p. 242). *ἀγνώς*, gen. *-γνω-τ-ος*, 'unknown, not knowing'. *προ-βλής*, gen. *βλη-τ-ος*, 'thrown forward, springing forward, prominent'. *δορι-κμής*, gen. *-κμη-τ-ος*, 'subdued by the spear'.

*νύξ*, gen. *νυκ-τ-ός*, 'night', see p. 390 above.

*δεκάς*, *πενμπάς* *πεντάς*, see p. 390 above. So also *ἐπτάς* 'a group of seven' ground-form \**septm-t*-, *ἐννέας* 'a group of nine',



δνάς τριάς (this word cannot be compared with Lat. *triēns*, gen. *trient-is*), ἑξάς etc. In I § 238 p. 199, § 469, 7 p. 346 something has been said of the *-δ-* in these forms. In the Indo-Germanic case-system (*dek̑mt- \*septmt-* and so forth) there was a variation between *t* and *d*, e. g. dat. *\*dek̑mt-ai*, instr. *\*dek̑md-bhi(s)*. The only question is whether the Gr. *-δ-* arose from an assimilation of the cases with *t* to this latter form either in Greek or earlier, or whether the *δ* was a special Greek development, due to the terminations *-ας -ασι*, which also belonged to the original *d*-stems (§ 128). The latter explanation now seems to me the more probable. Cp. *λάραγ-* § 130 Rem.

ἀργέτ- and ἀργῆτ- 'gleaming' the nom. was perhaps originally *-ēt*, gen. *-et-os* and so forth (cp. below A.S. *hæle* 'hero' for pr. Germ. *\*chalēp*). κέλης, gen. *-ητ-ος*, m. 'runner, courser', ἔχης m. 'possessor', λέβης m. 'cauldron, bowl'.

Italic. Lat. *com-es*, *anti-stes*, *nepōs* (gen. *nepōt-is* etc.; the weak form of the stem appears in *nept-i-s*), see p. 390 above. *sacerdōs*, gen. *-dōt-is*, for *\*sacro-dō-t-* I § 633 p. 473 f.; where it must be remembered that *-dō-t-* can be derived not only from  $\sqrt{dō-}$ , but also from  $\sqrt{dhē}$  (cp. Gr. *θωμός* etc. I § 315 p. 254). *locu-plēs*, gen. *-plē-t-is*, whose original meaning has not been clearly determined (see Corssen, Krit. Nachtr. 253). *man-suēs*, gen. *-suē-t-is* (beside *mān-suē-tu-s*). Add *in-gen-t-*, if it originally meant 'unknown, unheard of', and then 'extraordinary, huge', and so comes from  $\sqrt{gen-}$  'know' (Danielsson, Pauli's Altital. Stud. IV 149 f.).

Lat. *nox*, see above p. 390.

With *-et-*: *teges* (gen. *teget-is*) f., *seges* f., *merges* f.; *teres*, *hebes*. An isolated form is *caput*, gen. *capit-is*.

Remark 1. With *-it-*: *eques* (gen. *equit-is*) m. (*equo-s*), *pedes* m. (*pēs*), *vēles* m. (*vēlu-m*), *mīles* m., *circes* m. (*circu-s*), *palmes* m. (*palma*), *āles* subst. m. and adj. (*āla*). K. Walter (Kuhn's Ztschr. X 194 ff.) holds that these correspond to such Greek denominatives as *ἵππo-τα* (*eques*) *ἀγρό-της* (§ 80 p. 240). There seems to me to have been a confusion in Latin between *tā*-stems and compounds with *-i-t-* 'going' (see *com-i-t-* above), after the vowels preceding the *-t-* had become indistinguishable through phonetic change. The compounds attracted the *tā*-stems into their

own consonantal declension, a process which was assisted by popular etymology. But it is doubtful whether all these forms (*equēs* etc.) were *tā*-stems to start with. It may certainly be assumed of a few examples, such as *ped-it-*, that (like *com-es*) they were real compounds of *-i-t-* 'going'.

Old Irish. *niae*, gen. *niath*, (Mid.Ir.) 'sister's son', *in-nocht* 'hac nocte', see p. 390 above.

With *-et-*: *cing-*, gen. *cinged*, 'hero, warrior' Gall. *Cinges-etis* *Cinget-o-rīx*, *traig* 'foot', *cin* 'debt', *luch* 'mouse'. Compare Gall. acc. pl. *Namnet-as*, and further (with *ā*) *Atrebāt-es* (beside O.Ir. *atreba* i. e. *ad-treba* 'possidet, habitat') as well as Ir. *ascad-* (nom. *ascae*) 'rival, enemy' *arad-* 'charioteer'; in these words it is difficult to determine the original form of the suffix.

Germanic. O.H.G. *nefo* 'nephew' for *\*nefō(ā)* has been attracted into the *n*-declension: Skr. *nāpāt* etc., see p. 390 above. O.H.G. *nift* 'neptis, privigna' = Skr. *napt-ī*.

Gen. sing. Goth. *nah-t-s* O.H.G. *naht-e-s*, dat. Goth. O.H.G. *nah-t* etc. (nom. Goth. *naht-s* O.H.G. *naht* 'night'): Skr. *nák-t* etc., see above p. 390. In Germanic the various cases of this word followed different declensions.

Remark 2. Consonantal cases are found in the declension of the feminine nouns Goth. *vaih-t-s* 'thing' *brus-t-s* 'breast' as from *naht-s*; and also from *spaurþ-s* (*spaur-d-*) 'race-course' *dulþ-s* (*dul-þ-*) 'feast'. The two latter should be compared with such Sanskrit fem. forms as *vj-t- stú-t* (see p. 391), if their consonantal inflexion is original.

There is a class of nouns which show a vowel before the *-t-* (pr. Germ. *-þ-* or *-ð-*, following always the position of the accent), which have abandoned their old consonantal inflexion more or less completely. Goth. *mitaþ-s* (st. *mitad-*) f. 'measure', beside O.Sax. *metod* O.Icel. *mjǫtuð-r* m. 'measurer, orderer, artist, creator'. O.H.G. *helid* A.S. *hæled* (also *hæle*, an old nom. without *s*, for *\*xalēþ*) O.Icel. *hǫld-r* 'hero'. O.H.G. *hehhit* 'pike', *sceffid* 'creator', *leitid* 'leader'. In Norse this class (*nomina agentis*) was fertile: e. g. *hatu-ðr* *hǫtuð-r* 'hater', *skapaðr* 'creator' *framið-r* 'gestor, tributor, dator'.

Goth. *mēnōþ-s* (dat. *mēnōþ*, pl. nom. acc. *mēnōþ-s*) O.H.G. *mānōd* O.Icel. *mānað-r* (pl. *mānað-r* m. 'month'. The nominative form *\*mēnō(þ)* gave rise to Goth. *mēna* O.H.G. *māno*, which

then developed *n*-cases like *nefo*. In this word *-t-* was a secondary suffix, and so also in Goth. *veitvōþ-s* (*veitvōd-*) m. 'witness'; this form will be discussed below in § 176.

Balto-Slavonic. The Lith. nom. sing. *'mėnũ* (gen. *mėnesio*) may, with O.H.G. *māno*, be referred to *\*mėnōt*.

Lith. pl. *dėszimt-s* O.C.Sl. *desęt-e*; see p. 390 above.

Remark 3. The Slav. masc. *lakŭti* 'elbow, ell', *nogŭti* 'unguis', *pěcaŭ* 'seal' form cases according to the consonantal declension; e. g. gen. pl. *lakŭtŭ* nom. pl. *pěcat-e*. Have we here a secondary transference to this declension?

§ 124. The Suffixes *-tat-* and *-tāt-* formed feminine abstract substantives from Adjectives and Substantives, and had in the proethnic and later periods the parallel forms *-tati-* and *-tūti-*. They have been discussed in § 102 p. 308 ff.

§ 125. The Suffix *-nt-<sup>1)</sup>*. In all periods this suffix formed all the active participles excepting that of the Perfect (§ 136). In most of the separate groups of languages it has remained in living use down to the present day.

*nt-* participles became simple nouns in all the languages, though more rarely in some than in others. They became partly adjectives pure and simple (with comparative and superlative), such as Mod.H.G. *reizend* 'charming' and partly substantives, such as Mod.H.G. *freund* 'friend'. This change from one part of speech to another has taken place at every stage in the development of the Indo-Germanic languages. Thus for example Mod.H.G. *zahn* (Lat. *dēns*) had become a substantive in the proethnic period, *freund* (Goth. *frijōnd-s*) in

1) H. Ebel, *Das Suffix -ant und Verwandtes*, Kuhn's Ztschr. IV 321 ff. M. Bréal, *Origine du suffixe participial ant*, Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. II 188 ff. F. Baudry, *Le t du suffixe participial ant*, ibid. 393 ff. O. Bechstein, *De nominibus Latinis suffixorum ent- et mino- ope formatis*, Curtius' Stud. VIII 335 sqq. (I have not been able to work through Ch. Bartholomae's essay, *Die ar. Flexion der Adjectiva und Participia auf -nt-*, which has just appeared in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 487 ff., so as to make use of it for the following sections, but a cursory survey has shown me, to my great satisfaction, that we have arrived at the same conclusions on certain main points).

proethnic Germanic, *heiland* (A.S. *hælend*) in proethnic West-Germanic, and *der vorsitzende* (O.H.G. *furi-sizzando*) 'president' in High German. Compare § 144.

*-nt-* is sometimes added immediately to the root-syllable, e. g. *\*s-ŋt-* 'being' √ *es-* (Skr. *s-ánt-* *s-at-*), sometimes to stems having a tense-determinant, e. g. pres. *\*qi-nŋ-ŋt-* √ *qeŋ-* (Skr. *ci-nv-ánt-* *ci-nv-at-*), *\*rud-ó-nt-* √ *reyd-* (Skr. *rud-á-nt-*), *\*bhéydh-o-nt-* √ *bhéydh-* (Skr. *bódh-a-nt-*), fut. *\*dō-sjó-nt-* √ *dō-* (Skr. *dā-syánt-*).

Remark 1. It is a plausible hypothesis that the 3. pl. in *-nti* and *-nt* (*\*rudō-nti* = Skr. *rudá-nti* *\*é rudó-nt* = Skr. *d-rudan*, cp. Lat. *rudu-nt*) is simply the bare stem of this participial formation, to which *-i* was sometimes added on the analogy of the 3. sing. in *-ti* beside *-t* etc. If so, the 3. pl. perf. (Gr. *τελόγγ-ασαι* *-αναι*, Goth. *vit-un*) was doubtless formed originally with some other suffix; and as a matter of fact the *nt-* suffix is not used in that tense in Aryan.

The original variation of ablaut is on the whole clear:

In participles formed from non-thematic verbal stems, the suffix varied between *-ŋt-* and *-nt-* in the parent language; as Skr. sing. acc. *s-ánt-am* *ci-nv-ánt-am* gen. *s-at-ás* *ci-nv-at-ás* pl. loc. *s-át-su* *ci-nv-át-su* (instead of *\*s-at-sú* *\*ci-nv-at-sú*), cp. I § 226 p. 193, § 230 p. 196 etc.

With thematic stems, on the other hand, the suffix assumed the forms *-ó-nt-* and *-ŋt-*; as Skr. *rudá-nt-am* *rudat-ás* *rudat-su* (instead of *\*rudat-sú*) Gr. *ῥιδόντ-ρα* *\*ῥιδατ-ός* *\*ῥιδατ-αι* (replaced by *ῥιδόντες* and *ῥιδόντοι ῥιδοῦσι*). It is certain that *-ó-nt-* and *-ŋt-* were original; but it is still a little doubtful whether the paradigm also contained *-e-nt-*. The nom. sing. ended partly in *-o-nt-s* (and under certain conditions perhaps in *-e-nt-s*), partly in *-ōn* (Gr. *ῥιέγων* O.C.Sl. *bery*; there was no loss of *-t*, contrast *ἐγγων* for *\*ἐ-γγω-ντ* I § 611 p. 461).

Remark 2. Special evidence for a form *-e-nt-* beside *-o-nt-* and *-ŋt-* is given by Mid.H.G. *zint* O.Icel. *tind-r* 'tooth, prong' = *\*d-en-t-* beside *\*d-on-t-* (O.H.G. *zan*, Gr. *ῥιδόντ-* etc.) and *\*d-ŋt-* (Goth. *tunþ-*). It is possible to assume (with B. Kahle, Zur Entw. der Conson. Decl., 13) that the loc. sing. was originally *\*dént(i)*, cp. loc. sing. *-en(-i)* *-men(-i)* § 113 p. 344 and *-(i)er-i* § 120 p. 379. Another view is also possible. *\*rud-é-nt-* may once have existed beside *\*bhéydh-o-nt-*, *\*d-é-nt-* beside *\*d-o-nt-* as *φρ-εν-ε;* beside *ᾱ-φρ-ον-ε;* § 113 p. 343 f. and *πα-τέρ-ε;* beside *φρᾱ-τορ-ε;*

μητρο-πατορ-ες; § 120 p. 378; while in the *-nt-* stems also in either case the loc. sing. may have had *-e-*, *\*dent-(i)*. This latter assumption would explain very simply the varying declension of these stems in the different languages. Observe especially that in this case there would be no necessity to suppose any levelling of different forms of the stem in participles like Lat. *rudēns rudentis* etc., inasmuch as *rudent-* would come as regularly from *\*rudént-* as from *\*rudnt-*.

§ 126. Indo-Germanic. Participles. *\*bhér-o-nt- \*bher-nt-*, beside *\*bhér-e-ti* 'fert': Skr. *bhárant- bhárat-*, Gr. *φέρων (-ovr-)*, Lat. *ferēns (-ent-)*, Goth. *bairand-s (-and-)*, O.C.Sl. *bery (\*-at-)*. *\*dorkéio-nt-*, from the causative *\*dorkéie-ti* 'causes to see', √ *derk-*: Skr. *darśáyant-* 'causing to see' Goth. *ga-tarhjangd-s* 'distinguishing'; Skr. *tyājáyant-* 'bidding one abandon something' Gr. *σπείων* 'driving away quickly, scaring off'; Skr. *nāśáyant-* 'causing to disappear, destroying' Lat. *nocēns* from *\*noceient-* (indic. *noceō*). *\*rud-ó-nt-,<sup>1)</sup> \*rud-nt-* from *\*rud-é-ti* 'laments, howls': Skr. *rudánt- rudat-* Lat. *rudēns (-ent-)*; Skr. *vidánt-* 'finding' Gr. *ιδών* 'seeing' Goth. *vitand-s* 'knowing'; Skr. *giránt-* O.C.Sl. *žiry* 'swallowing' common ground-form *\*grr-ó-nt-*, √ *ger-*; Skr. *kṛntánt-* 'cutting off' Lith. *krintās (-ant-)* 'falling off'. *\*dō-sjó-nt-*, from *\*dō-sjé-ti* fut. 'he will give': Skr. *dāsyánt-* Lith. *dūšes (-ent-)*. *\*uē-nt-* (the stem doubtless had this form in all the cases; for Aryan *vat-* in the weak cases see § 110 p. 337), from *\*uē-ti* 'blows' (without vowel-gradation): Skr. *vā-nt-*, Gr. *ἄεις ἄ(F)ερ-* for *\*ú(F)ηrr-*; add Lat. *vent-u-s* Goth. *vind-s* 'wind', which have been extended by *-o-*. *\*sthā-nt- \*stānt-*, from *\*stā-t(i)* (Lat. *sta-t*, Skr. *d-sthā-t* Gr. *ἑ-σση*): Skr. *stā-nt-*, Gr. *στάς (σταντ-* may regularly represent either form of the stem), Lat. *stāns (stant-*, as in Greek); *\*dō-nt- \*dā-nt-*, from *dō-t(i)* (Lat. *da-t* instead of *\*dō-t*, Skr. *d-da-t*): Gr. *δούς (δovr-* for *\*dō-rr-* or instead of *\*dā-rr-*, see I § 109 p. 102), Lat. *dāns (da-nt- = \*dā-nt-)*. In the following examples the tense-stem ends in a consonant. *\*s-nt- \*s-nt-*, beside *\*és-ti* 'is': Skr. *s-ánt- s-at*; in Greek the only trace of the orig. stem is *\*s-nt-* in the fem. Dor. *ἑασσα* i. e. *\*ē(o)-ar-ia* § 110 p. 337

1) Or *\*rud-é-nt-*, under other (more primitive) conditions, see § 125 Rem. 2. So also in the cases which follow.

(elsewhere we find new formations, such as Dor. *ἐντ-ες* Ion. *ἐόντ-ες* Att. *ὄντ-ες*), Lat. *prae-sēns* (*-sent-*), Pruss. *empriki-sins* 'present' (dat. *-sentismu*). *\*dē-d-nt- \*dhē-dh-nt-* (*-nt-* no doubt in all the cases), from *\*dē-dō-ti* 'gives',  $\sqrt{dō-}$ , *\*dhē-dhē-ti* 'ponit',  $\sqrt{dhē-}$ : Skr. *dādat- dādhat-* (acc. *dādat-am dādhat-am*), Gr. *δίδοντ- τιθέντ-* new formations in place of *\*διδαντ- \*τιθαντ-* (J. Schmidt, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXVII 394 f.). *\*qi-nu-nt- \*qi-nu-nt-*, from *\*qi-nēu-ti-  $\sqrt{qeḷ-}$* : Skr. *cinv-ánt- cinv-at-* 'gathering, arranging', *śak-nuv-ánt-* 'being able'; in Greek we have a re-formation *ἀγ-νύ-ντ-* 'breaking' taking the place of *\*ἀγ-νυ-αντ-<sup>1)</sup>* *\*ἀγ-νυ-αντ-* which would correspond to the 3. pl. *ἀγ-νύ-ανσι*. *\*mṛ-n-nt- \*mṛ-n-nt-*, from *\*mṛ-nā-ti*,  $\sqrt{mer-}$ : Skr. *mṛ-n-ánt- mṛ-n-at-* 'grinding'; Gr. *δαμ-ν-άνντ-* (nom. *δαμνάς*) 'taming', where this strong form of the stem is carried through the paradigm.

A number of participles of this kind became simple nouns even in the parent language. Skr. *jāra-nt-* 'frail, old,

1) In this section, as in Vol. I § 235 p. 198 f., I have regarded *-av-* as the regular phonetic representative of original *-ñ-*. This view has been recently attacked by Kögel in the *Literar. Centralbl.* 1888 Sp. 1380, in his criticism of Burghauser, who maintained (as I do) that *ἰδοι* (for *\*ἰ(ν)αντι*) was the normal form of the 3. pl. of the root *es-*; the comparison Skr. *sānti* = Gr. *εἰσά* (for *\*σεντι*) = H.G. *sind* 'is', says our critic, 'almost universally (??) accepted'. In view of this, I am bound to call attention to the evidence of the word *π-άνντ-* = Idg. *\*kṛ-ñt-* which is shortly to be mentioned in the text; a form which is of especial importance from its isolation, and which in my opinion decides the question of the representation of Idg. *ñ* in Greek distinctly in favour of *av*. Can any one maintain the alternative that in the proethnic period of Greek *\*π-άνντ-* became *π-άνντ-* through the influence of the weak form *\*π-αντ-* = *\*kṛ-nt-*? This form disappeared in that very period, and in other instances of levelling between different cases it is the reverse process and that only that has been established — e. g. *-φετ-* for *-φαντ-* on the analogy of *-φεντ-*, *φε-ε-αί* for *φε-α-αί* on the analogy of *φεεν-*. Nor are the objections urged by Meringer (*Ztschr. f. österr. Gymn.* 1888 p. 149 f.) against my theory at all more serious. I hope to find an opportunity elsewhere of dealing with his arguments in detail; suffice it here to say, that in maintaining as he does (p. 150) that the *e* of the Indo-Germanic sound *\*n*, which he and J. Schmidt assume in place of *ñ*, 'naturally' became *a* in Aryan, he has completely overlooked the fact that before this *\*n* the Aryan *k*-sounds would necessarily appear as *c*-sounds, which no more happens here than it does before *ir* = Idg. *ṛ*.

hoary', Gr. γέρον (-o-vr-) 'old man'. Skr. śá-śvant- śá-śvat- 'complete, whole, every' for \*śá-śvant- (I § 557 p. 413), Gr. πάντ- (πᾶς) ᾧ-παντ- (ᾧ-πᾶς) 'all, every', Idg. \*k<sub>u</sub>-t- \*k<sub>u</sub>-t- originally perhaps 'coming to fulness', compare Skr. śva- 'swell out' Gr. κνέω 'am pregnant' κνός 'fetus' (to the same root belongs Dor. πᾶ-μα § 117 p. 370 f.); cp. Goth. *all-s* § 66 p. 147 and Lat. *omni-s* § 95 p. 286. Skr. bṛ-hánt- bṛ-hat- 'exalted, high, great' fem. bṛhat-ī, O.Ir. Brigit f. ('she who is exalted'), see § 110 p. 337. \*d-ó-nt- \*d-nt- 'tooth' (cp. § 125 Rem. 2 p. 395 f.) from √ed- 'eat': Skr. dánt- dat- (dat-ás dad-bhīṣ), Gr. ὀδόντ- nom. ὀδούς and ὀδών; \*dax- appears in ὀδάξ § 86 p. 256, § 88 p. 265, Lat. *dent-* nom. *dēns* (Osc. *dunt-* = *dont-* is uncertain, see Danielsson, Pauli's Altital. Stud. III 184), O.Ir. *dēt* (Mod.Cymr. *dant*) dat. *dēit*, Goth. *tunþ-u-s* O.H.G. *zan* (see p. 402 f.), Lith. *dant-i-s* (we still find gen. pl. *dant-ū* beside *dancziū*)<sup>1</sup>); it seems more probable that Gr. Lesb. ἔδοντες was a re-formation, the original word being altered on the analogy of ἔδω, than that a by-form \*éd-o-n-t- 'tooth' should have existed side by side with \*d-ón-t- in Indo-Germanic; the ó- of ὀδοίς however has yet to be explained; the theory of J. Schmidt (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 51) and G. Meyer, (Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 306) does not satisfy me.

Aryan. Skr. vāh-a-nt- Avest. *vaz-a-nt-* (nom. *vāhan vazas*) 'vehens': Lat. *vehēns*, Goth. *ga-vigand-s*, Lith. *vežās* O.C.Sl. *vezy*, common ground-form \**uegh-o-nt-*, beside indic. \**uegh-e-ti* 'vehit'. Skr. dhārāya-nt- Avest. *dāraya-nt-* 'holding', beside indic. *dha-rāya-ti dārayeiti*; Skr. vāhāya-nt- 'causing to ride, causing to run': Gr. ὀχέων 'causing to drive, ride', Goth. *vagjand-s* 'setting in motion'. Skr. nāś-ya-nt- Avest. *nas-ya-nt-* 'becoming lost', beside indic. *nāś-ya-ti nas-yeiti*. Skr. prchā-nt- Avest. *per'sa-nt-* 'asking': Lat. *poscēns* for \**por(c)-scent-*, beside indic. *prchā-ti per'saiti poscit* ground-form \**pr(k)-skē-ti*, √*prēk-*. Skr. vindā-nt- Avest. *vinda-nt-* 'finding', beside indic. *vindā-ti vindaiti*, √*uejd-*.

1) I see no sufficient reason for doubting that in *dantū* we still have the old *-nt-*stem (Brückner, Archiv für slav. Phil. III 247). *grindū* beside *grindziū* from *grind-i-s* 'deal board', only shews that the word has been influenced by the analogy of such forms as *dantū*.

Skr. *udan-yá-nt-* 'streaming' beside indic. *udan-yá-ti*. Skr. *vak-šyá-nt-* Avest. *vax-šya-nt-* fut. 'about to speak', beside indic. *vak-šyá-ti* *vax-šyeiti*. Skr. *vā-nt-* Avest. *vā-nt-* 'blowing', beside indic. *vā-ti* *vāiti*: Gr. *ἄεις*, see above p. 396. Skr. *snā-nt-* 'washing oneself, bathing', beside indic. *snā-ti*: Lat. *nāns*. Skr. *s-ánt-* Avest. *h-ant-* 'being, true', beside indic. *ás-ti* *as-ti* 'is'. Skr. *y-ánt-* Avest. *y-ant-* 'going, coming', beside indic. *é-ti* *aēiti*. Skr. *dād-at-* 'giving, *dádha-at-* ponens', Avest. *dadānt-* 'giving, ponens', beside indic. Skr. *dāda-ti* *dádha-ti* Avest. *dadāiti*; the Avestic form was a new formation, see above, p. 397. Skr. *su-nv-ánt-* Avest. *hu-nv-ant-* 'pressing out', beside indic. *su-nō-ti* *hu-naoiti*. Skr. *kṛī-ṇ-ánt-* 'buying', beside indic. *kṛī-ṇá-ti*.

In proethnic Aryan, participles like *vā-n-t-* 'blowing' lost their nasal in the weak cases on the analogy of *sánt-am*: *sat-ás* etc. Compare § 110 p. 337. Beside Skr. *mahat-* Av. *mazat-* (*mahat-ā* *mahād-bhiṣ*, *mazaḥ*) 'great' we have a remarkable form Skr. *mahánt-* Avest. *mazānt-* (*mahánt-am*, *mazānt-em*). Compare with it the Vedic acc. *mahā-m* and such compounds as *mahā-grāmá-s* 'great host'. *mahánt-* is doubtless a contamination of *mahan-* (*mahan-*) and *mahat-*; compare § 135.

On the whole Sanskrit has preserved faithfully the vowel-gradation of proethnic Aryan; e. g. sing. acc. *prchá-nt-am* *su-nv-ánt-am* instr. *prchat-ā* *su-nv-at-ā* pl. instr. *prchád-bhiṣ* *su-nv-ád-bhiṣ*. On the other hand, we find in Avestic the strong form of the stem constantly transferred to the weak cases, as gen. pl. *jasent-am* contrasted with Skr. *gácchat-am*, dat. pl. *ber'zenbyō* contrasted with Skr. *bṛhád-bhyas*.

Participles used simply as nouns. Pre-Aryan: Skr. *járant-*, Skr. *śá-śvant-*, Skr. *bṛhánt-*, Avest. *ber'zant-* 'exalted, high, great', Skr. *dánt-* 'tooth' (Avest. *dant-an-* has the *-en-* which is so common in names of parts of the body, cp. § 114 p. 345 ff.); see above, p. 397 f. Aryan: Skr. *mahnt-* Avest. *mazānt-* 'great', see above, Skr. *pṛśant-* 'spotted, dappled', *dhṛśánt-* 'courageous, bold', *ṛhánt-* 'small, little' (the opposite of *bṛhánt-*), Avest. *sao-šya-nt-* fut. part. 'who will help, saviour, preserver'.

Greek. Participles. *ῥέων* (*-o-rr-*) 'flowing', beside indic.



ῥέει ῥεῖ: Skr. *sráv-a-nt-*, √ *sreṣ*. φορέων 'bearing', from φορέω φορῶ: Skr. *bhārāya-nt-*, √ *bher-*. πέψων (-ο-ντ-) fut. 'about to cook', from πέψω, √ *peṣ*-. λιπών (-ο-ντ-) 'leaving', from ἔ-λιπ-ον: Skr. *ric-á-nt-* √ *leiṣ*-. γνούς (-όντ-) 'learning' for \*γνω-ντ- (I § 611 p. 461), from ἔ-γνω-ν; μιγείς (-έντ-) 'mixed with, united with' for \*μυγη-ντ-, from ἐ-μίγη-ν. τεκταίνων 'making', from τεκταίνω for \*τεκταν-νω. τιμάων 'honouring', from τιμάω. δουλόων 'subjugating', from δουλόω. στάς (στάντ-) 'placing one-self, being in a position', beside ἔ-στη-ν; see p. 396 above. πᾶς (acc. π-άντ-α gen. π-αντ-ός) 'complete, all' for \*κμ-ῆτ-, see p. 398 above; the indic. would perhaps be \*κέμ-ti. πέψας (-αντ-) part. aor. 'cooking', beside ἔ-πεψ-α, instead of \*πεπ-σ-άντ- \*πιπ-σ-ατ- = \*peṣ-s-ḥt- \*peṣ-s-ḥt- or perhaps instead of the single form \*πέπ-σ-ατ- = \*πέṣ-s-ḥt- (which may have been regular in all the cases); the latter view is supported especially by Ved. nom. sing. *dhákṣat* (*dah-* 'burn'). τιθεῖς (-έντ-) 'placing' contrasted with Skr. *dádḥ-at-*; see above, p. 397. ἀγνός (-ύντ-) 'breaking' (trans.) contrasted with Skr. *śak-nuv-ánt-*; see above, p. 399. δαμν-άς (-άντ-) 'taming', see *ibid*.

In Greek only a few traces remain of the different forms due to the original vowel gradation. Beside φέροντ- a form \*φέραι- = Skr. *bhārat-* is implied in Heracl. loc. pl. *πρᾶσσόν-τασσι* and the like: such a form as \*φερασσι for \*φεραι-σι (Skr. *bhārat-su*) would be altered to φερόντ-ασσι through the influence of φέροντ- in the other cases. Dor. ἔασσα (Cret. dat. *ιάττα*) = Skr. *s-at-ī* has been already mentioned on p. 396. If we may trust a few corrupt glosses in Hesychius, a form *φεκατ-*, fem. *ἀ-έκασσα* once existed beside ἐκών ἐκόντ-ος 'willing'. See R. Kögel, Paul-Br. Beitr. VIII 116, J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 590 ff.

Remark 1. It is very questionable whether θέρμασσα 'furnace, stove' comes directly from the partic. θέρμων 'warming', as some maintain. It is important to notice that we have the parallel form *θερμαίνω*. Cp. *πρό-φρασσα* beside *πρό-φρων*.

Participles used simply as nouns. Pre-Greek: γέρων, πᾶς, ὀδούς, see p. 398. Greek: δράκων 'dragon' (δρακὼν part. aor.),

ἄρχων 'ruler', κρείων 'ruler' (ἐὺρον-κρείων 'ruling over wide realms'), μέδων 'counsellor, lord' (ἐὺρον-μέδων): Goth. *mitand-s* 'measuring', ὁρίζων 'the bounding line, horizon'; ἑκὼν 'willing', φαέθων 'shining, bright', μέλλων 'future'.

*Italic. Participles.* Lat. *sedēns* (*-ent-*), Umbr. *zeřef serse* 'sedens'. Lat. *prae-sēns*, Osc. *praesentid* 'praesente'. Lat. *dūcēns*: Goth. *tiuh-a-nd-s* 'drawing', √ *deyk-*. *agēns*: Skr. *āj-a-nt-* Gr. ἄγων, √ *ag-* 'agere'. *monēns* for \**moneient-*, beside *moneō* (I § 134 p. 121): Skr. *mānáyant-* 'honouring', √ *men-* 'remember, think'. *cōn-spiciēns*: Skr. *paś-ya-nt-* 'seeing', √ *spek-*. *rudēns*: Skr. *rud-á-nt-* 'lamenting', √ *reyd-*. *vorrēns* (*verrēns*): O.C.Sl. *vřichy* 'threshing', √ *uers-*. *rumpēns*: Skr. *lumpá-nt-* 'breaking'. *im-plēns*, beside *im-ple-t* (*plē-*). *flāns*, beside *fla-t* (*flā-*). *albēns*, beside *albe-t*. *plantāns*, beside *planta-t*. *stāns*, *dāns*, see p. 396 above. *mi-nu-ēns* *ster-nu-ēns* may represent immediately the original forms in *-ny-ŋt-* *-nuŋ-ŋt-*; and similarly *li-nēns* *ster-nēns* (*li-n-ent-* *ster-n-ent-*), may be directly compared with Skr. *mṛ-ṇ-ánt-* Gr. *δαμ-ν-ávτ-*; see above, p. 397.

Few traces can be found of vowel gradation in the stem. If the form *-e-nt-* did not ever occur beside *-o-nt-* *-ŋt-* in the original paradigm of the participles from thematic stems (see § 125 Rem. 2 p. 395 f.), then in all the examples of participles of this class in Latin, *-ent-* must be due to an assimilation of all the cases to those with Idg. *-ŋt-* (e. g. gen. *rudent-is* = Skr. *rudat-ás*). The grade *-o-nt-* is still seen in *eunt-is* etc. beside *iēns*, *flexu-nt-ēs* beside *flexentēs*, Roman knights on active service, *voluntās* for \**volont-i-tās* beside *volēns*, and other examples; see Bechstein in Curtius' Stud. VIII 344. 348. 352; the forms *ferundu-s* *faciundu-s* also are indirect evidence for *-o-nt-* in the partic.; see § 69 p. 162. In the participles from non-thematic stems, such as *prae-s-ent-*, *-ent-* regularly represents both *-ŋt-* and *-ŋt-* (I § 240 p. 200); and this form, which appeared in all the cases, may have helped to establish *-ent-* in the former class to the exclusion of *-o-nt-*.

The purely nominal use of the suffix is here more common than in Aryan and Greek. Pre-Italic: Lat. *dēns*, see p. 398.

Lat. *prae-sēns*, Osc. *prae-sentid*. Lat. *serpēns*, *parēns*, *ad-ulēscēns*, *cliēns*, *oriēns* (sc. *sōl*); *ē-loquēns*, *con-gruēns*, *in-nocēns*, *sapiēns*, *abundāns*, *in-tolerāns*. In its adjectival function the participial suffix was fertile even beyond its original sphere; thus such forms as *bene-volenter* *-volentior* *-volentissimu-s* which were attached to *bene-volu-s* etc., produced *māgni-ficenter* *-ficentior* *-ficentissimu-s* (from *-ficu-s*).

In Old Irish it is only used as a purely nominal suffix. *Brigit* f. = Skr. *bṛhat-ī* and *dēt* 'tooth', see above p. 398. *lōche*, gen. *lōchet*, 'flash', √ *leuk-*. *brāge* 'neck'. *care cara*, gen. *carat*, 'friend', Gall. *Carant-onus* *Carant-illus*. *tē*, pl. *tēit*, 'hot' for *\*tepent-* (I § 339 p. 269).

Germanic. Goth. *kius-a-nd-s* O.H.G. *chios-a-nt-i* 'trying, choosing': Skr. *jōṣ-a-nt-* 'being fond of', √ *ḡey-*. Goth. *us-vakja-nd-s* 'awakening' O.H.G. *wecche-nt-i* 'wakening': Skr. *vājāya-nt-* 'urging, driving on', √ *\*ueḡ-* 'move, be strong'; Goth. *fra-varđja-nd-s* O.H.G. *far-wertte-nt-i* 'causing to disappear, destroying': Skr. *vartāya-nt-* 'causing to turn, or run a course', √ *uert-*. Goth. *nasja-nd-s* O.H.G. *nerie-nt-i* 'saving', √ *nes-*. O.H.G. *feh-ta-nt-i* 'fighting': Lat. *pec-tēns*. Goth. *vit-a-nd-s* O.H.G. *wizz-a-nt-i* 'knowing': Skr. *vid-ā-nt-* 'finding', Gr. *id-ó-nt-* 'seeing', √ *ueid-*. Goth. *ga-daúrs-a-nd-s* 'venturing': Skr. *dhṛṣ-ā-nt-* 'courageous'. Goth. *salbō-nd-s* O.H.G. *salbō-nt-i* 'anointing', beside indic. Goth. *salbō-p* O.H.G. *salbō-t*.

The original vowel-gradation has disappeared. But an example of original *-nt-* survives in Goth. *hulund-i* 'cave, hole' § 110 p. 337.

The participles in actual use were declined in Gothic as weak *n*-stems; except that in the nom. sing. we have *-nds* i. e. *\*-nd-a-z* besides the usual form from *n*-stems: thus, nom. *kiusa-nds* and *-nda*, gen. *-ndins* and so forth. In Old High German this participle was an *-iō*-stem; *-nti* is the so-called uninflected form. Parallel to it is the inflected form: 'strong' *-ntēr*, 'weak' *-nto*. See the sections on the cases.

Participles becoming Substantives:

Pre-Germanic. Goth. *tunþ-u-s* O.H.G. *zan* 'tooth', see

above p. 398. This variation arose from the original doublet, pr. Germ. *\*tānp-* = *\*d-ó-nt-* and *\*tund-* = *\*d-ŋt-*. Such cases as acc. sing. Goth. *tunþ-u* (instead of *\*tanþ-u* = *\*dónt-ŋ*) gave rise to the *u*-inflexion; see Kahle as already quoted, 12 ff.

Examples common to all branches of Germanic are: Goth. *frijōnd-s* O.H.G. *friunt* 'friend' ('who loves'), Goth. *fijand-s* O.H.G. *fiant* 'enemy' ('who hates'), no doubt also Goth. *all-waldand-s* O.Sax. *alo-waldand* 'All-ruler, Almighty' O.H.G. *waltant* 'ruler, director', and a few similar words. Other examples are found only in single dialects or groups of dialects, as Goth. *giband-s* 'giver', *mērijand-s* 'proclaimer', O.H.G. *wigant* A.S. *wizend* 'fighter', O.H.G. *helfant* 'helper'. These participles, which became substantives only in Germanic, still show an unextended *nt*-inflexion, though it is nowhere found in all the cases: e. g. nom. pl. Goth. *frijōnd-s* O.H.G. *friunt* O.Icel. *frēnd-r* = *\*-nt-es* (Gr. *-ντ-ες*), loc. (dat.) sg. Goth. *frijōnd* O.H.G. *friunt* = *\*-nt-i-* (Gr. *-ντ-ι*); whereas other cases in Gothic and West-Germanic follow the *o*-declension, as nom. sing. Goth. *frijōnd-s* O.H.G. *friunt* (thus in O.H.G. we have nom. pl. *friunta* as well as *friunt*), and in Norse follow the *n*-declension, as nom. sing. *frēnde frēndi*.

A still younger stratum is formed by substantives like O.H.G. *waltanto* 'he who rules', *furi-sizzando* 'architriclinus', *nerrendeo* 'preserver, saviour'. Their substantival use was based upon the *n*-inflexion, to which as participles they were transferred; compare Mod.H.G. *der reisende* and the like.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *vežās* O.C.Sl. *vezý* 'vehens': Skr. *vāh-a-nt-* etc., see p. 398 above. Lith. *velkās* O.C.Sl. *vlěky* 'dragging, drawing': Gr. *ἔλκων*, *√(s)uelq-*. Lith. *pinās* 'plaiting' O.C.Sl. *pěny* 'stretching, hanging', ground-form *\*pŋn-ó-nt-*, *√(s)pen-*. Lith. *mélžās* 'milking': Gr. *ἀμέλων* 'milking'; O.C.Sl. *mlāzy* 'milking': ep. Skr. *mṛj-á-nt-* 'wiping off, rubbing off'. Lith. *līmpās* 'cleaving, clinging': Skr. *līmpá-nt-* 'smearing', *√lejp-*. Lith. *bū-sęs* O.C.Sl. *by-še* fut. 'about to be' (*byšāšte-je* 'τὸ μέλλον', the only relic of the future participle in Slav.): Avest. *bū-šya-nt-*, common ground-form *\*bhū-sj-ó-nt-*, *√bheṃ-*. Lith. *jėszkas* 'seek-

ing', beside indic. 1. pl. *jěszkō-me*, for *\*jěszkō-nt-* (I § 615 p. 465): O.H.G. *eiscōnt-i* 'inquiring, asking' Lith. *turīs* (*turint-*) 'having', beside indic. 1. sing. *turiū* 1. pl. *tūri-me*. O.C.Sl. *chvalę* (gen. *chvalęšta*) 'praising', beside indic. 1. sing. *chvalja* 1. pl. *chvali-mū*.

The old vowel-gradation has disappeared. Participles belonging to non-thematic vowel stems followed the analogy of stems in *-o-nt-*, e. g. Lith. *ėsq̃s* and *ėsq̃s* O.Č.Sl. *sy* 'being', beside indic. *ēs-ti jes-tū*. In Prussian however there is a form *-sins* = Idg. *\*s-ŷt-* or *\*s-ŷt-* (p. 396 f.).

Remark 2. I cannot believe that Lith. *dañgujėsia* 'heavenly' = *danguje* loc. + *sjs* 'being' (J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 393). Nor can I believe that O.C.Sl. *dadę* beside *dady* 'dans' represents another non-thematic form corresponding to the 3. pl. *dad-ęiū* (= Skr. *dād-ati*); as to *dadę* and other forms in *-ę* beside *-y* see O. Wiedemann, Beitr. zur altbulg. Conjug. 128 f., Leskien Handb<sup>2</sup>. p. 76 f.

In Baltic and Slavonic most of the cases of the *-nt-* participles were attracted into the *īo*-declension owing to the suffix of the feminine; e. g. gen. Lith. *vėžanczio* O.C.Sl. *vezq̃šta*. The acc. sing. Lith. *vėžant-į* still belongs to the unaltered consonantal inflexion.

Lith. *dant-į-s* 'tooth': Skr. *dánt-* etc., see p. 398 above. Pruss. *dīlant-s* 'worker'.

§ 127. The Suffix *-uent-<sup>1)</sup>*. This Suffix appears in Aryan, Greek and Italic in denominative adjectives; it usually denotes the possession of something, more rarely a resemblance to something.

In the strong cases *-uent-* = Skr. *-vant-* Gr. *-fer-*, and in the weak cases *-uñt-* = Skr. *-vat-* Gr. *\*-fat-*. The latter was displaced by *-fer-* (loc. pl. *χαρίεσι* = *\*χαρι-fer-σι*, fem. *χαρίεσσα* = *\*χαρι-fer-ια*), *ε* being taken from the cases which had *-(f)er-*. Lat. *-ōnsu-s -ōsu-s* for *-o-uñt + to-*, a derivative form which also appears in Avestic, see § 79 p. 231 f.

1) See Ebel's (and Bartholomae's) essays mentioned on p. 394 footnote. A. Goebel, De epithetis Homericis in *εἰς* desinentibus, Wien 1858, Schuster, Die homerischen Adjectiva auf *-εἰς*, Ztschr. für österr. Gymn. 1859 § 16 ff. O. Schönwerth and C. Weyman, Über die lateinischen Adjectiva auf *osus*, Archiv für lat. Lexicogr. V 192 ff.

In the proethnic language this suffix seems to have been displaced by *-ues-* *-uos-* in a certain number of the cases. We have evidence of this in the proethnic Aryan nom. sing. masc. in *\*-uās* (Avest. *-vā*, altered in Skr. to *-vās* *-vān*, see § 136 Rem. 2), voc. sing. masc. in *\*-uas* (Skr. *-vas*, Avest. *-vō*) and the Greek *\*τᾱ-φος* Hom. *τῆος* compared with Skr. *tā-vant-* (see Rem. 1). Observe the similar phenomena in the Aryan *-mant-* stems (Whitney, Skr. Gr. § 1235): nom. sing. Skr. *-mās* *-mān* Avest. *-mā*, voc. Skr. *-mas* (Avest. *\*-mō*), and notice the Homeric forms *τῆ-μος* and *ῆ-μος* (Dor. *τᾱμος ᾱμος*) (which are probably to be compared with the Aryan stems in *-mant-*), beside which we have *τᾱ-μον* in Thessalian; Solmsen (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 77) and Kozlovskij (Archiv f. slav. Phil. X 657 f.) are no doubt right in comparing O.C.Sl. *ta-mo* 'thither' *ja-mo* 'whither'.

Idg. Skr. *āpa-vant-* 'watery', Gr. *ὀπό-εις* 'rich in sap'. Skr. *viṣā-vant-* 'poisonous, poisoned', Lat. *vīrōsu-s*. Gr. *δολό-εις* 'crafty': Lat. *dolōsu-s*. Gr. *οινό-εις* 'made of or with wine', Lat. *vinōsu-s* 'full of wine' or 'like wine' (*sapor, odor*).

Remark 1. Further examples of the meaning 'like something' are *aestuōsu-s* *cadāverōsu-s* *mōnstruōsu-s* etc. (Archiv für lat. Lexikogr. V 216 ff.); examples from Aryan are Skr. *vṣṣaṇ-vant-* 'like a *vṣṣan-*', *īndrasvant-* 'like Indra' (the *s* is due to the analogy of stems in *-as-*), Avest. *drafsāka-vant-* 'like a small flag, fluttering, undulating' (K. Geldner, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 401). This meaning is specially frequent in the Sanskrit adverbs in *-vāt* (acc. neut.), such as *angiras-vāt* 'like angiras' *pūrva-vāt* 'after the ancient fashion, as of yore', and in the adjectives formed from pronouns such as Skr. *tvā-vant-* Avest. *ḥwā-vant-* 'who is 'of thy nature, like thee', Skr. *tā-vant-* *zā-vant-* Avest. *aṣta-vant-* 'tantus' Skr. *yā-vant-* Avest. *ya-vant-* 'quantus', from which we cannot separate Hom. *τῆος* *ῆος* Dor. *ᾱ* for pr. Gr. *\*τᾱ-φος* *\*ᾱ-φος*.

Aryan. The accent in Sanskrit falls sometimes on the suffix, but oftener on the word to which it is added. Skr. *āma-vant-* Avest. *ama-vant-* 'acting with violence, constraining with force, strong', from Skr. *āma-* Avest. *ama-* m. 'violence, strength'. Skr. *putrā-vant-* Avest. *puḥra-vant-* 'having a son or sons', from *putrā-* *puḥra-* m. 'son'. Skr. *vastra-vant-* 'having a beautiful garment' Avest. *vastra-vant-* 'provided with clothing', from *vāstra-m* *vastre-m* 'garment, vesture'. Skr. *agni-vant-*, 'provided with fire',

from *agní-ś* 'fire'. Skr. *dhī-vant-* 'devout' from *dhī-ś* f. 'devotion', *udan-vánt-* 'rich in water' from *udán-* n. 'water', *bráhmaṇ-vant-* 'accompanied with prayer' from *bráhmaṇ-* n. 'prayer' (I § 229 p. 195), *ṇṛ-vánt-* 'rich in men' from *nár-* m. 'man', *marūt-vant-* 'accompanied by the Maruts' (*marūt-*), *pad-vánt-* 'having feet', from *pád-* m. 'foot', *támas-vant* 'dark' from *támas-* n. 'darkness', *nas-vánt-* 'with a nose' from *nás-* f. 'nose'. Avest. *gaoma-vant-* 'provided with flesh' from *gaoma-* m. 'flesh', *aši-vant-* 'holy' from *aši-ś* f. 'holiness', *astvant-* i. e. *astu-vant-* (cp. I § 159 p. 143) 'having a body, corporeal' from *astu-ś* m. 'body', *d\*biš-vant-* 'hostile, hating' from \**d\*biš-* Skr. *dvīṣ-* f. 'hate, enmity'. In Old Persian the suffix occurs in the feminine proper name *harauvat-i-* = Avest. *haraxvait-i-* Skr. *sáras-vat-i* (*sáras-vant-* 'rich in water'); cp. I § 159 p. 143.

We have no certain explanation of the length of the final vowel of the contained stem in Skr. *áśva-vant-* beside *áśva-vant-* 'possessing horses' from *áśva-*, *sutá-vant-* 'provided with pressed soma' from *sutá-*, *śakti-vant-* 'mighty' from *śakti-*, *viśu-vánt-* 'which has or wears different sides, which is in the middle' from *viśu* and the like. Cp. *mā-vant-*, *yuṣmā-vant-*, *tā-vant-* in Rem. 1. p. 405 and *áśva-magha-s* etc. § 22 p. 38, and also Gr. -ώ-εις -ή-εις in the Greek section.

This suffix was frequently added in Sanskrit to the passive participle in -*tá-* (§ 79 p. 225 f.), as *kṛtá-vant-* 'factum habens, having done'. In the course of the Vedic period this was developed into a perf. part. act., which is very common in classical Sanskrit, where it is almost always used as a predicate; e. g. *mā na kaścīd dṛṣṭavān* 'no one has seen me'.

Greek. The *φ* of -*φεντ-* appears e. g. in Corcyr. inscr. *στονόφεσσαν* = Homer. *στονόεσσαν*. *ἀμπελό-εις* 'rich in vines' from *ἄμπελο-ς*. *τιμῆ-εις* 'treasured, honoured' (Pamphyl. inscr. *τιμά-φεσα*) from *τιμή*. *χαρι-εις* 'graceful' from *χάρι-ς* acc. *χάρι-ν*. *ύγι-εις* 'having growth, blooming' (cp. Osthoff, *Morph. Unt.* IV 180 ff.). Hom. *εὐρώεις* no doubt meaning 'mouldy, musty' from *εὐρώς* (post-Homerie gen. *εὐρώ-τ-ος* etc.) 'mould'. *τελέεις* beside *τελήεις* (see below) 'having fulfilment, fulfilling itself', no doubt

for \*τελεσ-*φεντ-*, from τέλος n. κέραεις 'horned' (late) from κέρας. *-ο-εις*, proper to the derivatives from *o*-stems, became an independent suffix: *μητι-ο-εις* 'rich in wisdom' from *μητι-*, *ἰχθυ-ο-εις* 'full of fish' from *ἰχθυ-*, *ἡερ-ο-εις* 'cloudy' from *ἡήρ*, *νιφ-ο-εις* 'snowy' from acc. *νίφ-u*, *κλωμακ-ο-εις* 'rocky' from *κλωμαξ*, *θυό-εις* from *θύος* n.; this is found even where the word is derived from an *a*-stem: *σκιό-εις* 'shady' from *σκιᾶ*, *μηχανό-εις* 'fertile in resource' from *μηχανή*. On the other hand from *o*-stems we find *-η-εις* as well as *-ο-εις*: *μεσής-εις* 'moderate' from *μέσος-u*, *φοινή-εις* 'bloody' from *φοινός-ς* 'bloody'. The same *-η-εις* occurs also in *θυή-εις* beside *θυό-εις*, *τελή-εις* 'having fulfilment, fulfilling itself' beside *τελέ-εις*, *ἐλκή-εις* 'full of wounds', from *ἐλκος* n., *ὑπὴ-εις* 'overgrown with underwood' from *ῥώψ*, etc. *-ώ-εις* is found in other words besides *εὐρώ-εις*; e. g. Hom. *κητώ-εις* 'full of hollows' (cp. *κητιώδης* p. 409), *ὠτώ-εις* 'eared' (*ὠτ-*) and in late authors *πηλώ-εις* 'loamy, muddy' (*πηλό-ς*), *δενδρώ-εις* 'wooded' (*δένδρο-u*).

Remark 2. It cannot be established that *φλειάσιο-ς* contains the *α* of the *-φατ-* (see p. 404) which we must assume as the weak form of the suffix (J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 591). See Wackernagel *ibid.* XXVIII 130 f.

Italic. It is found only in the Latin compound suffix *-ōnsu-s- ōsu-s*, where the termination of forms containing *o*-stems became regular in all words. The suffix of Avest. *ašavasta-* from *aša-vant-* is exactly parallel; see p. 404 above. *verbōsu-s* from *verbu-m*, *officiōsu-s* from *officiu-m*; *fāmōsu-s* from *fāma*, *silvōsu-s* from *silva*; *piscōsu-s* from *pisci-s*; *aestuōsu-s* from *aestū-s*; *crīmīnōsu-s* from *crīmen*; *nivōsu-s* from *nix*, like Gr. *νιφ-ο-εις*.

### VIII. The Suffix *-d-* (*-ad-*).

§ 128. In Sanskrit *-ad-* occurs a few times, in Greek *-αδ-* and *-ιδ-* are found more frequently, in Latin there are a certain number of examples of *-d-* with a preceding vowel, and in Germanic we have denominative verbs in *-at-jan*, which seem to correspond to the Greek verbs in *-αζειν* (*-ζ-* = *-δ-ι-*). Side by side with these forms in Greek, Italic, Germanic and Balto-



Slavonic we find other suffixes having *d* for their distinguishing consonant which appear to be connected with them (-do- may be related to -d- as -to- to -t-). Thus we may be justified in regarding this suffix as proethnic, although there are perhaps only two examples in which -d- appears in more than one branch of language: O.H.G. *gramizzōn* A.S. *zremettan*: Gr. *χρόμαδο-ς*, and O.H.G. *albiȝ* O.Icel. *alpt* : O.C.Sl. *lebedŭ*.

Remark. We must not disregard the possibility that the -d- of this suffix may have come from -t- in the proethnic period, and that not only in the cases with *bh*-suffixes, such as Skr. *dr̥śád-bhiṣ*. See I § 469, 7 p. 246, and cp. II § 130 Remark.

Aryan. There are only three certain instances, all in Sanskrit. *dr̥śád-* f. 'rock, great stone, millstone', *bhasád-* f. 'back parts, pudenda muliebria', *śarád-* f. 'autumn'. Add *vanád-*, a doubtful word found in the Rig-Veda, meaning perhaps 'desire'.

Greek. Adjectives and (feminine) Substantives in -ad-: *φυγάς* 'fleeing', *μηγάς* 'mixed', *μαινάς* 'raving', *μηκάς* 'bleating', *τοκάς* 'bearing, bringing forth', *νομάς* 'pasturing', *γυμνάς* 'naked, stripped for gymnastics, practised', *τεφράς* 'ash-coloured', *χοιράς* 'rising up, jutting out', *νιφάς* 'snow-flake', *σιλάς* 'reef', *ἰλλάς* 'cord, rope', *χολάδ-ες* 'entrails, intestines', *λαμπάς* 'torch', *πηγάς* 'rime, frozen earth', *γενειάς* 'beard, hair of the beard', *πελειάς* 'wild dove'. Stems ending in -ιδ- (fem.), the *ι* of which in many words certainly comes from the *ι*-stems: *ἔριδ-* (*ἔριδ-ος* etc.) 'strife' beside acc. *ἔρι-ν*, *κάλπιδ-* 'jug, vessel' (*κάλπιδ-ος* etc.) beside acc. *κάλπι-ν*, *ἰρι-ς* 'rainbow', *αὔλις* 'place for passing the night', *αἰγίς* 'stormcloud, shield of the gods', *ἀσπίς* 'shield', *γλυφίς* 'notch in the shaft of an arrow', *κερκίς* 'weaver's comb', *ἀκρίς* 'locust', *ἐπιγονίς* 'upper part of the thigh'. Connected with these *δ*-formations, and undoubtedly in great part derived from them, are a variety of elements of the nature of suffixes containing -δ-. Examples are *χρόμαδο-ς* (mentioned above), to which *κέλαδο-ς* 'noise, tumult' is parallel; *κόρουδο-ς* 'tufted lark', which in its formation comes very close to the cognate Germ. word *\*cherut-* 'stag' (Danielsson, Gramm. und etymol. Stud. I 31); patronymics like *Ἀκτορίδης* m. from

*Ἀκτορίς* f.; adjectives in *-ώδης* such as *κητώδης* 'like a sea-monster' (for the *ω* cp. *κητώεις*), which have been incorrectly classed with the adjectives in *-ειδής*<sup>1)</sup>; and the numerous verbs in *-άζω* and *-ίζω* with a characteristic dental which were derived from these *δ*-nouns, such as *δικάζω*, *ρομίζω*.

*Italic.* There are a few examples in *-id-*, no doubt with Idg. *i*: Lat. *capis* (*-id-is*) f., Umbr. *kapiŕe* 'capide', Osc. *καπιδιτωμ* i. e. *capid-i-to-m* 'ollarium'; Lat. *cassis* f., *cuspis* f., *lapis* m. Add *pecus* (*-ud-is*) f., *herēs* (*-ēd-is*) m. f., *mercēs* f., *palūs* (*-ūd-is*) f. Here too are found a variety of formative elements connected with this *d*-suffix: as in *or-dō -din-is* (beside *or-d-iōr*), cp. Gr. *μελεδών μελεδαίνω*, *capēdō frīgēdō rubēdō*, cp. Gr. *ἀχθιδών, χαιρηδών*. The *-dō-* of such adjectives as *imbridu-s lūcidu-s* however cannot be classed here, if they were originally compounds with *dō-* 'give' (as Skr. *jala-da-s* 'giving water' *artha-da-s* 'bringing benefit, generous') (Corssen, *Krit. Beitr.* 97 ff., Osthoff, *Verb. in der Nominalcomp.* 121 ff.; see also the evidence given by Thurneysen in his essay, *Über die Herkunft und Bildung der lat. Verba auf -io*, 1879, p. 13).

*Old Irish.* On account of the coincidence of *t* and *d* in unaccented syllables it is hard to say what Irish forms belong to this section. Yet it is clearly established that the adjectival suffix *-de* = *\*-dio-*, e. g. *conde* 'caninus' *talmande* 'terrestris', contains an original *-d-*, not *-t-*.

*Germanic.* The verbs in *-at-jan* should be first mentioned, as Goth. *lauhatjan* O.H.G. *lohazzen* 'to shine like lightning' *lougazzen* 'to burn like fire', Goth. *káupatjan* 'to box the ears, cuff' (pret. *káupasta*), *svōgatjan* 'to sigh', O.H.G. *blecchezzan* 'to flash', *roffezzan* 'eructare', *snepfetzen* 'to sob'. The following words may also be referred to old *d*-stems: O.H.G. *gremizzi* 'provoked' beside *gramizzōn gremizzōn*, *einazzi*, dat. pl. *einazzēm* 'singulativ'; O.H.G. *albiz* m. O.Icel. *álpt* f. 'swan' (the Icelandic

1) The complete similarity between the usage of *-ειδής* and *-ώδης* only shews that even in antiquity the two terminations had been connected by popular etymology. I reserve a fuller discussion for another opportunity.

word still keeps the consonantal declension, see Noreen, *Alt. Gramm.* I § 327. 328): O.C.Sl. *lebedŭ* 'swan', O.H.G. *hiruz* A.S. *heorot* 'stag' (cp. E. Brate, *Bezenb. Beitr.* XI 184 f.); Goth. *stiviti* n. 'patience', O.H.G. *fiscizzi* 'fishery, fishing' and several other similar forms (von Bahder, *Verbalabstr.* 111 ff.).

Balto-Slavonic. There are no examples with *-d-*, only *-do-* *-di-* and the like; and it must be remembered that Balto-Slavonic *d* may also be referred to Idg. *dh*. Lith. *pa-klōda-s* *pa-klōdē* 'cloth for spreading underneath' from *pa-klōti* 'to spread out', and other examples. O.C.Sl. *vražida* 'enmity', *krivida* 'wrong', and other examples. *d* = pre-Balt.Slav. *d* seems to be certain only in *lebedŭ* 'swan' (see above).

#### IX. The Suffix *-k-* and *-q-*.

§ 129. In § 83—89 we assumed that a certain number of Greek, Italic, and Old Irish words in *-k-* had formerly been *-ko-* or *-qo-* stems, e. g. Gr. *ἀλώπηξ* (Skr. *lōpāśā-s*), *ὄρνυξ* (Skr. *vartaka-s*), *μεῖραξ* (Skr. *maryakā-s*) *ρεᾶξ* (O.C.Sl. *novakŭ*), Lat. *senex* (Skr. *sanakā-s*), *vertex*, *fūlx*, *bibāx*, O.Ir. *aire* (Skr. *aryaka-s*). In these cases it is sometimes certain and sometimes very probable that there has been an attraction from the *o*-declension to the consonantal; but we find in the same languages other similar stems in *-k-* which cannot be explained with any degree of probability as derived from an original *-ko-* or *-qo-*. For Greek and Italic the reader may be referred to Leo Meyer's *Vergl. Gramm.* II 409 ff., 508 ff. In Old Irish, examples of this kind are *nathir*, gen. *nathrach*, 'water-snake', *lāir* 'mare', *fāl* 'hedge' (Zeuss-Ebel Gr. C. 805 ff., Wh. Stokes, *Bezenberger's Beitr.* XI 84 ff. 155). In Aryan there is only one doubtful relic of these forms: *vīpāś-* f. beside *vīpāśā-* f. name of a river, which is referred to *vēpatē* 'is in trembling, whirling motion'.

This being the case, it may be assumed that *-k-* *-q-* once existed as suffixes parallel to *-ko-* *-qo-*, bearing much the same relation to them as *-t-* to *-to-*. And further the transition of such classes of forms as *ἀλώπηξ*, *ὄρνυξ*, *senex*, *aire* to the con-

sonantal inflexion may have been aided by the influence of such original *k*-stems.

### X. The Suffix -g- (and -ġ-?)

§ 130. We find suffixes in -g in Aryan and Greek; but not one of the words containing them appears in both simultaneously. Thus it is not safe to assume this suffix for the parent language.

Remark. We must not overlook the possibility that -g- may have come from -k- in the proethnic period, and that not only in the cases with *bh*-suffixes such as Skr. *uśig-bhiṣ*. See I § 469, 7 p. 346. In the case of Gr. *λάται-* (*λάταξ*) 'drop, dregs': Lat. *latic-* (*latex*) it may be assumed that the Greek word originally had *k*, and passed over to the ordinary inflexion of *g*-stems simply through the influence of the form of the nom. sing. and of the loc. pl. (-αξ -αξι) (cp. gen. *δερνυ-ος* § 86 p. 258 and gen. *δεκάδ-ος* § 123 p. 392); and many other instances are doubtful for the same reason. Cp. § 128 Rem. p. 408.

Aryan. Skr. *sanáj-* 'old' (beside *sanaká-s*), *dhṛṣáj-* 'bold', *tṛṣṇáj-* 'thirsty' (beside *tṛṣṇā-* 'thirst'), *uśij-* 'longing, desirous', *vanij-* 'merchant', *bhurij-* 'arm'. Forms like instr. pl. *uśig-bhiṣ* point to -j- = Idg. -g-.

Greek. *ῥοπαξ*, gen. *ῥοπιυ-ος* 'robbing, rapacious', whence *ῥοπαζω* (the *a* of Lat. *rapāc-* shews that it is quite a different word). *φάρυξ* (-vy-) 'throat, gullet'. *πτέρυξ* (-vy-) 'wing, pinion'. *μᾶστιξ* (-ty-) 'scourge, lash'. The parallel forms -αγγ- υγγ- -ιγγ- are more frequent; these may possibly have arisen from an original formation in which a nasal followed the γ-suffix (cp. I § 221 p. 188 ff.), e. g. *φάλαγξ* 'phalanx', *φάραγξ* 'steep rock, gorge', *λάρυγξ* 'larynx' (similarly *φάρυγξ* is found later for *φάρυξ*), *στόρυγξ* 'tooth, prong, point', *σάλπιγξ* 'trumpet', *σμιῶδιγξ* 'weal, swelling'.

### XI. Suffixes in -s<sup>1</sup>).

§ 131. The Suffix -es-<sup>2</sup>). The nouns formed with this suffix in the parent language were partly neuter substantives (generally

1) The Author, Zur Geschichte der Nominalsuffixe -as-, -jas- und -vas-, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIV 1 ff. D'Arbois de Jubainville, Les thèmes celtiques en s, Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. II 327 ff.

2) Th. Aufrecht, Bildungen auf nus, ros nas, Kuhn's Ztschr. II 147 ff. A. Goebel, Das Suffix es; in seinem Verhältnisse zum Suffix

abstract), with which were associated adjectives like Skr. *yaśás-* 'glorious, majestic' Gr. *ψευδής* 'deceitful', and partly masculine or feminine substantives, e. g. nom. Skr. *uśás* Gr. *ἠώς* 'dawn'. These two groups bear very much the same relation to one another as the group of neuter and the group of masculine and feminine *-men-*stems, e. g. Gr. *χεῖμα* : *χείμων* § 117 p. 365 ff.; we sometimes find *-es-*stems, as we found *-men-*stems, which seem to have had both forms of inflexion from the earliest times; e. g. Skr. *tápas-* n. 'warmth': Lat. *tepor* m., Lat. *tenus* n. Gr. *τένος* n. 'bond': Lat. *tenor* m. At the time of the separation of the languages the neuter forms greatly preponderated. We may begin with these, and the vowel-gradation of the stems will be separately discussed under each of the two classes.

§ 132. 1. Neuter Substantives in *-es-* and the adjectives connected with them.

From the proethnic period onwards *-es-* is regular in all cases of the substantives except the nom. sing., which had *-os*, and in the adjectives also except in the nom. sing., whose ending in the masc. was *-ēs*, in the neut. *-es*. The vocalism of the root-syllable is almost without exception that of the strong grade (the *e*-grade in the *e*-series), and takes the accent in substantives, while in adjectives it falls on the formative suffix. E. g. Gr. *ψεῦδος* gen. *ψεύδους* etc. *μέρος* gen. *μέρους* etc. beside *ψευδής* *ψευδές* gen. *ψευδέος* etc. *δυσ-μενής* -*μενίς* gen. *-μενέος* etc.

This double system of declension in the substantives and adjectives was no doubt developed out of a single one. The abstract substantive, denoting a quality, when it was used simply for the owner of that quality, formed a nom. sing. with the mark of masculine or feminine gender in the same way as nouns like Gr. *ποιμήν πατήρ*; so also, with a similar indication of gender, an acc. sing. *-és-η*, nom. pl. *-és-es*; and the different accent connected with the new meaning caused a differentiation

ε; oder die Neutra in *ος*, ibid. XI 53 ff. H. Ebel, Neutra auf *-as* im Altirischen, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VI 222 ff. Wh. Stokes, Irish neuter stems in *s*, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 291 ff. H. Ebel, Suffix *-as* im Gothischen, ibid. V 355 ff.

of accent in the other cases corresponding to the new function of the word. There is evidence however that amongst the cases of the neuter substantive there once were also forms with *-és-*; this is shewn by the datives like Skr. *dōhás-ē* 'to milk', which are used as infinitives. There must also have been cases where the suffix was simply *-s-* (the weak-grade form), namely, those in which the case-suffix bore the accent: compare Skr. *śtrṣ-á-m* 'head' Gr. *κόρη* 'temple, forehead' beside Skr. *śtras* 'head' (I § 306 p. 242), Skr. *á-s-a-s á-s-a-m* Gr. *ὤμος* for *\*ῶμ-σ-ο-ς* Goth. *am-s-a* m. 'shoulder' beside Lat. *um-er-u-s*, Skr. *vats-á-s* 'year, calf' beside Gr. *ἔτος* n. 'year', Skr. *ōṣa-dhí-* f. 'medicinal herb' for *\*ay-s-a-* beside *ávas* 'help, comfort', *man-dhātár-* 'thoughtful, devout person' for *\*manz-dhatar-* beside *mánas* 'thought', Lith. *tams-à* beside Skr. *támas* 'darkness', Lat. *farr-* for *\*fars-* beside Goth. *bariz-ein-s* 'of barley' (I § 571 p. 429) and many similar examples (The Author, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIV 10 f., J. Schmidt, *ibid.* XXV 26, Danielsson, Pauli's Altital. Stud. III 192)<sup>1</sup>). Finally we must observe the frequency of the instances in which the root-syllable shows the weak grade; e. g. Skr. *śtr-as* beside Lat. *cerebru-m* for *\*ceres-ro-m* Gr. *λίπος* 'fat' beside Skr. *rēpas* 'spot, stain', Gr. *πάθος* beside *πένθος*, Gr. *ἄγος* 'guilt' beside Skr. *ágas* 'sin', Goth. *ga-digis* 'structure, work' beside Gr. *τείχος* 'wall', Gr. *πύος* 'pus', Skr. *duv-ás-* 'eagerly striving' and the like (Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 182 f.). We may then reconstruct the paradigm of these neuters as follows: nom. acc. *\*kér-os* 'head', gen. *kṛ-s-és* (or *-ós*), dat. *\*kṛ-s-ái*, loc. *\*kṛr-és -és-i*; nom. acc. *\*á-gos* 'sin, guilt' (Skr. *ágas*), gen. *\*aq-s-és* (or *-ós*), dat. *\*aq-s-ái*, loc. *\*ag-és -és-i* (cp. Gr. *ἄγος ἄγεος*). The dat. *\*-és-ai* (cp. Skr. inf. *bhiy-ás-ē jiv-ás-ē* etc.) was then formed on the model of the loc. *-és -és-i*. In most instances however, and even in the parent language, the nom. acc. (*\*kéros*) gave the type for the position of the accent and the form of the root in all the cases. With regard to the adjectives we must further observe that the accentuation of the

1) Cp. also Lat. *max-imu-s* beside Skr. *mahá-s* 'great' and Umbr. Osc. Celt. *\*neks-* in *nesimo- nessam* § 73 Rem. p. 179 f.

final syllable of the stem was original in compounds also: Gr. *ἀν-αγής* 'innocent, pure' *δυσ-μενής* 'ill-disposed', Skr. *an-āgās* 'sinless' (beside *án-āgās*) *a-rēpās* 'spotless' *su-pivās* 'very fat' etc. Along with these there are other words which have the later accentuation, Gr. *οὐρανο-μήκης* 'heaven-high' *μεγα-κήτης* 'monstrously great' Skr. *su-mánās* 'well-disposed' *dur-vāsās* 'ill dressed', with other examples.

Indo-Germanic. \**kléu-os*: Skr. *śráv-as* Gr. *κλέφος κλέος* 'fame, glory', O.C.Sl. *slovo* 'word'. \**gén-os* 'race, family': Skr. *jānas* Gr. *γένος* Lat. *genus*. Gr. *στέγος τέγος* 'roof, house', O.Ir. *tech leg* 'house'. \**séd-os* 'seat': Skr. *sādas* Gr. *ἔδος* O.Icel. *setr* (gen. *setrs*). \**rég-os*: Skr. *rājas* 'darkness, dust', (Armen. *erek* 'evening') Gr. *ἔρεβος* Goth. *riqis* (gen. *riqizis*) 'darkness'. \**nébh-os* 'clouds, atmosphere': Skr. *nābhas*, Gr. *νέφος*, Lith. *debes-i-s* (*d-* instead of *n-* is difficult to explain; perhaps it is due to the influence of *dangù-s* 'heaven', Holthausen in Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 590) O.C.Sl. *nebo*. \**uéd-os*: Skr. *védas* 'knowledge', Gr. *εἶδος* 'form, idea'; add perhaps (with the weak form of the stem) \**uits-*, *īso-ς* Cret. *φίσφο-ς* 'like'; see § 64 p. 135. Gr. *ἄγ-ος* 'awe', Skr. *yaj-ās-* 'honouring', *√iag-*. Skr. *ándh-as* 'plant', Gr. *ἄνθ-ος* 'bloom'. Skr. *dās-as* 'glorious deed' Gr. pl. *δήνεα* 'counsels, wiles', common ground-form \**dāns-os*. Skr. *édh-as* 'wood for burning', Gr. *αἶθ-ος* 'brand'. Skr. *ḍj-as* 'strength' Gr. *ἐρι-αυγής* (late) 'very bright' and \**ύγής* 'strong, sound' in *ύγειά ύγεινό-ς* *Υγεινο-ς*, Lat. *augus-tu-s*. Skr. *āp-as* *áp-as* 'work, religious practice', Lat. *op-us*.

The dative and the locative of *nomina actionis* served also as infinitives, a usage which is doubtless proethnic. In Vedic infinitives in *-as-ē* the formative suffix usually bore the accent; this must be due to an early isolation of meaning. Skr. *jīvās-ē* (dat.) 'to live' Lat. *viver-e* (loc.).

In several languages *-es-* sometimes appears in close connexion with other formative elements, which precede it; as in Lat. *pīg-nus*. These formations existed in the parent language; indeed they were so well established that the compound suffix had the appearance of a primary formation (cp. Skr. *kṛ-t-ya-*

and the like, § 123 p. 391). Skr. *pī-v-as* Gr. *πῖ-(f)-ος* n. 'fat'. In the word *\*mē-n-os* n. (or nom. *\*mē-n-ōs* m., § 133) dat. *\*mē-n-s-āi* loc. *\*mē-n-ēs -ēs-i* from *√mē* 'measure', the *\*mē-n-s-* form of the stem prevailed through all the cases, producing the masc. Gr. *μήν* gen. *μηνός*; Lesb. *μηνν-ος*, Lat. *mēns-i-s* gen. pl. *mēns-um*, O.Ir. *mī* gen. *mīs* 'month'; in Lithuanian *\*mē-n-es-* still survives in the gen. *mėnes-io* etc.<sup>1)</sup> The Aryan *mās-* and the Old Church Slavonic *mēs-ecŭ*, which J. Schmidt explains as coming from an Idg. nom. sing. *\*mēs* for *\*mēns* (see I § 220 p. 188), may have been formed directly from the root; see § 134, 1. *\*loiḡ-nōs* 'remainder, what is left over' from *√leiḡ-* 'leave': Skr. *rēk-ṇas* 'riches' (bequest), O.H.G. *lēhan* n. O.Icel. *lān* n. 'loan'.

Of the simple adjectives no example is found in more than one language simultaneously in its adjectival function; e. g. Skr. *mahās-* 'great' beside *máhas-* n. 'greatness', *yaśás-* 'glorious' beside *yáśas-* n. 'glory', Gr. *πειδής, σαφής*. On the other hand several adjectives are so found in composition. Skr. *dur-manas-* 'ill-humoured' Gr. *δυσ-μενής* 'ill-disposed', Skr. *ṇ-mānas-* 'having a man's mind' Gr. *Ἀνδρο-μένης*, from *\*mén-os* n. Avest. *dēuš-r-savah-* Gr. *δυσ-κλής* 'of ill report', from *\*klēm-os* n. Skr. *puru-dāsas-* 'rich in wondrous deeds', Gr. *πολυ-δήνεα* *πολύβουλον, πολύμητιν* (Hesych.), from *\*dāns-os* n.

Aryan. Neuters. Skr. *śráv-as* 'fame glory', Avest. *srao-ō* 'word, prayer, glory, honour' (with *ca* 'and' it has the form *srao-as-ca*): Gr. *κλῆος* etc.; see above, p. 414. Skr. *jráy-as* 'level, tract', Avest. *zray-ō* O.Pers. *dray-a* 'sea'. Skr. *nám-as* 'obedience, reverence', Avest. *nem-ō* 'prayer, invocation' (cp. O.Ir. *nem* 'heaven' p. 419), *√nem-*. Skr. *mán-as* Avest. *man-ō* 'thought': Gr. *μέν-ος* 'courage, anger', Lat. *Miner-va* (I § 569 p. 426). Skr. *vác-as* Avest. *vac-ō* 'word, speech': Gr. *ῥήπ-ος* *ῥήπ-ος* 'word, speech' *√meḡ*. Skr. *sáh-as* Avest. *haz-ō* 'might': Goth. *sig-is* (*a*-stem), 'victory', *√seḡh-*. Skr. *práth-as* Avest. *fraṇ-ō* 'extent, breadth': Gr. *πλάτ-ος* 'extent, breadth' (the root in the weak grade, as in *πλατ-ύς*), O.Ir. *leth* 'side'. Avest. *raoc-ō*

1) Another and less probable explanation of this word has been mentioned in vol. I § 221 p. 189 f.



'light, clearness, brightness' O.Pers. *rauc-a* 'day', Skr. *sva-rōcas-* 'shining of itself', √ *leṃq-*. Skr. *ḍj-as* Avest. *aoj-ō* 'strength': Gr. *ἐρι-αυγής* etc.; see above, p. 414. Skr. *vār-as* 'width' beside *úr-as* 'breast': Gr. *εὐρ-ος* 'breadth', like *ἐνρ-ός*; see § 104 p. 314. Skr. *kár-as* 'deed', *jár-as* 'age', *péś-as* 'form', *jáv-as* and *júv-as* 'swiftness'. Avest. *tac-ō* 'course', *drāj-ō* 'length', *haec-ō* 'dryness'.

Examples of the dative used as an infinitive; pr. Ar. *\*-as-aij*. Skr. Ved. *dōhásē* 'to milk' (*dōh-as* n. milking), *bhárasē* 'to bear', *spárasē* 'to obtain'. Avest. *avanhē* 'to help' (*av-ō* n. 'help, protection') and by an extended analogy *vaocanhē* inf. to the indic. aor. *vaoc-a-p* from *vac-* 'to speak', *srāvayanhē* inf. to the indic. *srāv-ayēiti* caus. 'causes to hear, announces'.

Ar. *-n-as, -t-as*. Skr. *rēk-ṇas* 'riches', Avest. *raex-nō* (gladness?), see above p. 415. Skr. *ē-nas* 'oppression, wickedness, sin', Avest. *aē-nō* 'enmity, hate, vengeance'. Skr. *áp-nas* 'possession', *ár-ṇas* 'wave'. Avest. *zaē-nō* 'readiness, watchfulness, guard', *xwar-nō* 'brightness, glory', *raf-nō* 'joy, happiness'. Skr. *dráviṇas* 'property'. Skr. *srō-tas* O.Pers. *rau-ta* 'river' (I § 558, 3 p. 414). Skr. *rē-tas* 'seed'. Avest. *vī-sas-tō* 'obedience, learning', *parš-tō* 'fight, weapon for fighting'. Ar. *-u-as* is found in Skr. *pīvas*, see p. 415.

In Adjectives. Skr. *tarás-* 'eagerly striving' beside *táras* 'eager striving', *apás-* 'active' beside *apas* 'work', *rakśás-* 'injuring, injurer' beside *rákṣas* 'injury', *tavás-* 'strong'. Avest. *dvaēšah-* (nom. sing. *dvaēšd*) 'tormenting, tormentor' beside *dvaēšō* 'torment', *rādah-* 'giving, giver' beside *rādō* 'gift', *xwar-nah-* 'bright, glorious' beside *xwar-nō* 'brightness, glory', *aēnah-* 'hostile, enemy' beside *aēnō* 'enmity'. Skr. *dur-manas-* 'out of humour' Avest. *duš-manah-* 'ill-disposed', Skr. *su-mānas-* Avest. *hu-manah-* 'well disposed', Skr. *nṛ-mānas-* Avest. *nar-manah-* 'with a manly mind, heroic'. Skr. *su-cētas-* 'having a good disposition, wishing well', *puru-bhōjas-* 'nourishing many'. Avest. *duž-varšnah-* 'evildoer', *aiui-aajah-* 'surpassing in strength, subduing victoriously', O.Pers. *aspa-canah-* proper name (no doubt to be compared with Skr. *cānas-* n. 'pleasure'). — Skr. *vēdhás-* 'helping, gracious', Avest. *aša-vazdah-* proper name, and *vohvazdah-* i. e. *vohu-vazdah-*

proper name, ground-form *\*uedh + tes-*,  $\sqrt{uedh-}$  'lead', Skr. *su-mēdhás-* 'intelligent', ground-form *\*mṛdh + tes-*, see I § 482 p. 356.

Armenian. Here the *es-* stems have been lost. A part of them became *o-* stems, as *sar*, gen. *saroy*, 'height, peak, declivity': Skr. *śiras-* Avest. *sarah-* 'head', common ground-form *\*kṛr-es-*.

Greek. *πέος* 'membrum virile' for *\*πεσ-ος*: Skr. *pás-as* the same. *ἔτ-ος* ἔτ-ος 'year': Lat. *vetus* (originally a subst.), Skr. *vats-á-*, see p. 413 above. *θέρ-ος* 'heat, summer': Skr. *hár-as* 'glow, heat'. *τέν-ος* 'sinew, bond': Skr. *tán-as* 'offspring', Lat. *ten-us*. *ζεύγ-ος* 'yoke': Lat. *jūgera jūgeribus*, cp. also Mid.H.G. *jiuch* n. 'measure of land'. *βέλ-ος* 'missile', *ἔγχ-ος* 'spear', *ἐρκ-ος* 'enclosure', *κεῦθ-ος* 'hidden depth', *δέος* 'fear' for *\*δφεκ-ος*, *θέρσ-ος* (Aeol.) and *θράσ-ος* *θάρσ-ος* 'courage', *κρέτ-ος* (Aeol.) and *κράτ-ος* *κάрт-ος* 'strength', *πένθ-ος* 'woe, sorrow' and *πάθ-ος* 'suffering, experience, misfortune'. *ὄχ-ος* 'vehicle' instead of *ἐχ-ος* (which is preserved in Hesych.) through the influence of *ὁ ὄχος*,  $\sqrt{uegh-}$ ; cp. Lat. *modes-tu-s* p. 418, O.H.G. *fahs* p. 420. *μῆκ-ος* 'length'. *ἡδ-ος* 'pleasure'. *αἶθ-ος* 'brand': Skr. *ēdh-as*, see p. 414 above. *ἄγκ-ος* 'valley, ravine': Skr. *āṅk-as* 'bend, curve'. *σάκ-ος* 'shield'. *ψυχ-ος* 'cold'. *κῦδ-ος* 'glory'. *ὥγ-ος* 'frost': Lat. *frīg-us*.

*πίος* 'fat' for *\*πιτ-ος*: Skr. *pīvas*, see above, p. 415. *ἔρος* 'wool' for *\*φερ-ος*, cp. Lat. *vervex* ('laniger'). *ἔρ-ος* 'sprout, twig'. *ἔθ-ος* 'multitude, race'. *γλῆ-ος* 'show, marvel'. *δά-ος* 'gift, loan',  $\sqrt{dō-}$  (cp. § 66 p. 142 f.). *τέμενος* 'piece of land'. *πάχετος* 'thickness'. *ἔδαφος* 'ground, foundation'. *κάλλος* 'beauty'.

*ψευδής* 'deceitful, lying' beside *ψεῦδος*. *σαφής* 'clear, plain'. *ἀσθενής* 'weak' beside *σθένος*. *εὐ-μενής* 'well-disposed' beside *μένος*. *ἀ-πενθής* 'unaware, uninvestigated': Avest. *baodāh-* n. 'consciousness, knowledge'. *ἀ-ληθής* 'unconcealed, true' beside Dor. *λᾶθος* 'forgetfulness'. *δυσ-χερής* 'hard to deal with': Skr. *háras* 'grip'; we should also add *χείρ* 'hand' if Wackernagel is right in referring *χειρ-* to *\*χερσ-* (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 131 ff.); the gen. *\*χερσ-ός* would then be explained in the same way as Lat. *farr-* p. 413. — *πλή-ρης* 'full' side by side with *πλη-ρόω* 'I fill' Lat. *plē-ru-s*.

Italic. Lat. *op-os op-us op-er-is, op-er-a*, Umbr. *ose* 'opere' *osatu* 'operato', Osc. *úpsannam* 'operandam' (I § 633 p. 474): Skr. *áp-as áp-as*, see above p. 414. Lat. *vet-us vet-er-is* (agedness, or being stricken in years; old creature', hence as an adj.) 'old', *vetus-tu-s*, Osc. *Vezkeí* dat., name of a god, '\*Vetusco' (cp. *vetusculu-s*): Gr. *φέρ-ος*. Pr. Ital. *\*med-os* 'measure' (Gr. *μέδ-ιμο-ς*, Goth. *mit-an*): Lat. *modes-tu-s moder-ārī* (the *o* instead of *e* is due to *mod-u-s*), Umbr. *meř-s mers* 'ius, fas' for *\*med(o)s*, the *o* being lost by syncope, see I § 633 p. 474. Umbr. *vas* 'vitium' for *\*vak(o)s*, beside Lat. *vacāre*. Lat. *aes*, gen. *aer-is*, which can hardly stand for *\*aī-es-*, but for *\*aīs-*, the weak form of the stem<sup>1)</sup> (the nom. acc. *aes* instead of orig. *\*a(i)-os* was formed on the analogy of the other cases), *aēnus* Umbr. *aħesnes* 'aēnis' for *\*aīes-no-* (I § 134 p. 121): Skr. *áy-as* 'metal, iron', Goth. *áiis* (gen. *áizis*) 'ore, money'.

Lat. *nem-us (-or-)*: Gr. *νέμ-ος* 'place of pasture'. *dec-us (-or-)*: Skr. *daśas-yá-ti* 'he honours, is at the service of, is obliging'. *Ven-us (-er-)*, originally n. 'love's enticement': Skr. *ván-as-* 'charm, sweetness'. *scel-us (-er-)*. *temp-us (-or-)*. *terg-us (-or-)*: Gr. *στέργ-ος τέργ-ος* 'leather, skin', esp. 'the hard hide on an animal's back', *corp-us (-or-)*. *pondus* and *foedus*, like *modes-tu-s*, have exchanged their *e* for *o* (*\*pend-os \*feid-os*, the latter still appearing in *fīdus-tu-s*), through the influence of parallel stems in *-o-* (abl. *pondō*), cp. Gr. *ὄχος* above, p. 417, O.H.G. *fahs* p. 420.

Lat. infin. in *-er-e* for *\*es-i* (loc.), as *vivere* (Skr. *jīvās-ē*), *agere*, *minuere*; *ferre velle esse* are discussed in § 162. *fieri* is a new formation for (O.Lat.) *fiere*, modelled on *agī*, *sequī*, see ib.

*vol-nus*, *mā-nus*, *fū-nus*, *pīg-nus*, *facinus*; *mi-nus* must also be classed here; see § 135. *pectus*.

The vowel-gradation which belonged to the *-es-* suffix in the pre-Italic period (preserved e. g. in *gen-us -er-is*) was superseded in many words in favour of the form *-os-* which prevailed over the other forms. This is seen in *tempus -oris* etc.; yet

1) See Osthoff in Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 405.

we have also *-es-* in the adverb *temper-ī*, *tempes-tu-s*, and *temper-āre*. Similarly we have *penus -oris* etc., whilst the loc. sing. *penes* (cp. αἰές), which had become a preposition (or postposition), retained the form *-es-*. *-os-* is also found in derivatives, e. g. *rōbus-tu-s* (gen. *rōbor-is*) *onus-tu-s* (gen. *oner-is*), *corpus-culu-m* (gen. *corpor-is*) *opus-culu-m* (gen. *oper-is*) cp. O.C.Sl. *-os-tŭ* p. 422.

Adj. *pūbēs* and *pūber*, gen. *pūberis*. Further *dē-gener*, *bi-corpor*, both of them probably fairly modern formations having no direct connexion with the original Indo-Germanic type. Similarly the use of *vetus* (also *veter*) as an adjective was of recent date; cp. *vetus-tu-s* like *onus-tu-s*, *veter-ātu-s* like *sceler-ātu-s*. Here we have a repetition of the process by which adjectives of this kind were formed in the original language.

Old Irish. *tech teg*, gen. *tige*, 'house': Gr. στέγ-ος τίγ-ος 'roof, house'. *nem* 'heaven', which we may either compare at once with Skr. *nám-as* 'obeisance, reverence', so that the original sense was 'object of reverence', or suppose to stand for *\*neb-os* = Skr. *nábh-as* O.C.Sl. *neb-o*, its form having been influenced by words containing the  $\sqrt{\text{nem}}$ - like Gall. *νεμητων* Ir. *nemed* 'sacred thing or place'. *leth* 'side': Skr. *práthas* etc., see above p. 415. *au ō* (Mid.Ir.), gen. *aue*, 'ear': O.C.Sl. *ucho* 'ear'; should we add Gr. οὖς Dor. ὠς 'ear'? (see § 114 p. 347). *mag* 'level tract of country', Gall. *Οὐινδό-μαγος* = O.Ir. *Fínd-mag*. *lōg luach* 'price, hire'.

With *-nes-*: *dū-n* 'stronghold'; even as early as in Gallic we have *Λουγν-δουνος* beside *Λουγυου-δουνον*. *glū-n* 'knee'.

In Germanic the old inflexion suffered great changes.

The transference of these nouns to the *o*-declension, which appears so frequently in Gothic and Norse, seems to have taken place in protoethnic Germanic, and to have been partly due to the analogy of forms like Skr. *vats-á-* (beside Gr. *φέτος*), p. 413. Goth. *áis* (gen. *áizis*) O.H.G. *ēr* n. 'ore' pr. Germ. *\*aiz-a-* (Goth. *áiza-smiþa* O.H.G. *ēr-smid*, § 40 p. 73): Skr. *áy-as* etc., see p. 418 above. O.H.G. *lefs* m. 'lip' beside A. S. *lippa* m. 'lip' (cp. I § 337 p. 267 f.) for pre-Germ. *\*lebes-* *\*leps-*. Goth. *uhs*

(gen. *ahsis*) O.Icel. *ax* n. O.H.G. *ahir ehir* n. 'ear of corn': Lat. *ac-us*. O.H.G. *fahs* O.Icel. *faz* m. 'hair', no doubt due to contamination of a form *\*pek-os* n. with *\*pok-o-s* m. (Gr. *πόχο-ς*) (cp. Gr. *ῥχος* p. 417, Lat. *modestu-s* p. 418). Goth. *veihs* (gen. *veihsis*) n. 'borough, vicus': cp. Skr. *vēśās-* m. 'neighbour, vassal'. Goth. *peihs* (gen. *peihsis*) n. 'time' beside *peihan* 'to thrive, grow', ✓ *teraq-* (I § 214 p. 181); it is usual to compare Lat. *tempus*, but I cannot think it proved that Lat. *p* is ever = Idg. *q*. Goth. *plahs-jan* 'to fear', a denominative: Lat. *locusta* for *\*tlocus-ta* (Osthoff, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 412 f.). Goth. *rimis* (gen. *-isis*) n. 'rest', ✓ *rem-*. Goth. *agis* (gen. *-isis*) n. 'fear', O.H.G. *egis-līh* 'terrible' *egis-o* m. (A.S. *eges-a* m.) 'fear' *egisōn* 'to terrify': Gr. *ἄχ-ος* 'pain at heart, grief'. Goth. *sigis* n. O.Icel. *sigr* (gen. *sigrs*) m. A.S. *sigor* m. 'victory' O.H.G. *sigir-ōn* 'to conquer', Goth. *sigis-lāun* § 40 p. 73: Skr. *sāhas*; see above, p. 415. Goth. *hatis* (gen. *-izis*) n. O.Icel. *hatr* n. 'hate', Goth. *hatizōn* 'to hate'. Goth. *riqis* (gen. *-izis*) n. O.Icel. *røkkr* n. 'darkness': Skr. *rājas* etc., see above p. 414. Goth. *ga-digis* n. 'building, work': Gr. *τεῖχ-ος* 'wall', with vowel-gradation in the root-syllable (p. 413). Goth. *bariz-ein-s* adj. 'of barley' O.Icel. *barr* n. 'barley': Lat. *farr-* for *\*far-s-*; see above, p. 413. Goth. *skapis* n. 'harm', O.Icel. *setr* (gen. *setrs*) n. 'seat': Skr. *sād-as* etc., see p. 414 above.

No satisfactory explanation has been given of the variation between *-s-* and *-z-*, as Goth. gen. *agis-is* beside *riqiz-is*, Goth. *valvis-ōn* 'to roll oneself, wallow' O.H.G. *egis-ōn* beside Goth. *hatiz-ōn* O.H.G. *sigir-ōn*.

REMARK 1. Possibly it may be connected with the fact that in certain isolated uses some of the cases retained *-és-*, e. g. in the Skr. inf. in *-ds-ē* (p. 413). Furthermore side by side with the neuter substantives there may have been adjectives with the accent upon the formative suffix, say *\*ažes-* 'fearing' beside *\*āžes-* 'fear', like Gr. *φειδής*; beside *φειδός*, and the *-s-* may have been taken from them; compare further § 133 Rem. p. 424. Lastly in certain instances where the word was used as the first member of compound, *-s-* may have remained regularly voiceless even when the suffix *-es-* was unaccented. See von Bahder, Verbalabstr. 55.

In West-Germanic we find beside this another entirely different modification of the original declension, due to the

syncope in final syllables. After a long root-syllable, the nom. acc. *-oz* was dropped (I § 661, 2 p. 517). This loss coupled with the influence of the *o*-declension, first established a paradigm such as O.H.G. sing. nom. acc. *kalb* ('calf') gen. *kalbires* dat. *kalbire*, pl. nom. acc. *kalbir* gen. *kalbiro* dat. *kalbirum*. Then in the gen. dat. sing. *-ir-* was dropped, *kalbes kalbe* being formed on the analogy of *wortes worte* from nom. *wort*; hence *-ir-* naturally became the mark of the plural, especially in the nom. and acc. which had no other distinguishing sign. (A more remote consequence was that *-ir-*, Mid.H.G. Mod.H.G. *-er-*, was used for the sign of the plural in a multitude of words with which it had originally no connexion whatever). In the oldest period of West-Germanic this style of inflexion (*kalb* gen. *kalbes*, pl. *kalbir*) is commonest in animal names; cp. besides *kalb* e. g. O.H.G. *lamb* (A.S. *lomb*) 'lamb', and outside of this category *ei* 'egg' pl. *eigir* (A.S. *ǣȝ* pl. *ǣȝru*), *rīs* 'sprout, twig', and other forms. Compare the use of these words as the initial members of compounds, § 40 p. 73. Other words however, through the same phonetic change in the form of the nom. acc. sing., entirely lost their *ir*-inflexion, e. g. O.H.G. *mast* n. 'mast, food, fattening': Skr. *méd-as* n. 'fat' (I § 591 p. 447 f.).

Remark 2. Certain substantives which follow the *i-* and the *u*-declension have also been regarded as representing original *-es*-stems; as O.H.G. *sigi* A.S. *size* m. 'victory', O.Sax. *heti* A.S. *hete* m. 'hate' A.S. *eȝe* m. 'fear', A.S. *sife* n. 'sieve' and O.H.G. *sigu* *sigu* m. = *sigi*, *situ* *silo* m. 'custom' (Gr. *ἔθος*). The nom. *sigi* is said to stand for \**sigiz*, *-os -az* having been replaced by *-es -iz* because of the other cases, and the analogy of the m. f. *i*-stems having then come into play. This transference must have been complete before the beginning of the Christian era; for the *i*-stem appears in Strabo's *Συγί-μνηος* (cp. *Segi-mēru-s Segi-mundu-s* in Tacitus, O.H.G. *sigi-nomo*). But I can see no satisfactory reason for the displacement of *-az* by *-iz* in these words and these only, and it seems more reasonable to assume that they are original *i*-stems; in fact we have such parallel forms as Skr. *van-t-ṣ* beside *ván-as*. It is perhaps less improbable that *-os* under certain conditions should have become *-uz* in protoethnic Germanic, whence the form *sigu* (cp. O.H.G. *angust* § 101 p. 307); see Paul in his and Braune's Beitr. VI 187, and Bremer ibid. XI 3, who remarks: 'I see in *-uz* the representative of an Idg. sonant *s* (*z*), a subject which I hope to discuss in a systematic form at some future time'.

*-nes- -tes-*: O.H.G. *lēhan* n. 'loan', see above p. 415; A.S. *hró-ðor* n. beside *hrē-ð* (m.?) 'glory'. Cp. also A.S. *hæl* O.Icel. *heill* n. 'favourable omen, happiness' for *\*hailiz-* beside the adj. Goth. *hái-l-s* 'healthy' (§ 76 p. 206), A.S. *hlāw* n. 'grave-mound' for *\*hlaiwiz-* beside Goth. *hlái-v* 'grave-mound' ground-form *\*kloi-uo-* (§ 64 p. 137) and the like.

Adjectives like Gr. *ψευδής δυσ-μενής* do not seem to occur. It is a question whether they can be inferred from the appearance of *-s-* side by side with *-z-* in the oblique cases of the substantives and in derivatives. See Rem. 1 p. 420 above. O.H.G. *mast* 'mast, food' has also a secondary use as adj. 'fattened'.

Balto-Slavonic. Here we find only Substantives. In Lithuanian they have become masc. or fem. *i-* or *io-* stems: *-es-i-* and *-es-ia-*.

Lith. *debes-l-s* m. and f. 'cloud' (but we have the consonantal stem preserved in the gen. pl. *debes-ū*) O.C.Sl. *nebo* 'heaven': Skr. *nābh-as* etc.; see above, p. 414.

Lith. *ėdes-i-s*, gen. *-io*, m. 'food (for animals)': cp. Lat. *eder-e*. *kalbes-i-s*, gen. *-io*, m. 'phrase, proverb', beside which we have *kalbes-ė* f. 'speech'. Gen. *mėnes-io* and *mėnes-ės* 'of a month'; see above, p. 415. The original *-es-* is also seen in *kalbes-ni-s* 'talk', *mōkes-ti-s* 'payment' and the like: see § 101 p. 307.

O.C.Sl. *slov-o* 'word': Skr. *śrāv-as* etc., see above p. 414. *uch-o* 'ear': Mid.Ir. *au*; see above, p. 419. *ok-o* 'eye'. *tělo* 'body'. Gen. *ličes-e* 'of the face'; the nom. sing. *\*liko*, is wanting, its place being taken by *lice*. In consequence of their similar termination in the nom. acc. sing. *es-* stems were often inflected like neuter *o-* stems; e. g. gen. *slova* instead of *sloves-e*. On the other hand some of the Slavonic *es-* stems were perhaps *o-* stems originally, and became *es-* stems only because of this same similarity of form, e. g. *drěv-o* 'tree', *dělo* 'work'. The suffix *-os-* is no doubt also to be traced in abstract nouns like *qzos-ti* 'strait', cp. Lat. *angus-tu-s*; see § 101 p. 307.

§ 133. 2. Substantives, masculine and feminine, with the suffix in the form -os-. Side by side with the neuters in -os- there existed in the original language a certain number of masculine and feminine substantives with -os- in the strong cases, -ōs in the nom. sing., -es -es-i in the loc. sing., and -s- in the weakest cases. It is only in Italic that this formation is at all fertile; and there the ō of the nom. sing. was carried through all the cases. The masculine or feminine form and the neuter form often appeared side by side, as Lat. *decor*: *decus* (cp. p. 411 f.).

Skr. *uś-ās-* f. Gr. ἡώς f. (for \**āus-ōs*)<sup>1)</sup> Lat. *aur-ōr-a* 'dawn'. The acc. sing. was originally \*-os-*η*: Skr. *uśās-am*, *Avest. ušdāh-em*, Gr. ἡῶ for \**ῥόα*; Skr. *uśās-am* and *uśām* were re-formations, the latter modelled on the nom. *uśās*. Loc. -es-i: Skr. *uśās-i*; Gr. ἡοῖ was a re-formation. Gen. Skr. Ved. *uśās* instead of \**uś-ṣ-ās*, instead of which we find later *uśās-as*, and a similar re-formation in Greek, ἡοῦς i. e. \**ῥόος*. Does the accent of the Att. ἔως (acc. ἔω) indicate that the original accent was \**āusōs*?

\**āyus-* \**āyus-* \**āyus-* (cp. \**āyuen-* \**āyun-* § 116 p. 362 f.): Gr. acc. αἰῶ, a by-form of αἰῶνα, for \**αἰφόα*, loc. αἰές adv. 'always'; the weakest form of the stem is found in Sanskrit only as a neuter noun, *āyus-* 'life'. Cp. also Ir. *ais aes* m. 'age' Mod. Cymr. *oes* § 108 p. 329.

Gr. αἰδώς f. 'shame, modesty', acc. αἰδῶ, and parallel to it αἰδέσ-, in αἰδέσμαι fut. αἰδέσσομαι and ἀρ-αἰδής.

Latin. Masculines. *decor* beside *decus* Skr. *daśas-yā-ti* 'honours, is at the service of'; *tenor* beside *tenu* Skr. *tānas* 'offspring' Gr. τένος 'sinew, bond'; *angor* beside *angus-tu-s anx-iu-s* Skr. *āhas* 'distress'; *tepor* beside Skr. *tāpas* 'heat' and many other similar words. *honōs honor* (*hones-tu-s*), *sūdor*, *ador*, *amor* etc. Compare also *rūmi-ficō* beside *rāmor* § 34 p. 60. In the nom. sing. -ōr (-or) took the place of -ōs on the analogy of the other cases, where -r- regularly represented -s- between vowels

1) ἡώς proves that the law of vowel-shortening discussed in I § 611 p. 461 did not come into operation until after the loss of intervocalic *α*.



(I § 569 Rem. 2 p. 426 f.). *aurōr-a* (see above), like *Flōr-a* beside *flōs*, cp. § 60 p. 110.

**Remark.** It is possible that all these nouns, excepting the word for 'dawn', were originally masculine; if so they kept their original gender in Latin, whilst Gr. *αἰδώς* became feminine, in the same way as the -*tu*-stems (§ 108 p. 323. 327).

It is uncertain how we ought to regard the Sanskrit masculine abstract substantives *jardś-* 'weakness of age' *bhīyāś-* 'fear' *taṇāś-* 'strength'. They belong to this section if their acc. in -*āsam* is a re-formation like *uṣāsam*. Further: were such Latin substantives as *sēdēs mōlēs plēbēs pūbēs* really, as is usually assumed, originally *s*-stems? Possibly we should assume a double class of masculine and feminine substantives in the parent language, corresponding to the two classes appearing e. g. in Greek, *ἄκμων* contrasted with *ποιμῆν*, *δωρυγ* contrasted with *δορυγ*, distinguished by a difference of accent and of vocalism in the suffix. The accent of *ῥῶς* *αἰδῶς* would then have been shifted just as that of the forms in -*ών* -*μῶν*. Adjectives like Gr. *πυρρός* (§ 132 p. 412 f.) would then bear a nearer relation to these m. and f. substantives in -*ēs* than to the neuters in -*os*.

#### § 134. The Suffix -s- (-s-, -i-s-, -u-s-).

Side by side with the nouns formed with -*es*- (-*os*-), which have been discussed in §§ 131—133, we find nouns which have the same *s*-sound in the suffix, but which cannot be shewn with certainty to have ever had an *e* (*o*) before the *s*. And we must remember that although -*es*- was certainly used as a single and independent suffix at the time of the dissolution of the proethnic community, it may nevertheless have arisen from the fusion of two distinct elements (-*e-s*-, or rather perhaps as in *\*gene-s*-, see p. 20).

The nouns here to be discussed may be arranged in four groups.

1. Skr. *bhās-* n. 'light, brilliancy' (nom. acc. *bhās* instr. *bhāś*), Lat. *fas* n. (indecl.) originally 'utterance', √ *bha-* (Bloomfield, Amer. Journ. of Phil. IX 19 compares Att. *φῶς* with Skr. *bhās*). Ar. *\*dās-* 'gift' in Skr. *dās-vant-* 'rich in gifts' *su-dās-* 'giving richly' (acc. -*dās-am*- gen. -*dās-as*-) Avest. *varəhu-dāh-* 'giving good' (acc. -*dāh-em* gen. -*dāh-ō*), √ *dō-*. Skr. *jāds-* m. 'relative', cp. *jā-ti-ṣ*. Lat. *flōs flōr-is*, *Flōr-a* Osc. Fluusai dat. Lat. *spē-r-are* O.Lat. pl. *spē-r-ēs spē-r-ibus* beside *spē-s*. Should we class here the Greek *\*ροῶς* *\*χαρῶς* in *ροῦαρ* *χαρῆαρ*

'head' (for \**κρᾱσ-η-* \**καρᾱσ-η-*, cp. § 114 p. 347)? There is nothing to prevent our comparing with these words Skr. *mās-* 'moon, month' O.C.Sl. *mēs-ecŭ* 'month' from  $\sqrt{\text{mē}}$  'measure', see § 132 p. 415.

In these words it is possible that the *e* of -es- has been contracted with the preceding vowel, so that \**dōs-*: \**bheres-* = \**dōno-m*: \**bhereno-m*, see § 65 p. 138. In this case we might regard the Sanskrit stems *draviṇḍ-dās-* 'giving riches' *vayḍ-dhās-* 'bestowing life-power' *candrā-mas-* 'moon'. (see Lanman, Noun-Infl. p. 555 f.) as the direct representatives of an original formation, and analysing them as \**-d-es-* \**-dh-es-* \**-m-es-*. \**-d-es-*: \**dōs-* = Gr. *λίπ-ος*: Skr. *rēp-as* and the like; see § 132 p. 415. Lat. *vī-r-ēs* beside *vī-s* *vi-m* cannot have suffered this contraction; but it is perfectly easy to assume that the *s*-inflection in this word may be due merely to the analogy of older types.

2. -s-s-. Skr. *kravīṣ-* n. 'raw flesh', Gr. *κρέας* n. 'flesh', cp. Lat. *cruor*. Gr. *κέρας* 'horn' beside Skr. *śīras-* 'head' (originally 'prominent point'); Lat. *cere-brum* may contain either \**keres-* or \**kerəs-*, *γῆρας* 'old age', *γέρας* 'gift of honour', *δέμυς* 'bodily frame'. Skr. *tāmis-rā* *tamis-ra-m* 'darkness' beside *tāmas*; Lat. *tenebrae* instead of \**temebrae* (I § 570 p. 428 f.) and Mid.Dutch *deemster* 'dark' may contain either \**temes-* or \**teməs-*. Skr. *rōcīṣ-* n. 'light' beside *sva-rōcas-* and Avest. *raocah-* n. 'light, clearness', O.Pers. *raucah-* 'day'. Avest. *hadiš-* O.Pers. *hadiš-* n. 'seat' beside Skr. *sādas-*. As regards the Aryan forms, however, it must be borne in mind that -iṣ- may represent Indo-Germanic -i-s-.

To this class perhaps also belong Gr. masc. *ἔρως* 'love' and *γέλως* 'laughter'. According to Solmsen (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 109), there was the same ablaut-relation between these nominatives and the stems *ἐρας-* *γελας-* seen in Hom. *ἐραν-νός* *ἡρώσ-σατο* Pindar. *γελᾶνής* Hom. *ἐγέλασ-σιν*, as between *δω-* \**dō-* and *δα-* \**dā-* 'give' (I § 317 p. 255 f.): *γέλως* \**γελασ-ος* \**γελασ-ι* etc., thence by qualitative assimilation of the vowel \**γελο(σ)-ος* \**γελο(σ)-ι*; later on they passed into the *o*-declension: acc. *γέλο-ν* *ἔρο-ν* and so forth.

3. -i-s-. Lat. *cinis*, *pulvis*, gen. *cineris* for \**cinis-is* cp. *cinis-culu-s* (I § 33 p. 33). Danielsson (Gramm. u. etym. Stud. I

51) compares, perhaps rightly, *cinis* with Gr. *κόνη-ς*. The same scholar assumes a stem *θεῖμω-* 'ordinance, right' in *θεῖμω-κρέων* *θεῖμω-τ-* and so forth. Here might also be classed some of the Aryan neuters in *-iš-* (see under 2); I will add only Skr. *arctīṣ-* 'beam' *jyōtīṣ-* 'light'.

Was this *-is-* ever the weak form of an earlier *-ies-*?

4. *-u-s-*. Skr. *dhānuṣ-* n. 'bow' beside *dhanú-ṣ* m. *dhānvan-* n.; *pāruṣ-* n. 'knot' beside *pārvan-* n.; *mādhūṣ-* n. 'sweetness' beside *mādhū-* n.; *mānuṣ-* m. 'human being' beside *mānuṣ* m. Goth. *mann-* for *\*manu-*. Lat. *pecus* n. beside *pecu*, *genus* m. n. 'knee' beside *genu* can hardly be deemed parallel examples; see § 104 p. 313.

In a few instances we find the ablaut *-us-*: *-ues-* (*-uos-*). Mention has already been made of Skr. *āyūṣ-* n. 'life' compared with Gr. *αἰές αἰῶ* § 133 p. 423. Another example is Skr. *āruṣ-* n. 'wound' beside O.Icel. *orr* n. 'scar' for *\*aryiz-*.

### 135. The Suffix *-ies- -ies-*<sup>1)</sup>.

This is a primary comparative suffix, side by side with the secondary *-ero-* *-tero-* (§ 75 p. 188 ff.). The fact that it is contained in the superlative suffix *-is-to-* (§ 81 p. 242 ff.) indicates that its comparative meaning was wider than that of the sister suffix *-ero-* *-tero-*, which from the earliest period to which we can trace it was used only in comparing two things (e. g. Gr. *πό-τερος* 'which of two?'). So that originally the combination *-is + tero-* in Gr. *ἀριστέρος* Lat. *sin-ister* and the like (§ 75 p. 190 ff.) was probably not a mere pleonasm.

Even in the proethnic language the comparatives and superlatives containing this suffix had been brought into connexion with 'Positives' formed with all manner of suffixes (*-u-*, *-o-*, *-ro-* etc.), and were regarded as being derived from them, e. g. Skr. *svād-īyas-* Gr. *ῥδ-ίων* 'suavior' beside *svād-ū-ṣ* *ῥδ-ύ-ς* 'suavis'. Thus *-ies-* (*-is-to-*) acquired the character of a secondary suffix, which appears very clearly in the new formations which are so

1) J. Schmidt, Das primäre Comparativsuffix, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 377 ff.

common in the separate languages, such as Skr. *brāhm-īyas-* Lat. *amīc-ior*. Compare § 58 p. 107, § 81 p. 243.

As regards the ablaut of the root-syllable, the general rule seems to have been that the comparative had the strong grade (*e* in the *e*-series), and the superlative the weak grade. Parallel to this there was always a difference of accent. The corresponding positive was generally a form in which the weak-grade was regular in the root-syllable. Thus *\*lénogh-ies-*: *\*lénogh-istó-*: *\*lénogh-ú-* 'brisk, small, little' = Avest. *renj-yah-* Gr. ἐλάσσων for *\*ἐλαγχ-ων* (I § 459 p. 360, § 497 p. 365, § 618 p. 466) instead of *\*ἐλεγχ-ων* through the influence of the form *ἐλαχ-*: Skr. *līgh-iṣṭha-s* Gr. ἐλάχ-ιστο-ς (both with the accent shifted, see § 81 p. 243): Skr. *lagh-ú-ṣ* Gr. ἐλαχ-ύ-ς; Skr. *práth-īyas-*: *prth-ú-ṣ*; Gr. κρέσσων: κράτ-ιστο-ς instead of *\*κρατ-ιστό-ς*: *κρατ-ύ-ς*; *ὀλείζων*: *ὀλίγ-ιστο-ς* instead of *\*ὀλιγ-ιστό-ς*: *ὀλίγ-ο-ς*; O.H.G. *suoz-iro*: Goth. *sut-ista*. These distinctions of ablaut were to a large extent lost through the influence of analogy; particularly as between the comparative and superlative. E. g. Skr. *lāghīyas-* instead of *\*lénoghīyas-* or the true phonetic form *\*lāh-īyas* (I § 454 p. 335 f.); and conversely *práthiṣṭha-* instead of *\*prthiṣṭhá-*, *bāhiṣṭha-* instead of *\*bahiṣṭhá-* (compar. *bāh-īyas-* posit. *bah-ú-*); Gr. *τάχ-ιον* instead of *θαῦσσον* (*τάχιστα*, *ταχύ-ς*), and conversely *ἐλέγχιστο-ς* instead of *ἐλάχιστο-ς*; in *μάσσων* and *μήκιστο-ς* (*μακ-ρό-ς*) the vowel-grades have exactly changed places; Goth. *sut-iza* instead of *\*svōt-iza* (O.H.G. *suoz-iro*), but conversely O.H.G. *suōz-isto* instead of *\*suz-isto* (Goth. *sut-ista*).

In considering all such cases however it must be remembered that in the original paradigm of the comparative besides *-ies-* and *-ios-* the stem also appeared in the form *-is-*, before which the root-syllable must have had the weak-grade; e. g. dat. sing. *\*lénogh-is-ái* like the superlative *\*lénogh-is-tó-*; and this form of the root may also have appeared before *-iēs-* (see below). We have perfect right to assume if we choose that even in the proethnic language the strong form of the root (*\*lénogh-ios-*) had prevailed in all cases of the paradigm of the Comparative, so that, e. g. *\*lénoghísái* had dropped out of use in favour of *\*lénogh-*

*isáχ*; but it is quite as easily conceivable that forms like *\*lōgh-isáχ* descended into the separate languages, and there assisted in levelling the forms of the Comparative and the Superlative. The latter assumption would also make it easier to understand such instances as *μάσσων: μήκιστο-ς* (Avest. *mas-yah-* O.Pers. *maṣ-išta-*).

There are some examples without vowel-gradation in the root: *\*plē-īos- \*plē-īs-: \*plē-īs-tó-: \*plē-ro-* = Skr. *pra-yas* Gr. *πλέ-ες* for *\*πλησ-*: Gr. *πλεῖστο-ς*: Lat. *plē-ru-s* Gr. *πλή-ο-ης*.

As regards the different forms assumed by the comparative suffix itself in different languages many points are still obscure. The history of *-ies-* is in many ways parallel to that of the participial suffix *-ues-* (§ 136).

Remark 1. It is absolutely impossible to maintain that *-iens-* was the original form of this suffix. I attacked this view in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIV 54 ff., and J. Schmidt in the same periodical XXVI 237 ff. has again undertaken its defence. Schmidt imagines that *-iōns (-iēns)* in the nom. sing. masc. became *-iōs (-iēs)* in the proethnic language by a regular phonetic change (cp. I § 220 p. 188) and that the nasal was dropped in other cases by analogy. To say nothing of the fact that no certain examples of this proethnic phonetic law (*-iōs* coming from *-iōns*) have been adduced (cp. also p. 415)<sup>1</sup>, the results which Schmidt's hypothesis involves are altogether incredible and inadmissible: see the Author in Iw. Müller's Hdb. II 55 and Solmsen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 83 (Collitz too declares against Schmidt, Bezenb. Beitr. X 65). I therefore still believe in *-ies-* (and in *-ues-* also; see p. 439).

*-ies-* and *-iēs-* stand side by side, just as *-iō-* and *-iō-*; and the form *-iēs-* which is represented by Skr. *-iyas-* Gr. Att. *-ιο(σ)-* may be compared with *-iō-*, see § 63 p. 122.

The following conclusions may be considered as adequately established for the parent language (in what follows the parallel forms *-iēs-* *-iēs-* are disregarded).

1. *-iōs* in the nom. sing. masc., *-iōs* in the nom. acc. sing. neut.: Avest. *vah-yā vah-yō*, Skr. *vās-yas* (n.), Lat. *ma-jōr* instead of *-jōs* (I § 569 Rem. 2

1) R. Meringer (Ztschr. f. österr. Gymn. 1888 p. 134) derives the acc. pl. *\*gōs* (Skr. *gās* Gr. *βῶς*) through *\*gōns* from *\*gōms*. On p. 138, however, he assents to my view that the acc. sing. was *\*gō(μ)m* before a sonant, but *\*gōμn* before a consonant. I confess I do not see how to reconcile these statements. I must still regard Meringer's *\*gōms* as a monstrosity, and the view that *gās βῶς* are re-formations on the analogy of the acc. sing. as perfectly admissible.

p. 426 f.) *mā-jus*, O.Ir. *māo* (m.), Goth. *hauhīs* (n. adv.) for pr. Germ. *-iaz*, O.C.Sl. *bol-je* (n.) for pr. Slav. *-jos*.

2. *-jos* in the voc. masc.: Skr. *vās-yas*.

3. *-iēs-* in the loc. sing.: Skr. *vās-yas-i* (the accent has been shifted). Also in the fem. nom. *-iēs-i*. gen. *-is-iēs* etc.; levelling in different directions produced on the one hand Skr. *vās-yasī vās-yasyās*, on the other Goth. *sut-izei sut-izeins*, and O.C.Sl. *bol-jīsi bol-jīšę* (instead of \**bol-ješi \*bol-jēšę*). The suffix has also the *-ies*-form in Lith. *sald-ės-ni-s* 'sweeter' with *-es*-for *-iēs-* (I § 147 p. 131), in the unique Pruss. gen. pl. *muīs-ies-on* 'maiorum' and perhaps in Lat. *mā-jes-tās* beside *mā-jor* (this may also be a new formation modelled on *hones-tās*: *honor* and the like) and *pē-jer-āre* beside *pē-jor* (cf. Osthoff, *Zur Gesch. d. Perf.* 115).

4. *-is-* in the weak cases, e. g. dat. sing. *-is-ai* loc. pl. *-is-ai*. This form of the suffix has spread through the paradigm, wholly or in part, in Gr. *πλῆς πλείας* neut. *πλεία* (\**πλεῖς*-), Goth. *sut-iz-a* gen. *sut-iz-ins*, *māiz-a* gen. *māiz-ins*, O.C.Sl. gen. *bol-jīsa* 'maioris' for \**bol-jīs-iā* instead of \**bol-is-iā* (see below). There were moreover adverbs in *-is-*: \**mā-is* = Osc. *mais* 'magis' Goth. *māis* 'more', Lat. *mag-is*, Goth. *vairs* for \**vīrs-iz*, Gr. *πρεῖα* = Lat. *prīs-* in *πρεῖα-γυ-ς πρεῖα-βυ-*; *prīs-cu-s*. Further *-is-* occurred in the fem., gen. *-is-iēs* etc., see 3. Cp. superl. *-is-tō*, § 81 p. 242 ff.

Finally I regard it as probable.

5. That the strong cases of the masc. (except the nom. sing.) had *-jos-*: acc. Avest. *vah-yānēh-em* Gr. *ἡλῶσσω* for *-io(n)-a*. The fact that in Greek *-ion-* is confined to the strong cases (there is no such form as \**ἡλῶσσο-ος* in the gen., for example) may be regarded as an additional proof that in the other cases another form of the suffix prevailed; for if all the cases had originally had *-ios-*, they would surely have all been treated in the same way.

In Aryan, *-iś-* was displaced by *-yas-* in the weak cases: dat. sing. Skr. *vās-yas-ē* Avest. *vah-yānēh-ē*, gen. sing. Skr. *vās-yas-as* Avest. *vah-yānēh-ō*. Where *-yas-* is also found in the strong cases in the same group of languages, as Skr. *kaniyas-am* 'iuniorē' Avest. *vanhānēh-em* 'meliore' (-*hēh-* = *-hy-*, I § 558 p. 415), it is not original, but due to a secondary change. Instead of *-yas* in the voc. sing. masc. *-yan* appears in the post-vedic language; this form is doubtless due to the analogy of *-van* (§ 136 p. 441).

In Latin the *-jōs* of the nom. sing. was carried through the whole case-system; later it became *-iōr* following the other cases, where *-s* regularly became *-r*; *mā-jor-jōr-em-jōr-is* etc.; cp. *hon-or-ōr-em* and so forth, § 133 p. 423.

The Old Church Slavonic nom. sing. masc. *bol-jījī bol-jijī* beside neut. *bol-je* is probably not a compound word (*bol-jī + jī*), but a modification of \**bol-jījī* which had the suffix in the form *-iēs-*; beside it we find *novē-jī* with *-iēs-*. *bol-jījī* owes its form to the influence of the neuter *bol-je*, or of masculines like *dobl-jī-jī*, or of both together. The masc. terminations *-jījī* and *-jī* (instead of \**-ija* \**-ja* = Idg. \**-iōs* \**-jōs*) are due to the influence of the *-io-* stems, such as *dobl-jī*; *novē-jī* bears to neut. *novē-je* the same

relation as *dobljī*: *doblje*. From the nom. acc. sing. neut. and nom. sing. masc. *-j-* passed on to the other cases which had *-īse-* = *-is-je-*: gen. *boljīša* instead of *\*bolīša* etc. See 3. above, fem. *boljīše* instead of *\*bolīše*.

But what is the origin of the nasal in Skr. *vas-yāṣ-* (nom. *vās-yān* acc. *vās-yāṣ-am*) and of the Greek paradigm *ἐλάσσων -ov-ος* etc.? In § 63 p. 132 we regarded *-ies-* as an extension of the comparative *-io-* by *-es-*; compare Skr. *nāv-yas-* Lat. *nov-ior* beside Skr. *nāv-ya-* Goth. *niū-ji-s*, Lat. *nim-is* beside *nim-iu-s*. Now in some instances there may have been a form *-ien-* parallel to *-io-* and having the same force. The stems formed with this stood in Greek side by side with those which had *-ies-*, and were taken into more extended use because they had an easier and clearer inflexion than that of the *-ies-* comparatives, which had broken up into very dissimilar groups through the operation of phonetic laws within the case-system; thus arose *ἡδ-ων -ov-ος* like *κρον-ων -ov-ος* (§ 115 p. 359), and *χειρό-τερο-ς*: *χείρων* = *πῶ-τερο-ς*: *πῶν*<sup>1</sup>). In Sanskrit however *-yāṣ-* and *-yān-* were contaminated, producing the form *-yāṣ-*, just as *mahānt-* (beside *mahat-*) seems to have arisen from the fusion of an *n*-stem and a *t*-stem. (§ 126 p. 399). Cp. Danielsson, Gramm. and etym. Stud. I 49. Thus we should have side by side e. g. (1) *\*plē-io-* (Gr. *πλέω-ς* *πλείο-ς* Cret. *πλίω*, Armen. *li*, gen. *lioy*, 'full', Skr. *prāyēṇa* *prāya-śaḥ* 'for the most part, usually, mostly'), (2) *\*plē-ies-* *\*plē-īs-* (Skr. *prā-yas*, Gr. *πλέω* *πλείστο-ς* etc.) and (3) *\*plē-ien-* *\*plē-īn-* (*πλέων -ov-ος*, neut. Att. *πλεῖν*, cp. with the latter Cret. *πρεῖν* Hom. *πρεῖν* Att. *πρεῖν* beside *πρεῖα-*; *πλεῖν*: *πλείων* *πλεῖον* = Goth. *māis*: *hāuhis*). Compare further (1) Skr. *kan-yā* 'maiden' Gr. *καινό-ς* 'new' for *\*xav-jo-ς*; (2) Skr. *kān-īyas-* 'younger' *kan-iṣṭhā-* 'youngest': (3) Avest. *kain-in-* f. 'girl'; Gr. (1) *ῥα-ιο-* 'easy' (*ῥη-διο-ς*, *ῥη-ι-τερο-ς*): (2) *ῥη-ω* *ῥῆω*, *ῥήιστο-ς* *ῥῆστο-ς*; (3) *ῥη-ων* *ῥήων* (etymology doubtful, see Osthoff, Zur Gesch. d. Perf. 446 f.)<sup>2</sup>). Compare the parallel forms *\*āi-uo-* (Lat. *aevo-m* Goth. *diu-s*): *\*āi-ues-* (Gr. *αἰεῖς* *αἰῶ* Skr. *āyuṣ-*): *\*āi-uen-* (Gr. *αἰῶν* *αἰέν* Skr. *āyun-*) § 116 p. 362, § 133 p. 423, Skr. *ḥbh-va-* *ḥbh-vas-* *ḥbh-van-* 'artistic' and other examples.

Indo-Germanic. *lenogh-(i)ios-* beside *\*lēogh-ū-*: Skr. *lāgh-īyas-* Avest. *renj-yah-* Gr. acc. *ἐλλάσσω*, cp. p. 427 above. *\*sūd-(i)ios-* beside Skr. *svādú-ṣ* Gr. *ἡδύ-ς* Goth. *sut-s* 'suavis': Skr. *svād-īyas-*, Gr. *ἡδ-ιω -ίω*, Lat. *suavior* 'instead of *\*sūd-ior* through the influence of *suāvi-s*, O.H.G. *suoz-iro* Goth. *sut-iza*. *\*ōk-(i)ios-* beside Skr. *āś-ū-ṣ* Gr. *ὠκύ-ς* Lat. *acu-pediū-s*: Skr. *āś-īyas-*, Gr. *ὠκ-ίων* (this is not actually found, but may be

1) We find also *μαλιώ-τερο-ς* (Solon) *βελτιώ-τερο-ς* (Telesilla) compared with *μάλιον* *βελτίων* formed on the same principle as *σορῶ-τερο-ς* § 75 p. 193.

2) In view of this it may not be rash to see a further group of old *-jo-* forms in the Att. gen. sing. of the compar. in *-ιου* (*ἀπὸ τοῦ μέλου*, *ἐχ θάττου*, Meisterhaus, Gramm. d. Att. Inschr. p. 67).

inferred from ὤκ-ιστο-ς), Lat. *ōc-ior*. \**plē-īos-* (\**plēis-* by a pro-ethnic contraction from \**plē-is-*; see I § 116 p. 108) beside Lat. *plē-ru-s* Gr. *πλή-ρ-ης*: Skr. adv. *prā-yas* Avest. *frā-yah-*, Gr. *πλείω πλείεσ*, Lat. *plēdr-ēs* or *plēdr-ēs* and *plīs-ima* carm. Arv., (O.Ir. *lia*, see p. 435), O.Icel. *fleir-e* (re-formed to correspond with *meir-e*). \**mō-īos-* \**mā-īs-* beside O.Ir. *mā-r* Gall. *-māru-s* (in proper names) 'great' Goth. *-mēr-s* 'great' (cp. § 81 p. 247): Osc. *mais* 'magis', O.Ir. *māo mō*, Goth. *māiz-a* adv. *māis*); perhaps Gr. *Μαίων* should also be classed here.

Aryan. Skr. *vās-yas-* Avest. *vah-yah- vaē-yah-* (I § 558 p. 415) beside *vās-u- vanh-u-* 'good'. Skr. *āś-īyas-* Avest. *ās-yah-* beside *āś-ū- ās-u-* 'swift': Gr. *ὠκ-ίων* etc., see above. Skr. *māh-īyas-* Avest. *maz-yah-* 'greater': Gr. Ion. *μέζων*, Lat. *māior* (cp. I § 135 p. 122) *mag-is mag-is-ter* (cp. I § 469, 8 p. 346 f.). Skr. *nēd-īyas-* Avest. *nazd-yah-* 'nearer' for pr. Ar. \**na-zd-*; see I § 591 p. 447 and II § 4 p. 9.

Skr. *vār-īyas-* beside *ur-ū-* 'wide'. *śrē-yas-* beside *śrī-lā-* 'fair, glorious': should we compare Gr. *κρείων* 'noble, princely, ruler' (which has passed into the *-vr-* declension, like *θεράπων* etc., see § 114 p. 350)? *kṣēp-īyas-* beside *kṣip-rā-* 'quick'. *dāv-īyas-* beside *dū-rā-* 'distant'. *tēj-īyas-* beside *tig-mā-* 'sharp'. *srāj-īyas-* beside *srag-vīn-* 'crowned'. *nāv-yas-* *nāv-īyas-* beside *nāv-a-* 'novus': Lat. *nov-ior*, O.H.G. *niw-iro niuw-iro* 'novior'. *prē-yas-* beside *priy-ā-* 'dear'. *jyā-yas-* 'mightier'. As regards Skr. *sthēyas-* instead of \**sthā-yas-* beside *sthi-rā-*, *sphēyas-* instead of \**sphā-yas-* beside *sphi-rā-*, see § 81 p. 244.

Avest. *mas-yah-* 'greater' beside O.Pers. *maṣ-išta-* 'the greatest': Gr. *μάσσων* beside *μακρός* 'long'. Avest. *taš-yah-* 'more warlike, stronger' ground-form \**tenq-ies-* (I § 200 p. 168, § 473 p. 350), beside superl. *tanc-išta-*. In Avestic the metre often shows that the reading should be *-iyah-*, as *renjiyah-*, *nazdiyah-*, *masiyah-* (beside *mah-*) *s.ya*

In Sanskrit we find occasionally new formations from noun-

1) In the light of this paragraph what is said about this Gothic word in I § 635 p. 475 should be corrected.



stems, as *tíkṣṇ-īyas-* from *tíkṣ-ṇá-* 'sharp', *bráhm-īyas-* like *bráhm-iṣṭha-*, *drádh-īyas-* like *drádh-iṣṭha-*; see § 81 p. 245.

Greek. *-ιο(σ)-* *-ῖο(σ)-* occurs only in the acc. sing. masc. and the nom. acc. plur. masc. and neut. By its side we find through all the cases *-ιον-* *-ῖον-* (*-ιῡ-* in *πλεῖν*, *πρεῖν* *πρίν* *πρίν*); in Rem. 1 p. 430 I have stated my conjecture that this form represents Idg. *-iōn-* and never contained *s*. *-Ιο(σ)-* *-ιων-* occur in Attic.

The examples are given in the form of the acc. sing. masc. in *-ιῡ* *-ῖῡ* for *\*-ιο(σ)-α* *\*-ῖο(σ)-α*.

*πάσσω* and *παχ-ίῡ* beside *παχ-ύ-ς* 'fat, thick'. *θάσσω* for *\*θαγγ-ιος-α* beside *ταχ-ύ-ς* 'swift' (we must compare Pol. *дағы* 'to press forward, aspire, hasten', see Bezzenberger in his Beitr. XII 241; the favourite comparison of this with Avest. *tašyah-* has not been reconciled with phonetic law), cp. *ελάσσω* p. 427. *βραδ-ίῡ* beside *βραδ-ύ-ς* 'slow': Skr. *mrad-īyas-*. *γλυκ-ίῡ* beside *γλυκ-ύ-ς* 'sweet'. *ὀλεῖζω* beside *ὀλιγ-ο-ς* 'little' *ὀλίγ-ιστο-ς*, from which *ὀλίζω* was afterwards formed. *κακ-ίῡ* beside *κακ-ό-ς* 'bad'. *ἐχθ-ίῡ* beside *ἐχθ-ρό-ς* 'hostile'. *ἥσσω* 'inferiorem' beside *ἥκ-α*; *ἡττάσθαι* instead of *\*ἡτιτοῦσθαι* follows *νικᾶσθαι*, and from the verb *ἡττάσθαι* the substantive *ἡττα* was itself formed (Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 299 f.). *ἀμείνω* for *\*ἀμεν-ιῡ* 'meliorem'. A form *\*ἀγγ-ιος-* 'nearer' may be inferred from the adv. *ἄσσον* for *ἀγγ-ιον* (beside *ἀγγ-ι*): Skr. *ah-īyas-* O.H.G. *eng-ir-o* 'narrower'. *μείω* 'minorem' for *\*μι-ιο(σ)-α* beside *\*mi-no-mi-nu-*, Lat. *mi-nus* Goth. *minniza* for *\*mi-nu-is-*, see below; the superl. *μείστο-ς* stands for *\*με(λ)-ιστο-ς* (for the vowel-grade of the root cp. *ἐλέγγ-ιστο-ς* and the like p. 427) or else is a new formation in imitation of its opposite *πλεῖστο-ς*. *πλείω* *πλέω* 'more' instead of *\*πληγ-(λ)ο(σ)-α* has been affected by the form of *πλεῖστο-ς* (like Skr. *sthē-yas-* instead of *\*sthā-yas-* through the influence of *sthēṣṭha-*, § 81 p. 244), and perhaps also to some extent by *μείω*; by the side of it we find a form *πλεισ-* for *\*plēis-*, belonging properly to the weak cases of the comparative, in Hom. *πλέ-ες* *πλέ-ας* Cret. *πλί-ες* neut. *πλί-α* (*ι* for *ε*, I § 64 p. 51<sup>1</sup>): Skr. *prā-yas* etc.; see p. 431 above. *κρείσσω* *κρείττω*

1) Here for 'in the Doric dialects' read 'in some Doric dialects'.

beside Ion. *κρέσσω* (: *κράτ-ιστο-ς κρατ-ύ-ς* 'strong' and *μείζω* beside Ion. *μέζω* (: *μέγ-ιστο-ς μέγ-α-ς* 'magnus') owe their *ει* to the analogy of *χείρω ἀμείνω ὀλείζω*, conversely Ion. *ἔσσω* beside *ἦττω* follows *κρέσσω*, cp. I § 639 Rem. p. 479 and Ber. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 1883 p. 193.

In rare instances we find nominal suffixes preceding the comparative *-χοσ-*, as *καλλ-ίω* 'pulcriorem' beside *κάλλος* n., *βελ-τ-ίω* 'meliorem'. Compare the superlatives, § 81 p. 245.

In Cretan (Gortyn) we find *πρέγω* (*πρέγωνα*) beside *πρεῖγυ-ς* *πρεῖσγυ-ς* and *κάρτω* (*καρτόνανς*) instead of *\*κρέττω* = Ion. *κρέσσω*, beside *καρνύ-ς*. It remains doubtful whether these forms are regular phonetic representatives of *\*πρειγυ-γω*, *\*καρτ-γω* (cp. Dor. *κάρρων* for *\*καρσων*), or new formations with *-ω* instead of *-γω* on the model of some one or more forms where the *κ* had regularly disappeared.

One example of an adverb in *-is* is *πρεῖσ-* ('before') found in the compound Cret. *πρεῖσ-γυ-ς* (whence *πρεῖγυ-ς* by assimilation). Thessal. *πρεῖσ-βυ-ς* (cp. I § 428 p. 316), which corresponds to the *prīs-* of the Lat. *prīs-cu-s* (beside *prior prius*), cp. Rem. 1 p. 429 and for *-γυ-* *-βυ-*, § 91 Rem. p. 277. Obviously *\*πρεῖς* is related to Cret. *πρεῖν* (Hom. *πρίν* Att. *πρίν*) as *πλεισ-* (in *πλέες πλεῖσ-το-ς*) to Att. *πλεῖν* and as *πλείους* (i. e. *\*πλειουσ-ες*) to *πλείον-ες*, cp. Rem. 1 p. 430. If we start from an original *\*préi-íos- \*pri(i)-is-* (by analogy *\*pri-íos-* and *\*prei-is-*), Lat. *prīs-* may represent not only *\*πρεῖς* but also *\*prii-is* (cp. *πρίν*). It must be admitted that the forms *πρέσγυ-ς* *πρέσβυ-ς* are still obscure <sup>1)</sup>.

Italic. O.Lat. *mineriū-s* for *\*minis-imo-s* (cp. *plūr-imu-s* etc.), *minis-ter*, Osc. *minstreis mistreis* 'minoris': cp. Goth. *minniza*

1) The student who believes that the doctrine of 'hyphaeresis' (*κείσμετο* = *\*κε(ε)σμετο*, *σπέσσι* = *\*σπεεσσι*) is not a mere midsummer madness, may find comfort in supposing that *\*πρεσ-* stands for an older form *\*πρε(ε)σ-*, an analogical modification of an original loc. *\*pri-ies*. It is simpler however to analyse *\*πρεῖς* into *περ + -ες* (the genitive ending), and to regard it as a by-form of *πάρ-ος* Skr. *pur-ás* (I § 294 p. 234): Prellwitz, De dial. Thessalica 1885 p. 11 takes a very similar view, but a different explanation may be found in Per Persson's *Studia etymologica*, Upsala 1886, p. 95.

Brugmann, *Elements*. II

'minor' for \**mi-nu-is-* O.C.Sl. *mǫnjǫ* 'minor' and the archaic Gr. *μείω* 'minorem' for \**μει-ιοσ-α* (p. 432); *minus* was a neuter like *vol-nus* Gr. *δά-ρος* (see § 132 p. 415 and p. 418); it originally meant 'minority', and then like *vetus* came to be used as an adjective; when it had thus become the opposite of *mājus*, *mājōris mājor* etc. gave rise to the analogous formations *minōr-is minor* etc.<sup>1)</sup> Umbr. *mes-tru* f. 'maior' (cp. § 75 p. 195), Osc. *mais* 'magis': O.Ir. *māo* etc., see p. 431 above. Osc. *pústir-is* 'posterius'.

Lat. *ōc-ior* beside *acu-pediu-s*: Skr. *āś-iyas-* etc., see p. 430 f. above. *nov-ior* beside *novo-s*: Skr. *nāv-yas-* etc., see p. 431 above. *sen-ior* beside *senex*: Skr. *sán-yas-* beside *sán-a-s* 'old', O.Ir. *sin-iu* 'older' *sinser* 'the elder, eldest' for \**senis-tero-s* beside *sen*, Lith. *senės-ni-s* 'older' beside *sēn-a-s*, cp. also Goth. *sinista* 'eldest'. *mel-ior*. *pē-jor*. *mājor majus* with *magis* beside *māgnu-s*: Skr. *māh-īyas-* etc., see p. 431 above; the evidence of the Gr. *μέγα-ς* and the Goth. *mikil-s* shews that the root originally had *e* and hence it seems necessary to assume that the Latin word has been influenced by the pr. Ital. \**maīs-* = Idg. \**mā-īs-* (cp. Osc. *mais* beside Lat. *magis*, Umbr. *mes-tru* beside Lat. *magister*), which belongs to a different root.

*pleōrēs* and *plisima*; see p. 431 above. It has not yet been clearly shewn what relation the forms *plous plūs*, *plūr-ēs*, *ploer-a* and *plourume* (C. I. L. I 32) bear to \**plē-īos-* which we must assume as the ground-form of the comparative stem.

Remark 2. For a discussion of these latter forms see Stolz (Iw. Müller's Handb. II p. 164), Danielsson (Pauli's Altital. Stud. IV p. 164 and Osthoff (Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 445 f.). Danielsson's proposal to assume a form \**plō-īos-* parallel to \**plē-īos-* is the simplest from the phonetic standpoint. We should start from a stem \**plōīs-*, whence we should arrive at \**plōīs-* (according to I § 612 p. 462)<sup>2)</sup>, and then at *plūs-*. In *plous- ou* would be merely a graphic representative of the sound *ū*.

1) It seems to me less probable that even at the time when *minus* was still a substantive, there was also a masc. form *minor*, like *decor* beside *decus* and the like (§ 133 p. 423).

2) In the third live of this paragraph read 'explosive or spirant' instead of 'sonant'.

Adverbs in *-is-*. Lat. *mag-is* beside *māior*. *nimis*. *satis*. *prīs* in *prīs-cu-s* beside *prior*, see p. 433 above; is it also contained in *prīdem*?<sup>1)</sup> Osc. *mais* 'magis': Goth. *māis*.

There was in Latin a very great deal of levelling between the form of the comparative and that of the positive, which converted *-ies-* into a secondary suffix. *suāior* instead of *\*syād-ior* follows *suāv-i-s* for *\*syād-ū-i-s*, cp. Skr. *svād-īyas-*. *tenuior* instead of *\*ten-ior* follows *ten-u-i-s*, cp. Skr. *tan-īyas-*. *levior* instead of *\*leg-ior* follows *levi-s* for *\*legu-i-s*. *sēr-ior* instead of *\*sē-(i)ōs* follows *sē-ru-s*; in the same way, in old Irish, side by side with the regular *sia* there arose a form *sīriu sīre* on the analogy of the positive *sī-r* 'long'. *jūn-ior juven-ior*, cp. Skr. *yāv-īyas-*. *audāc-ior*. *facil-ior*. *asper-ior*. *doct-ior*. *sapient-ior*.

Lat. *super-ior inter-ior dexter-ior* Osc. *pústir-is*; see § 75 p. 195. Late formations are *plūriōrēs proximior* and the like.

Old Irish. Only the nom. sing. has been kept.

*māo mō* for *\*mō-īōs*, beside *mā-r* 'great': Osc. *mais* etc., see p. 431. *sin-iu* beside *sen* 'old': Skr. *sán-yas-* etc., see p. 434. *laig-iu* 'smaller'.

It is often a secondary suffix, as in *sīr-iu* (see above), *foills-iu* from *follus* 'manifest', *uaisl-iu* from *uasal* 'high'.

Sometimes we find *-u* instead of *-iu* after consonants, as *lug-u* beside *laigiu*. This is perhaps a new formation modelled upon those forms in which *i* had been dropped between vowels, such as *māo* (*\*māu*).

The forms in *-a* have not been explained: examples are with *māa mā* side by side *māo*; *lia* beside *il* 'much': Skr. *prā-yas* etc., see p. 431 above; *sia* beside *sī-r* 'long'; *ōa* beside *ōac ōc* 'young': Skr. *yāv-īyas-*; *nessa* 'nearer'.

*-is-tero-*: *sinser ōser*, see § 75 p. 196.

Germanic. As a rule, the suffix is extended by *n*-suffixes.

1) *prīdiē* can only be regarded as *\*prīs-diē* if it is assumed that *postrīdiē* stands for *\*postris-diē* (cp. Osc. *pústir-is*) (Havet's explanation, in *Mém. de la Soc. de lingu.* IV 229, seems to me untenable). But *postrī* may also be loc. sing. of *postro-*, and *prīdiē* may have been formed later in imitation of *postrīdiē*.

These are absent only in such adverbs as Goth. *háuh-is* 'higher' *nēhv-is* 'nearer', *hald-is* 'more gladly, potius, rather' *fram-is* 'further on'; the termination *-is* seems to be the original neuter termination *-ios* (Rem. p. 428 f.), while such adverbs as Goth. *vairs* O.H.G. *wirs* 'worse', for pr. Germ. *\*uirs-iz*, Goth. *mins* O.H.G. *min* 'less', for *\*minu-iz* represent Idg. *-is* (see loc. cit.).

Pr. Germ. *-iz-en-* (*-iz-en-*) m. n. (f. Goth. *-iz-ein-* O.H.G. *-ir-ōn-*). Goth. *sut-iza* O.H.G. *suoz-iro* 'sweeter': Skr. *sodd-īyas-* etc.; see above, p. 430. Goth. *māiza* O.H.G. *mēro* 'greater': Osc. *mais* etc., see above, p. 431. Goth. *hard-iza* O.H.G. *hart-iro hert-iro* beside Goth. *hard-u-s* 'hard': Lith. *kartės-ni-s* beside *kart-ū-s* 'bitter'. Goth. *háuh-iza* O.H.G. *hōh-iro* beside Goth. *háuh-s* 'high'. Goth. *bat-iza* O.H.G. *bezz-iro* 'better'. Goth. *vairs-iza* O.H.G. *wirs-iro* 'worse, wickeder'. The forms have often been levelled to match the positive, and secondary formations have arisen: Goth. *jūh-iza* O.H.G. *jung-iro* and *jag-iro* beside Goth. *jugg-s* O.H.G. *jung*, as contrasted with Skr. *yāv-īyas-* O.Ir. *ōa*, cp. O.H.G. *jungisto* § 81 p. 248; Goth. *alp-iza* O.H.G. *alt-iro* beside Goth. *al-p-ei-s* O.H.G. *al-t* 'old'. The origin of Goth. *minn-iza* O.H.G. *minn-iro* for *\*mi-nu-iz-*, compared with Gr. *μείω* Lat. *minis-ter* O.C.Sl. *mějŕjŕj*, is obscure.

*-ōz-* *-ōz-en-* appeared in proethnic Germanic side by side with *-iz-* *-iz-en-*; see § 81 p. 248. It is used only in the comparatives of *o*-stems in Gothic and (with rare exceptions) in Old High German. Adv. Goth. *sniumundōs* 'more hastily', *aljaleikōs* 'otherwise'. Goth. *frōdōza* from *frōp-s* 'wise', *svinpōza* from *svinp-s* 'strong, powerful', O.H.G. *liobōro* from *liob* 'beloved', *liohtrōro* from *liohtr* 'bright', *gileganōro* from *gi-legan* 'apt, suitable': *hōhōro* (also *hōhiro*) from *hōh* 'high', *hērōro* (also *hēriro*) from *hēr* 'grand, glorious'; this variation is frequent; *tiurōro* (and *tiuriro*) from *tiuri* 'dear, valuable'.

O.H.G. *obarōro* (*obarōsto*) from *ob-aro* 'upper', *aftrōro* (*aftrōsto*) from *af-tro* 'later', *fodrōro* *fodarōro* (*fodarōsto*) from *for-dro* *for-daro* 'former'. *mēr-iro* and *mērōro* from *mēro*.

Balto-Slavonic. In Lithuanian the only form of the suffix is *-iēs-*, in the combination *-ē-s-n-i-s* *-ē-s-n-ė*; the origin of

the second part (*-n-īo-*) is difficult to explain (an attempt may be found in Schmidt's paper in Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXVI 399 f.). In Slavonic in the nom. acc. sing. neut. *-je* = Idg. *-īos*; as regards *-jīše-* instead of *-īše-* = Idg. *-is-īo-* and nom. sing. masc. *-jījī* (later *-jijī*), no doubt by the rule in I § 36 p. 37) *-jī*, see p. 429 f.

Remark 3. For the Lithuanian comparative adverbs in *-īaus*, such as *saldžiaūs* 'more sweetly', whose suffix has nothing to do with *-iēs-*, see § 81 p. 248 f.

Lith. *sald-ēsni-s* O.C.Sl. *slazďjī*, neut. *slazďe*, beside *sald-ū-s* *slad-ū-kū* 'sweet'.

Lith. *gerēsni-s* beside *gēra-s* 'good', *didēsni-s* beside *dīdi-s* 'great'. It is clearly denominative in e. g. *baltēsni-s* from *bāl-ta-s* 'white' *jaunēsni-s* from *jáu-na-s* 'young'.

In Prussian a solitary example with *-ies-* is preserved (*-ies-* no doubt = Idg. *-iēs-*): *muis-ies-on* 'maiorum'.

O.C.Sl. *boljījī* *boljijī* neut. *bolje* 'greater': Skr. *bāl-īyas-* 'stronger, more powerful'. *gorjījī* 'worse': Skr. *gár-īyas-* 'gravior', *mīnījī* 'smaller': O.Lat. *miner-imu-s* *minis-ter*, see pp. 433 f. 436 above. *krěpljījī* beside *krěpūkū* 'strong'. *chuzďjī* beside *chudū* 'bad'. *vyšjī* beside *vysokū* 'high'. As to the effects produced by the first *j* of *-jījī* upon preceding consonants, see I § 147 p. 132 ff.

This formation however is not so frequent in Slavonic as that in *-ē-jīs-*: nom. sing. masc. *-ějī* nom. acc. sing. neut. *-ėje* gen. *-ějīsa* and so forth. *novějī* from *novū* 'new'. *sīlnějī* from *sīlnū* 'strong'. *mūnožajī* from *mūnogū* 'multus', for *\*mūnogějī* according to the rule given in I § 76 p. 66. As the last example shows, the *ē* of *-ějī* was Idg. *ē*, and it can scarcely be doubted that this comparative formation arose from the addition of the suffix *-iēs-* to the instr. sing. in *-ē* of the *o*-stems; compare the Germ. comparative in *-ōz-(en-)*, formed from the instr. sing. in *ō*. From the nom. sing. in *-ē-jī* *-ē-je*, *j* passed into the other cases; hence the gen. *-ē-jīsa* instead of *-ē-īsa* and so forth. The Prussian comparatives with *-ais-* seem to be of the same kind; e. g. *maldais-in* acc. sing. masc., from *malda-* 'young', cp. O.C.Sl.

*mladě-ŕi* beside *mladū* 'young', *urais-in* beside *ura-* 'old', *massais* adv. 'less' beside Lith. *māža-s* 'small'. It is doubtful however whether these forms come from the instrumental in *-ē* or from that in *-ō*, whether *-ais-* represents *-ē-is-* *-ēis-* or *-ō-is-* *-ōis-*.

§ 136. The Suffix *-ues-*<sup>1)</sup>. This served to form the Perfect Participle Active.

In this participle as elsewhere the perfect stem was reduplicated; cp. Skr. *ba-bha-vás-* Gr. *πi-φv-ώς* from *√ bhey-* 'become'. Even such forms as Goth. pl. masc. *bēr-us-jōs* 'parents' Lith. fem. *séd-us-i* (beside *séd-au* 'I sit') contained reduplication, as we shall see when we come to discuss the verb.

Remark 1. It may be assumed that the syllable of reduplication had not come to be regarded as an integral element in the formation of the *-ues-* participle, until the latter had been associated with the perfect system (single forms with *-ues-* may very well have had the reduplicating syllable before that time, see § 52, 2 p. 93 f., and these very forms may have been the chief factors in cementing the connexion of this participle with the perfect-system). It is therefore a question whether the partic. Skr. *vid-vás-* Gr. *φιδώς* *vid-ώς* has not descended as an unreduplicated form from a period older than the date at which this association had taken place; it is certain that the infinitive Avest. *vid-van-ōi* Gr. *ειδ-έν-αι* (§ 116 p. 363), whose connexion with the verb belongs to a comparatively late period, never had the reduplication. I conjecture that this participle of *ueid-* was always unreduplicated, and being a word very frequently used banished the reduplication even in the forms of the finite verb (Skr. *vēda* Gr. *οιδε* etc.). Other participles without reduplication must be explained in the same way, e. g. Skr. *sah-vás-* *viṣi-vás-*, Gr. *ειx-ώς*, *ἄγνυα* (sc. *ἡ ὁδός*) *αἰθνυα* (sc. *ῥενι*)<sup>2)</sup>, Lith. *džg-ęs* O.C.Sl. *žeg-ŭ*, Lith. *vėž-ęs* O.C.Sl. *vez-ŭ*.

The root-syllable has generally the weak-grade of Ablaut; this is regular in Aryan, as Skr. *ri-rik-vás-* beside *ri-rēc-a* 'he

1) J. Schmidt, *Das Suffix des participium perfecti activi*, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 329 ff. W. Schulze, *Zum participium perfecti activi*, ibid. XXVII 547 ff. (with this essay compare Spitzer, *Lautl. des arkad. Dialektes*, Kiel 1883, p. 11 ff.). F. Miklosich, *Beitr. zur altsloven. Gramm.*, Vienna 1875, p. 5 ff. (das Partic. praet. act. I).

2) Cp. E. Wörner, *Die Substantiva auf vna*, in *Sprachwissenschaft. Abh. aus G. Curtius' gramm. Gesellsch.* 1874 p. 111 ff. On p. 114 the author writes of participles like *ἄγνυα* that 'either they have lost their reduplication, or also — more probably — they never had any'.

set free, made empty', *ca-kr--vás-* beside *ca-kár-a* 'he made', Gr. *ἰδ-νῖα* f. 'knowing' beside *οἶδε*, Lith. *vil̃k-ęs* O.C.Sl. *vl̃ik-ŭ* beside the pres. *vellk-ŭ vl̃ek-a* 'I trail'. Certain forms, however, seem to have originally had the strong grade, that is *e* in the *e*-series, *ē* in the *ē*-series and so forth. This is indicated by Gr. *εἰδώς* (: *ἰδνῖα*, *οἶδε*), *κεκλεβώς* Messen. (: *κέκλοφε*), *ἐρρηγεῖα* Heracl. (: *ἐρρωγε*), *λεληκώς* (: *λελυκνῖα*), *ἀρηρώς* (*ἀραρνῖα*), *ἐστη-ώς* (: *ἐστᾶ-ώς*) and the like; also by Goth. *veitvōþ-s* 'witness', if, as is probable, its *ei* = Idg. *eĭ* (see below)<sup>1</sup>. It may be assumed, that originally this form of the root was proper to the strong cases of the masc. and neut., where the participial suffix appears in its *-o-* form (*-uōs-* not *-uēs-*): nom. sing. masc. *\*uēid-uōs* acc. *\*uēid-uos-ni*. Further explanation of the forms assumed by the root-syllable (e. g. Goth. *bēr-us-jōs* Lith. *sėd-ęs*) must be reserved for the section dealing with the formation of the perfect-stem.

With respect to the phonetic variation in the character of the participial suffix, our enquiry into its original form or forms is met by the same difficulties as we encountered in dealing with the primary comparative suffix (§ 135). Much has still to be explained.

Rem. 2. In Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXIV 69 ff. I have attacked the view (which J. Schmidt, *ibid.* XXVI 337 ff., has again undertaken to defend) that this suffix originally contained a nasal (*-uens-*). My criticism (§ 135 Rem. 1 p. 428) of the old view of the comparative suffix, applies equally well to this. It is absolutely untenable. The arguments on either side are on the whole the same, see *loc. cit.* I therefore still regard *-mes-* as the original form.

There is no record of a form *-umes-* parallel to *-mes-* (op. *-iēs-* beside *-ies-*). Osthoff, *Zur Gesch. d. Perf.* 401 ff., endeavours to shew that in Skr. forms like *ōkivās- paptivās-* the termination *-ivas-* took the place of *-uvas-*.

If we disregard this question as to the initial part of the suffix and regard it simply as *-mes-*, the following assumptions may be considered as adequately established for proethnic Indo-Germanic.

1. The nom. sing. masc. ended sometimes in *-uōs*, Gr. *εἰδ-ώς*, sometimes in *-uēs*, (Lith. *dā-vēs* instead of *\*dā-vēs* (see below). The pr. Ar. *-uās*, Avest. *viā-vā*, may represent either termination; here we must notice the

1) O.C.Sl. *vl̃ekŭ* and *br̃egŭ* prove nothing. See O. Wiedemann, *Beitr. zur althulg. Conjugation*, 1886. p. 132 f.



Skr. compounds with *d-dúš-śú*, as *d-vidvas-sú-vidvas-* beside *vid-vás-*, as favouring the view that *-uōs* and *-uēs* existed side by side in Aryan.

2. *-uos* in nom. acc. sing. neut.: Gr. *εἰδ-ός*. There was probably a parallel form *-uēs*, compare the masc. *-uēs*. It remains uncertain whether the Lat. neuter forms *cadāver* and *papāver* contained this suffix (*-ver* would have taken the place of the phonetically regular *\*-ves*).

3. *-uos*, or (under other conditions) *-ues*, in the voc. sing. m.: Skr. *vid-vas*.

4. *-uēs* in the loc. sing.: Skr. *\*-vas-i* (there is unfortunately not a single example of this case in our text of the Veda). We may again directly compare with this the feminine formation (cp. § 135 p. 429): nom. *-uē-si* gen. *-us-īēs*: Gr. *-εῖα* beside *-εῖα*; an original *γεγορεῖα*: *\*γεγορ-uā*; became, by levelling, on the one hand *γεγορεῖα*: *γεγορεῖας*, on the other *γεγορῖα*: *γεγορῖτας*; cp. also Laced. *βιδεοῖ* beside *βιδυοῖ* *ιδυοῖ* *ιδῶοι* name of an official ('inspectors').

5. *-us* in the weak cases: dat. sing. Skr. *vid-uś-ē* Avest. *vid-uś-ē*, gen. sing. Skr. *-uś-as* Avest. *-uś-ō*, gen. pl. Skr. *-uś-ām* Avest. *-uś-am*, instr. pl. Avest. *-uś-biš*. Further in the fem. suffix *-us-īē* and the corresponding masc. neut. *-us-īo-*: gen. sing. f. Skr. *vid-uś-yās* Gr. *ιδ-υῖα*, Gr. pl. *ιδυῖοι* *βιδυοῖ* (see 4), Goth. *bēr-us-jōs* m. 'parents', gen. sing. f. Lith. *vilk-us-ios* O.C.Sl. *vlūk-uše* gen. sing. m. Lith. *vilk-us-io* O.C.Sl. *vlūk-uša*. Cp. further the Ar. nom. sing. in *-uś*: Skr. *vid-uś* Avest. *vid-uś* *maman-uś* and other like forms, compare perhaps Osc. *sipus* 'sciens' and O.C.Sl. *vlūkū* (see below), and again the comparative formation Skr. *vid-uś-tara* Avest. *jāger-buš-tara*.

Lastly, I regard it as probable

6. That the strong cases of the masc. (except the nom. sing.) had *-uos-*, where the tense-stem bore the accent: acc. sing. Avest. *vid-vānh-em*.

It will be remembered that we have regarded *-ies-* as an extension of *-io-*, and assumed the existence, side by side with *-ies-*, of a form *-ien-* with the force of a comparative suffix (§ 135 p. 430). In the same way, I regard *-ues-* as an extension of *-uo-* (cp. Skr. *pak-vā-* Lat. *ar-vo-s* *pas-cuo-s* *perspicuo-s* *residuo-s* and the like, see G. Curtius, Ber. d. sächs. Ges. der Wiss., 1885, p. 432<sup>1)</sup>), and I assume the existence of a parallel form *-uet-*, made by the addition of the *-t-* (*-et-* *-ot-*) discussed in § 123 p. 389 ff. This *-uet-* appears in Greek and Gothic: Gr. acc. sing. *εἰδ-ότ-α* gen. sing. *εἰδ-ότ-ος* etc., Hom. *τεθνῆ-ωτ-α*, Goth. *veit-vōd-* 'witness'; *veit-vōd-*: *\*uid-ues-* = Goth. *mē-nōp-*: *\*mē-nes-* (Lith. gen. *mēnes-io*), see § 123 p. 393 f. The form *-uōt-* was originally proper to the nom. sing. masc., and the phonetic coincidence of *-uōs* and *-uōt-s* in Greek produced there the contaminated declension. I doubt, however, whether this was also the origin of the Skr. *-vāt-* in loc. pl. *vid-vāt-su* instr. pl. *vid-vād-bhiš* nom. acc. neut. *vid-vāt*. We saw in § 127 p. 405 that in protoethnic Aryan these participles

1) We have the two side by side in *\*ai-ues-* *\*ai-uo-* § 116 p. 362 f. § 133 p. 423.

coincided with the *vant*-stems in the formation of the nom. and voc. sing. masc.: *-yās* and *-yas*. Now pr. Ar. *\*-uś-śu* loc. pl. and *\*-už-bhiš* instr. pl. (Avest. *viđ-ūž-biš*) must have regularly become in Sanskrit *\*-uṣṣu* and *\*-udbhiš*, and similarly, *\*-yas-su* and *\*-yaz-bhiš* (if *-yas-* had taken the place of *-uś-* before the phonetic change of *ś* and *ž* came into operation) must have become *-vatsu* and *-vadbhiš* (I § 557 p. 412, § 591 p. 448). In either case, especially in the latter, a new and closer phonetic relation to the *cant*-stems was established. If *\*-uṣṣu* *\*-udbhiš* arose first, then it must have been just the association with the *vant*-stems that superseded these terminations by *-vat-su* *-vadbhiš*<sup>1</sup>). The neuter form *viđ-vāt* and the post-Vedic *vidvattara* 'wiser' *vidvattā- vidvattva-m* 'erudition' were further results of this connexion.

Now whence comes the nasal in Skr. *-vāṣ-*? To explain this as we explained the nasal in Skr. *-yāṣ-* (p. 431) as being derived from a form *-yem-* parallel to *-yes-*, is hardly probable, because there are no participial forms corresponding to the Greek comparative *μείων -oro-*; and the like. I conjecture that in early Sanskrit the nasal passed from *-vant-am* *-vant-as* to the nom. sing. in *\*-vās* (see § 127 p. 405), *\*agni-vās* becoming *agnī-vāṣ* (*-vān*), and thence passed on to the participles, first *viđ-vāṣ*, then *viđ-vāṣ-am* and so forth; it is possible also that *-vant-am* had a direct influence upon *\*-vās-am*.

And lastly, the *vant*-stems may have given rise to the later formation of the voc. sing. in *-van* instead of *-vas*, having first exchanged *-vas* for *-van* in their own system.

In Lithuanian we find *višk-es* beside *dā-ves*, Pruss. *laipinn-ons* beside *klanti-wuns*, O.C.Sl. *vlūk-ū* beside *da-vū*, similarly gen. *višk-us-io* beside *dā-vus-io*, *vlūk-ūša* beside *da-vūša*. In the nom. sing. the consistent absence of *v* after the consonant may have been caused by the fact that this sound regularly disappeared after certain consonants (op. I § 184 p. 160 f.)<sup>2</sup>); the form which the suffix took in these instances was then applied generally to all tense-stems that ended in a consonant. At the same time the absence of the *v* in the other cases (*višk-us-io* *vlūk-ūša* etc.) may have helped in forming the type. In the case of Slavonic however, we have further to take into account the possibility that there existed a nom. in *\*-us* (op. Skr. *viđ-ūṣ* etc. p. 440): *-ū* may be the regular phonetic representative of this ending. Lith. *-vens -ens*, *-ves -es* replaced *\*-vēs \*-ēs* through the influence of the present form *-ans -as* (*-ens* probably arose first, on the model of *-ans*, then *-vens* likewise); and a further consequence was that the neuter of the preterite in *-vę -ę* was formed upon the neuter of the present in *-a*. The Prussian *-wuns -ons* (*-uns -ons*) is a similar analogical formation; but it remains an open question whether the original

1) This association prevented the developement of forms parallel to the loc. pl. *māhiyassu* and the instr. pl. *māhiyōbhiš* (see I § 557 Rem. p. 412, § 591 Rem. 2 p. 448).

2) In l. 18 of this page read 'after initial *s-* (*sz-*)' instead of 'before'.

form here was *\*-uēs*, whose *e*-vowel, after the insertion of the nasal, became *o* (*u*) because of the preceding *u*-sound, or whether we should take Idg. *\*-uōs* as our starting-point. In Slavonic we have masc. *-vŭ -ŭ* and neut. *-vŭ -ŭ*, just as in the present *-y* serves for both genders: as here *-y* passed from the masc. to the neut., so probably did *-vŭ -ŭ* in the preterite, the old neuter form falling out of use. If now *-ŭ* = Idg. *\*-us*, it is a very natural suggestion that *-vŭ* arose from a contamination of *\*-us* and *\*-uēs* or *\*-uōs*. But *-vŭ* may have arisen in the same way as *-ŭ* (p. 429 f.): if so, there once existed side by side masc. *-vā* = Idg. *\*-uōs* and neut. *\*-vo* = Idg. *\*-uos*; *\*-vo* produced the masc. *-vŭ* and was itself afterwards driven out of the field by *-vŭ*. Gen. Lith. *dā-vus-io* O.C.Sl. *da-vŭša* owe their *r* to the nom. (we should expect *\*d-us-io* *\*d-ŭša*); Lith. *būvusio* O.C.Sl. *byvŭša* (beside *bū-ves by-vŭ*) are to be analysed as *būv-usio byv-ŭša* (instead of *\*būv-ŭša*), and thus these forms may have helped to give currency to the formations *dāvusio* etc. O.C.Sl. *chvaljŭ chvaljŭša* for *\*chvaljŭ* *\*chvaljŭša* (later *chvalivŭ chvalivŭša*) follow the type of the non-derivative verbs, cp. part. pret. pass. *chvaljenŭ* like *vedenŭ* (Wiedemann, Beitr. zur altbulg. Conjug. 134).

It is to be hoped that the explanations advanced here and on p. 429 ff. will not meet with the fate which has befallen J. Schmidt's attempt to elucidate the same difficult theme, and be regarded as 'final'. We are still, I think, some distance, perhaps a very considerable distance, from a final conclusion.

Idg. Skr. *ri-rik-vās-* Gr. *λε-λοιπ-ός* Lith. *lik-ēs*, *✓leiq-* 'leave at liberty, leave'. Skr. *bū-bhuj-vās-* Gr. *πε-γευγ-ός* Lith. *būg-es*, *✓bheug-* 'bend, (bend aside, extricate oneself, fear)'. Skr. *bā-bhū-vās-* Gr. *πε-γυ-ός* Lith. *bū-ves* O.C.Sl. *by-vŭ*, *✓bhey-* 'become'. Skr. *ma-mṛ-vās-* (*ma-mṛ-ūṣ-*) Lith. *mŭr-ēs* O.C.Sl. *mŭr-ŭ*, *✓mer-* 'die'. Skr. *ādi-vās-* (*ād-ūṣ-*) Gr. *ἐδ-ηδ-ός* Lith. *ēd-ēs* O.C.Sl. *jad-ŭ*, *✓ed-* 'eat, devour'. Skr. *da-d-vās-* *da-di-vās-* *da-dā-vās-* (*da-d-ūṣ-*) Lith. *dā-ves* O.C.Sl. *da-vŭ*, *✓dō-* 'give'. Skr. *ta-sthi-vās-* (*ta-sth-ūṣ-*) Gr. *ἐ-στα-ός* *ἐ-στοός*, *ἐ-στη-ός* *ἐ-στεός* O.C.Sl. *sta-vŭ*, *✓stā-* 'stand'.

Aryan. Skr. *ci-kit-vās-* *ci-kit-ūṣ-* Avest. *ci-kiṣ-wah-* *ci-ciṣuṣ-* (a re-formation in place of *\*cicit-ūṣ-*) beside Skr. perf. *ci-kēt-a* 'he knows, discerns', cp. *ci-kit-* instead of *ci-cit-*, I § 448 Rem. p. 333. Skr. *bū-budh-vās-* *bū-budh-ūṣ-* beside *bū-bōdh-a* 'he awoke, noticed, marked': Lith. *pa-būdeṣ* 'awake', *✓bheydh-*. Skr. *ūci-vās-* *ūc-ūṣ-* Avest. *vaok-uṣ-* beside Skr. *u-vāc-a* *va-vāc-a* 'he spoke', *✓ueq-*. Skr. *va-vṛt-vās-* *va-vṛt-ūṣ-* beside *va-vārt-a* 'he turned': Lith. *viṛt-ēs* 'overturned, having altered oneself', *✓uert-*. Avest. *vā-ver<sup>z</sup>-uṣ-* from *var<sup>z</sup>-* 'perform, execute':

Gr. \*ἐ-οργ-ώς, √ *uerġ-*. Skr. *ca-kṛ-vás-* *ca-kṛ-ús-* beside *ca-kār-a* 'he made', √ *qer-*. Skr. *va-van-vás-* *va-vn-ús-* Avest. *va-van-vah-* *vaon-uš-* from Ar. *van-* 'gain', ground-form \**ue-uṇ-ues-* \**ue-uṇ-us-* (I § 229 p. 195). Skr. *ja-ghan-vás-* (later also *ja-ghni-vás-*) *ja-ghn-ús-* from *han-* 'strike, slay': Lith. *gìn-ēs* 'having driven (cattle)' O.C.Sl. *žin-ŭ* 'having cut off, harvested', √ *ghen-*. Skr. *ja-gan-vás-* (later also *ja-gmi-vás-*) *ja-gm-ús-* Avest. *ja-ym-uš-* (cp. I § 199 Rem. 2 p. 168, § 225 p. 192 f.): Gr. *βε-βα-ώς* no doubt instead of \**βεβαν-(f)ως* (cp. the last-mentioned passage, and the Greek section below), Lith. *gim-ēs* 'having come into the world' (I § 249 p. 204), √ *gem-*. Skr. *bi-bhī-vás-* *bi-bhy-ús-* Avest. *bi-wi-vah-* beside Skr. *bi-bhāy-a* 'he was afraid', √ *bhej-*. Skr. *śu-śru-vás-* *śu-śruv-ús-* beside *śu-śrāv-a* 'he heard', √ *kley-*. Skr. *pa-pti-vás-* *pa-pt-ús-* beside *pa-pāt-a* 'he shot through the air, flew': Gr. *πεπτώς* for \**πε-πτα-ώς* (*πε-πτηώς* *πε-πτεώς* are later formations following the perfect of *στᾶ*), √ *pet-*. Skr. *sēdi-vás-* *sēd-ús-* beside *sa-sād-a* 'sat', *sēd-* = Avest. *hazd-* I § 591 p. 447: Lith. *sēd-ēs* 'having seated oneself', √ *sed-*. Avest. *ta-ḥk-uš-* beside *tac-* 'run' (I § 473 p. 349): O.C.Sl. *tek-ŭ* 'having run, flowed'. Skr. *da-d-vás-* (*da-di-vás-* *da-dā-vás-*) *da-d-ús-* Avest. *da-ḍ-vah-* *da-ḍ-uš-* 'δεδω-κώς': Lith. *dā-vēs* O.C.Sl. *da-vŭ*, √ *dō-* 'give'. Skr. *ja-jñi-vás-* *ja-jñ-ús-* and *jān-ús-* beside *ja-jñāu* 'he knew' pres. *jā-nā-ti*: O.C.Sl. *zna-vŭ* beside *zna-ti* 'to know'.

Greek. *δεῖ-ώς* *δεῖ-viū* *id-vīu* beside *οἶδ-ε* 'he knows': Skr. *vid-vás-* *vid-ús-* beside *vēd-a* 'he knows', √ *meid-*; cp. also Goth. *veit-vōþ-s* 'witness' p. 440. *εἰκ-ώς* *οἶκ-ώς* *ἐ-οικ-ώς* beside *ἐ-οικ-ε* *οἶκ-ε* 'it is like, resembles, appears', *τε-τευχ-ώς* 'prepared, made ready' beside *τέ-τυκ-ται* *τε-τεύχ-αται*. *ἐλθλουθ-ώς* *εἰλθλουθ-ώς* beside *εἰλθλουθ-ε* *ἀπ-ελθλουθ-ε* 'is come'. *πε-πονθ-ώς* *πε-παθ-νῖα* beside *πέ-πονθ-ε* 'he has suffered', *πενθ-*. *τε-τροφ-ώς* *τε-τραφ-ώς* beside *τί-τροφ-ε*, *τέ-τραφ-ε*, pres. *τρέπω* 'I turn'. *δε-δορκ-ώς* beside *δέ-δορκ-ε*, pres. *δέρκο-μαι* 'I see': Skr. *da-dṛś-vás-* *da-dṛś-ús-*, √ *derk-* 'see'. *πε-πορδ-ώς* beside *πί-πορδ-ε* 'pepedit': Lith. *pėrd-ēs* Lett. *pi'rd-is*, √ *perd-*. *δι-εφθορ-ώς* beside *δι-ίφθορε*, pres. *δια-φθείρω* 'I destroy'. *γε-γον-ώς* beside *γέ-γον-ε* pl. *γέ-γα-μεν*, aor.

ἐ-γένε-το 'arose, became'; the parallel form γε-γα-ώς γεγώς γε-γα-υῖα, like με-μα-ώς (✓ *men-*) and βε-βα-ώς (✓ *gem-*), was a new formation suggested by γέ-γα-μεν (μέ-μα-μεν βέ-βα-μεν) etc. and modelled upon ἐ-στα-ώς: ἐ-στα-μεν. δε-δι-ώς beside δέ-δι-μεν 'we feared' 1. sing. δέιδω i. e. δέδω for \*δέ-δφο(ι)-α, ✓ *du-ei-* πε-φν-ώς: Skr. *ba-bhā-vās-* etc., see p. 442 above. τε-τοκ-ώς beside ἔ-τεκ-ε 'he begat'. ἐ-στα-ώς ἐ-στώς and ἐ-στη-ώς ἐ-στεώς beside ἐ-στα-μεν 'we stand': Skr. *ta-sthi-vās-* etc., see p. 442 above. πι-πηγ-ώς beside πέ-πηγ-ε 'is fitted, fixed', ✓ *pak- paḡ-* στε-σηρ-ώς σε-σαρ-υῖα beside σαίρω 'I sweep'.

The suffix is sometimes found in derivative verbs, as Hom. *κεχαρη-ώς* beside *κεχάρη-μαι* (aor. ἐ-χάρ-ην, pres. χαίρω 'I rejoice'), *βεβαρη-ώς* 'gravatus' beside pres. βαρέω, Boeot. inscr. *φε-φεῦκονο-μειόντων* = Att. *ὠκονομηκότων* beside *οἰκονομέω* 'I govern' (for -όντων instead of -ότων see below), all following the formation of τεθνη-ώς κε-κμη-ώς and the like. Cp. O.O.Sl. *želě-ŭi*.

It was further extended to the κ-perfect: δεδωκ-ώς beside δέ-δωκ-ε 'has given', ἐ-στηκ-ώς beside ἔ-στηκ-ε 'stands', τετίμηκ-ώς beside τε-τίμηκ-ε 'has honoured' and so forth.

The feminine forms in -εῖα -εῖας (see p. 440) appear in Doric dialects and in Attic: e. g. Heracl. ἐρογγ-εῖα Ther. ἐστᾱκ-εῖα, Att. γεγον-εῖα.

It occurs in Homeric forms with -(f)ωτ- instead of -(f)οτς, whose ω was taken from the nom. sing. masc., e. g. πε-φν-ῶτ-α-, με-μα-ῶτ-ες -ῶτ-ος, τε-θνη-ῶτ-α. Cp. μήσ-τωρ-α formed on the pattern of μήσ-τωρ § 120 Rem. p. 380, § 122 p. 386.

These perfect participles, like the other forms of the perfect stem, were remodelled on the analogy of the presents in -ω in different dialects, especially in those of the Aeolic group: e. g. Lesb. *πεπληρώκοντα ἐνεργετήκοισαν*, Thess. *ἐν-οικο-δομεικόν-τεσσι*, Boeot. *φεφεῦκονομειόντων* (see above), Hom. *κεκλήγοντες*, Hesiod. *ἐροῦντι*, Pind. *πεφρίκοντας*, Delph. *τετελευκᾶκούσας*. Here it was a purely syntactic consideration, viz- the similarity of meaning (the Greek Perfect being a Present in point of time) that suggested this transfer to the system of the present-inflexion; the new feminine formations, on the other hand, such as Hom.

Att. *βεβῶσα*, Att. *ἑστῶσα τεθιῶσα*, Herod. *ἑστεῶσα*, with precisely the same endings as the pres. part. *τιμῶσα* and the like, were in part also determined by the contracted forms in *-ωτ-* (*ἑστῶτ-* for *ἑστάοτ-*, *τεθνεῶτ-* for *τεθνηότ-*) of the corresponding masc. and neut.; the *-ω-* of these feminines in *-ῶσα* was taken from the corresponding masc. and neut., the *-σα* from the pres. part. fem. I do not believe that *ἑστῶσα* is derived from a hypothetical *\*ἑστάουσα*.

Italic. An attempt has been made to trace this suffix in Lat. *cadāver* and *papāver*, the former being regarded as 'that which has fallen' (*cadō cadā-bundu-s*, cp. *πτῶμα* 'corpse') or 'that which has been destroyed' (*cadamitās cassu-s* Skr. *kad-*, see Bersu Die Gutturalen und ihre Verbindung mit *v* im Lat. p. 170), the latter as 'that which is inflated' (*papula pampinu-s*), and both compared with participles like Gr. *κεκαρηώς* (Curtius, Das Verb der gr. Spr. II<sup>2</sup> 250). The suffix has also been traced in Lat. perfects like *sē-vī strā-vī amā-vī*, which have been regarded as examples of a crystallised periphrastic formation of the same kind as the Skr. fut. *datāsmi* 'I will give' (dator sum, daturus sum) (Curtius, Ber. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., 1855, p. 421 ff., Schulze, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 266 ff.). Lastly, the same suggestion has been made for Osc. *sipus* 'sciens' (τ), as compared with a Lat. perf. *\*sēp-ī* equivalent to *sapui* (J. Schmidt, XXVI 372 ff.); its termination might have come from either *ibid.* Idg. *\*-us* or *\*-uōs* (cp. p. 440).

This suggestion is most plausible as applied to *sip-us*, least as applied to *sē-vī*.

In Germanic only a few isolated examples have survived. Goth. *bēr-us-jōs* pl. m. 'parents' ('they that have brought forth'), *✓bher-*, cp. indic. 1. pl. *bērum* 1. sing. *bar*. A.S. *ēzesa ēzsa* O.Sax. *ēcso* m. 'owner' = Goth. *\*áig-us-ja* m., beside Goth. *áigan* 'to have, possess'. The suffix is *-us-jo-* as in the Gr. pl. *ιδῶτοι*, gen. sing. Lith. *vilkusio* O.C.Sl. *vlūkūša* (p. 440).

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *geĩd-ęs* beside *geidžiũ* 'I long for, desire', O.C.Sl. *žid-ŭ* beside *židq žĩdq* 'I wait, await'. O.C.Sl. *čĩt-ŭ* beside *čũt-q* 'I reckon, esteem, honour'. Lith. *kiĩt-ęs* beside

*kertù* 'I hew, strike', O.C.Sl. *črit-ū* beside *črīt-q* 'I cut': Skr. *ca-kyt-vás-* beside *kynt-ā-ti* 'cuts, splits', √ *qert-*. Lith. *mīlž-ęs* beside *mēlžu* 'I milk', O.C.Sl. *mlūz-ū* beside *mlūza* 'I milk', √ *melg-*. Lith. *līnk-ęs* beside *linkstū* 'I bend myself', *leñk-ęs* beside *lenkiū* 'I bend', O.C.Sl. *lēk-ū* beside *lēka* 'I bend'. Lith. *mīn-ęs* beside *menū* 'I bethink me': Avest. *ma-man-uš* (p. 440) √ *men-*. Lith. *pīn-ęs* beside *pinū* 'I plait', O.C.Sl. *pīn-ū* beside *pīna* 'I stretch, hang', √ (*s*)*pen-*. Lith. *vēm-ęs* beside *vemiū* 'I vomit' Skr. *vēmi-vás-* beside Skr. *va-vām-a* 'he vomited', √ *uem-*. Lith. *mīr-ęs* O.C.Sl. *mīr-ū* 'dead', see p. 442 above. Lith. *vēr-ęs* beside *veriū* 'I open or shut the door' (Pruss. *et-wiriuns*) O.C.Sl. *vīr-ū* beside *vīra* 'I open or shut the door', √ *uer-*. Lith. *gēr-ęs* beside *geriū* 'I drink' O.C.Sl. *žīr-ū* beside *žīra* 'I swallow', √ *ger-*. O.C.Sl. *stīr-ū* and *pro-strīvū* (originally *\*stīr-us* : *\*stī-ues-*) beside *stīra* 'I stretch', √ *ster-*. Lith. *vēž-ęs* O.C.Sl. *vez-ū* beside *vežū veza* 'veho': Skr. *ūhi-vás-* *ūh-ūš-* beside indic. *u-vāh-a* 'vexit', √ *uegh-*. Lith. *dēg-ęs* O.C.Sl. *žeg-ū* beside *degū žega* 'I burn'. O.C.Sl. *pek-ū* beside *pek-q* 'I bake': Skr. *pēcī-vás-* *pēc-ūš-* beside indic. *pa-pāc-a* 'coxit', √ *peq-*. Lith. *sēd-ęs* beside *sėdu* 'I sit': Skr. *sēdi-vás-*, see p. 443 above. Lith. *dā-vęs* O.C.Sl. *da-vū* beside *dā-ti da-ti* 'to give': Skr. *da-d-vás-*, see p. 443 above. O.C.Sl. *dē-vū* beside *dē-ti* 'to lay', √ *dhē-*; Lith. *dėjęs dėjusio*, following the pret. *dėjau*, inf. *dē-ti* 'to lay'. O.C.Sl. *sta-vū* beside *sta-ti* 'to place oneself', see p. 442 above, and compar. the Pruss. *po-stāuns* i. e. *-stāwuns* (cp. below, *klantiwuns* beside *klantiūns*); Lith. *stójęs stójusio*, following the pret. *stójau*, inf. *stó-ti* 'to place oneself, step'. Lith. *saus-ęs* Lett. *sus-is* beside Lith. *saustiū* 'I become dry', O.C.Sl. *sūch-ū* beside *sūchna* 'I become dry': Skr. *śu-śuś-vás-* beside indic. *śu-śōś-a* 'he became dry', √ *says-* (cp. I § 557 p. 413).

Just as the Lithuanian participles *dėjęs* and *stójęs* follow the preterite in *-jau*, so do the forms *mātes mēcziusio* (: pret. *macziaū* pres. *mataū* inf. *matý-ti* 'to see'), *válges vālgiusio* (: pret. *vālgiau* pres. *vālgau* inf. *vālgý-ti* 'to eat'); where it should be observed, that *mātes vālgęs*, earlier *mātenš vālgens*, according to the regular phonetic laws must be referred to *\*matjens \*valgjens*

(I § 147 p. 131). Further examples of the same sort are *penējēs* beside *penējau* 'I nourished, fattened', *jēskójes* beside *jēskójau* 'I sought'. On the other hand we find *u* in the Pruss. *klantī-wuns* 'having condemned' (*klantī-t* 'to condemn'), less correctly written *klantīuns*; and similarly *signāuns* (*signā-t* 'to bless'), *teikūuns* (*teiku-t* 'to form, make') as well as the form *postāuns* quoted above must have had the termination *-uns*.

O.C.Sl. *bužďi* for *\*būd-jū* beside pres. *bužďa* inf. *budi-ti* 'to wake' *chvaljī* beside pres. *chvalja* inf. *chvali-ti* 'to praise' etc., are like Lith. *mātes māčiusio*; later we have *-ivū*, as *budivū chvalivū*. Cp. p. 442. *dēla-vū* beside *dēla-ja dēla-ti* 'to work'. *žėlė-vū* beside *žėlė-ja žėlė-ti* 'wish'.

## MEANING CONVEYED BY THE SUFFIXES: NOUNS CLASSIFIED FROM THIS POINT OF VIEW.

§ 137. In the foregoing account of the formation of noun-stems (§ 59—136) our classification has been based upon the phonetic character of the formative suffixes. It will be useful to re-arrange the facts of this chapter in the history of noun-formation from the point of view of their meaning.

Considered in this respect the different suffixes have many points in common and are connected in many ways; all of which can be exhibited more clearly and studied more directly by a fresh survey.

The original meaning of the proethnic Indo-Germanic formative suffixes is unknown; accordingly the method by which we are to consider them must be based upon the logical categories which they generally serve to denote. We need not concern ourselves with the question whether any given suffix in its very oldest usage was, or was not, capable of fully expressing the idea which it helps to represent in those periods of the history of language which we are able to observe.

It is only a small proportion of the formative suffixes in which we can trace from the beginning a simple and clearly



defined function; as, for example, in the comparative *-tero-*. Most of them serve several purposes, and it is often impossible to reconcile the meanings of a particular suffix. It must be admitted, however, that it is far from certain whether in such cases we have really to recognise only one formative element. The same group of sounds may have more than one etymological origin, e. g. *-mo-* as a suffix of comparison (Lat. *summu-s* for \**sup-mo-*) may have a different origin from *-mo-* in substantives like Lat. *fū-mu-s ani-mu-s* (§ 72 p. 170 ff.).

In the following sections there is no need to do more than emphasise the most important points. I have not attempted to make the survey absolutely comprehensive from any point of view.

#### A d j e c t i v e s .

§ 138. Variation according to gender (masc. neut. fem.), and the formation of derivatives to denote comparison (degrees of comparison), are usually assigned as the chief characteristics of adjectives as such in the Indo-Germanic languages. However these types of inflexion are all found in substantives also, so that no hard and fast line can be drawn between the two groups.

The suffixes which appear in adjectives in the proethnic and later periods are all found in substantives as well. The question then arises, whether the substantival or the adjectival use is the older. In some cases the latter is undoubtedly earlier, e. g. Lat. *caprina* in *pellis caprina* and the like, compared with *caprina* 'goat's flesh' (§ 154). In another group of forms, however, the substantival meaning seems to have been the older e. g. Skr. *māhas-* 'greatness' compared with *mahás-* 'great', Gr. *ψεῦδες* 'deceit' compared with *ψευδέος* 'deceitful' (§ 155). In other instances again, no distinction is possible *a priori*, e. g. in Avest. *per<sup>na</sup>-* f. 'plena' and 'plenitudo, plenitas' (§ 158).

Many Indo-Germanic adjectival suffixes have no definite meaning to distinguish their own class of adjectives from others. The most sharply defined are those with a comparative meaning. These we will consider first.

§ 139. Adjectives with Comparative meaning. The elements of meaning which are really distinctive of this class are first the idea of contrast by comparison, and secondly the idea that what is predicated by the adjective is only true in a relative and limited sense.

*-io-* in *\*al-io-s* 'alius', *\*medh-io-s* 'medius' *\*me-io-s* 'meus' and the like simply helps to express the idea of contrast by comparison, which is given by the root itself. See § 63, 3 p. 132 f. It may be conjectured that *-io-* had etymologically nothing to do with the notion of comparison, but that in the earliest or some of the earliest of these adjectives the suffix came to participate in this idea, which was really expressed by the root of the word (cp. § 57 p. 104 f.); and that it was then used independently in other words with the same force.

*-ies-* (*-ien-*) which is probably an extension of *-io-*, expresses primarily contrast by comparison in the widest sense. The adjectives formed with this suffix came into close connexion with other adjectives of the same root and the same root-meaning, where the idea of relativity was wanting; hence they were applied to express not so much absolute contrast (as that of 'new' : 'old') as limited contrast ('new in comparison with something else which must also be called new') A further limitation of meaning appeared with the *to* derivative *-is-to-* (§ 81 p. 242 ff.). A distinction in usage sprang up between *-ies-* (*-is-*) and *-is-to-*, which is analogous to that between *-ero-* *-tero-* and *-mo-* (*-mmo-*) *-tmmo-*: whilst *-is-to-* denotes comparison with several other objects, *-ies-* (*-is-*) is confined to comparison with one other. E. g. comparative Skr. *lāgh-īyas-* Avest. *renj-yah-* Gr. *ελάσσων* and superlative Skr. *lāgh-iṣṭha-s* Gr. *ελάχιστος* beside Skr. *lāgh-ú-ṣ* Gr. *ελαχίς* ('agile, small, little'). In formations like Gr. *ἀριστερός* 'left', as contrasted with 'right' (§ 75 p. 190 ff.), the notion of contrast with a single other thing is still further expressed by the addition of *-tero-*; for this suffix, as we shall see, was especially used in the Indo-Germanic period and later to express ideas which are contrasted absolutely. See § 135 p. 427 ff.

*-ero-* and *-tero-* seem to have been first used only in words expressing conceptions of space and time, and in certain pronouns of a different meaning. In these the comparison contains only one notion, that of strong contrast, like 'below': 'above'. \**ṛdh-ero-* 'lower': Skr. *ádharma-*, O.H.G. *undaro*; \**en-tero-* 'inner': Skr. *ántara-*, Armen. *ender-ē*, Gr. *ἐντερο-ν*, Lat. *inter-ior*, O.C.Sl. *jětro*. \**qo-tero-* 'which (of two)?': Skr. *katará-* Gr. *πότερο-ς*, Umbr. *podruh-pei*, Goth. *hvaþar*, Lith. *katrà-s*. Add certain examples found in single languages, as Armen. *mer* O.Ir. *ar n-* Goth. *unsar* 'our', Gr. *ἡμέτερο-ς* Lat. *nos-ter* 'our' (contrasted with 'your'), Gr. *ἀγρότερο-ς* 'dwelling in the open fields, wild', thus having the sense of *ἄγριο-ς*, but originally distinguished from it by the reference to its opposite *ἄστυ*. In Aryan and Greek *-tero-* then became a common comparative suffix for adjectives of any formation and meaning, like Skr. *amá-tara-* Gr. *ωμότερο-ς* compared with *amá-* *ωμός* 'raw', and here there was comparison no longer with the absolutely opposite idea, but with the notion expressed by the so-called positive; probably this process was completed partly through association with the other group of comparatives formed with *-ies-*, such as Skr. *svád-īyas-* Gr. *ἡδ-ιω* (acc. sing.). In the older stratum of comparatives, like \**en-tero-* \**ni-tero-*, it is seldom that the idea of relative contrast appears, as in Gr. *πρότερον ἢ* 'before that' Osc. *pruter-pan* 'prius quam'. See § 75 p. 188 ff.

*-to-* *-is-to-* *-mo-* (*-ἡμο-*) *-t-ἡμο-*. *-to-* and *-mo-* are found first in numerals, where they were used to express position in a numerical series, e. g. \**dekṃto-* 'decimus': Gr. *δέκατο-ς* Goth. *taihunda* Lith. *desziñta-s* O.C.Sl. *desętŭ*, \**septmo-* \**septḡmo-* 'septimus': Skr. *saptamá-* Gr. *ἐβδομο-ς* Lat. *septimu-s* O.Ir. *sechtm-ad* Lith. *sėkma-s* O.C.Sl. *sedmy-jŭ*. Thus these suffixes were suited to set one particular idea in comparison with several others separately. Hence *-is-to-* was formed beside *-ies-* *-is-*, to express comparison with a number of objects, cp. e. g. Gr. *μέγιστος ἐγὼ ὑμῶν* 'I am greater than any one of you' (*μεῖζων ἐγὼ ὑμῶν* 'I am greater than you', *ὑμεῖς* being regarded as a single notion), *πόλεμον ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγεννημένων*

'more remarkable than any one of the preceding wars' (Thucyd I 1). *-mo-* passed from the numerals to those stems which expressed ideas of space and time and contained the suffix of contrast *-ero-*, forming either (in contrast to *-ero-*) the true superlative, as *\*up-mo- \*up-ḡmo-* 'uppermost, highest' (Skr. *upamā-* Lat. *summu-s*) beside *\*upero-*, or, as in Gothic, a general expression of comparison, e. g. Phil. 2, 3 *sis aúhuman* 'se superiorem' (from which was derived the normal superlative *aúhum-ist-s*). In the same way, *-tṃmo-* ranged itself beside *-tero-*, and in Aryan it proved quite as fertile a suffix. See § 72 p. 166 ff., § 73 p. 177 ff., § 81 p. 242 ff.

In Lettish *-aka-* became the usual suffix of comparison; *sa'ld-ák-s* 'sweeter'. See § 89 p. 273 f.

§ 140. Verbal Adjectives. Under this head I include all such adjectives as have a more or less participial character, cp. § 144. Here we may make several subdivisions.

#### 1. Forms with Active Meaning.

*-nt-*. *\*bhero-nt-* 'bearing': Skr. *bhárant-* Gr. *φέρων* Lat. *ferēns* Goth. *batrand-s* O.C.Sl. *bery*. See § 126 p. 396 ff.

*-ues-*, with the implied idea of a completed action (cp. 3 below). Skr. *ririk-vás-* Gr. *λειπώς* Lith. *lik-es* 'having let free, left'. Goth. *bēr-us-jōs* 'parents' ('those who have brought us into the world'). See § 136 p. 438 ff.

Other forms, found in single languages, are: Skr. *-vant-*, in *kṛtá-vant-* 'factum habens, having done', see § 127 p. 406. Slav. *-lo-* in *bi-lŭ* 'having smitten', see § 76 p. 212 ff.

#### 2. Forms with Medial and Passive Meaning.

*-mno- -meno- -mono-* had from the earliest period the same meaning as the medial personal-endings. Skr. *yája-māna-* Avest. *yaza-mna-* Gr. *ἄζόμενος* partic. of *yája-tē yazai-tē* ἄζεται 'he honours'. See § 71 p. 163 ff.

*-mo-* has the same meaning as *-mno-* in Umbro-Samnitic and Balto-Slavonic. Umbr. *persnih-mu* 'precamino' Osc. *censa-mu-r* 'censemino', Lith. *vėža-ma-s* 'being carried, fit to be carried'. See § 72 p. 166.

Ar. *-ana-* is used as a medio-passive suffix, as in Skr.

*dūh-āna-s dūgh-āna-s*, beside the act. indic. *dōgdhi* 'he milks'. See § 67 p. 151 f.

3. Forms expressing completed action and hence a state, chiefly passive.

-to-. \**klū-tó-* 'heard, famed': Skr. *śrutá-* Gr. *κλυτός* Lat. *in-clutu-s* O.Ir. *cloth* O.H.G. *Hlot-hari* ('Lothair') *hlūt* ('loud'). \**gm-tó-*: Skr. *gatá-* 'gone, gone forth, come' *á-gata-* 'untrodden', Gr. *παρός* 'trodden, passable', Lat. *circum-ventu-s*. See § 79 p. 218 ff.

-no- -*yno-* and in some of the languages also -*eno-on o-*. \**pl-nó-* \**pl-nó-* 'filled, full': Skr. *pūrṇá-* Avest. *per-na-* O.Ir. *lan* Goth. *full-s* Lith. *pilna-s* O.C.Sl. *plünü*; Gr. *στυγρός* 'hated'; Lith. *kiš-na-s* 'exalted'. Goth. *fulg-in-s* 'hidden'; O.C.Sl. *vez-enü* 'carried'. Goth. *vaurp-an-s* O.H.G. *gi-wort-an* 'become'. See § 65 p. 138 ff.

-*yes-*, with active sense, see 1 p. 451.

4. Forms expressing the feasibility, possibility, or necessity of the action; passive.

-*io-* -*io-*. Skr. *yāj-ya-s* Gr. *ἄγ-ιος* 'venerandus'. Skr. *dṛś-ya-s* *dárs-ya-s* 'visible, worth seeing'. Gr. *στυγ-ιος* 'abominable, detested'. Lat. *ex-im-ius* 'eximendus, distinguished'. Goth. *brūk-s* (stem *brūk-ja-*) O.H.G. *prūchi* 'useful'. See § 63, 1 p. 123 ff.

-*tno-* -*tno-*. Lat. *dandu-s* 'who is to be given'. Lith. *sūk-tina-s* 'torquendus'. See § 69, 2 p. 161 ff.

Further the words formed with -*to-* (3) seem to have sometimes implied this secondary meaning even in Indo-Germanic, primarily however in negative usages. It is found especially in Greek, as *λυτός* 'that may be freed or loosed'. See § 79, 1 p. 220.

Forms peculiar to single groups of languages: Skr. -*tva-*, *kár-tva-s* 'faciendus', see § 61 p. 116. Skr. -*tav-ya-*, *kar-tavyà-s* 'faciendus' see § 63 p. 126 f. Gr. -*τεο-* clearly for -*τεφο-*, *διωκ-τέο-* 'who is to be pursued', see § 64 p. 135 with Rem. 1. Occasionally this meaning can be seen in the *no-* adjectives (3), as Gr. *άγρός* 'venerandus, deserving of honour, holy', *σεμειός*

'timendus, terrible', *ἔδαρό-ς* 'eatable'; similarly in Lith. *-ma-* (2), as *vẽša-ma-s* 'fit to be carried, transportable', *sūka-ma-s* 'capable of being twisted'.

§ 141. Denominative Adjectives. The relation to the noun from which they are derived may be any one of many different kinds: the word may mean 'made of the same material', 'belonging to the same species', 'derived from', 'possessing', 'being provided with' etc.

*-ino- -īno- -a\*ino-*. This is especially used with the meaning 'made or consisting of', 'arising from', 'belonging to the same kind as' that which the original noun expresses. Gr. *φῆγ-ινο-ς* 'beechen' (*φηγό-ς*). Lith. *auks-ina-s* 'golden' (*auksa-s*). Avest. *bawr-aēni-š* Lith. *bebr-in-t-s* Lat. *fibr-īnu-s* 'coming from the beaver' (e. g. fur). Skr. *sat-īnā-s* (*sānt-*) Gr. *ἀλγθ-ινό-ς* (*ἀλγθής*) O.H.G. *wār-in* (*wār*) 'truthful'. See § 68 p. 155 ff.

*-uent-*. The chief meaning is 'provided with' that which the original word denotes; more rarely it means, 'of the same kind'. Skr. *viśā-vant-* 'poisoned, poisonous' Lat. *vīrōsu-s* 'poisonous' (*viśā-m vīru-s* 'poison'). Gr. *οἰνό-εις* 'made from or with wine', Lat. *vīnōsu-s* 'full of wine, like wine' (*οἶνο-ς vīnu-m* 'wine'). Skr. *putrā-vant-* 'having a son or sons' (*putrā-s* 'son'). Gr. *χαρί-εις* 'graceful, gracious' (*χάρι-ς* 'grace'). Lat. *verbōsu-s* 'full of words, diffuse' (*verbu-m* 'word'). See § 127 p. 404 ff.

*-tno- -tyno-*. This is found in adjectives formed from temporal adverbs. Skr. *pra-tnā-s* 'ancient, old', *nū-tna-s nū-tana-s* 'present'. Lat. *diā-tinu-s*, *crās-tinu-s*, Lith. *dabar-tina-s* 'present'. See § 69, 1 p. 160.

*-go-* occurs in adjectives derived from adverbs, which chiefly express ideas of space. Skr. *nī-ca-* 'low, going downwards', O.C.Sl. *ni-c-ī* 'pronus'. Lat. *reci-procu-s* orig. 'turned backwards and forwards'. Besides these, *-go-* and also *-iqo-* are found in adjectives formed from substantives; the relation to the original word varies very widely. Skr. *sūct-ka-s* 'pricking' (*sūct-* 'needle'), *śindhu-ka-s* 'arising from the Indus' (*śindhu-ś*), Lat. *amni-cu-s* (*amni-s*), O.Ir. *sūile-ch* 'oculeus' (*sūil* n. 'oculus'), Goth. *stáina-h-s* O.H.G. *steina-g* 'stony' (Goth. *stáin-s* O.H.G. *stein* 'stone'). Skr.

*paryāy-iká-s* 'strophic' (*paryāyá-s* 'strophe'), Gr. *νυμφ-ικό-ς* 'bridal' (*νύμφη* 'bride'), Lat. *bell-icu-s* (*bellu-m*), O.Ir. *cuimn-ech* 'mindful' (*cuman* 'remembrance, memory'), O.H.G. *wuot-ig* 'furious' (*wuot* 'fury'). See § 86 p. 255 ff., § 87 p. 260 ff.

The following examples of the proethnic methods of forming adjectives will further serve to shew how widely the relation of the derived to the original word may vary in different cases.

*-iō- -iō-*. \**pātr-iō-s* 'relating to one's father, fatherly' (\**pāter-* 'father'): Skr. *pātriya-s* Gr. *πάτριος* Lat. *patriu-s*. Skr. *uśas-ya-s* 'dedicated to the dawn' Gr. *ἠοῖο-ς* 'early, eastern' (*uśás-ḡwós* 'early light, dawn'). Skr. *nāv-īya-s* 'navigable', Gr. *νήιο-ς* 'belonging to a ship, consisting of ships' (*nāv- νη(φ)-* 'ship'). The adjectival usage is seen with special clearness in compounds like Gr. *ὁμο-πάτρι-ος* O.Icel. *sam-feðr* 'having the same father' compared with the Gr. *ὁμο-πάτωρ* O.Pers. *hama-pītar-*, with the same meaning. See § 63, 2 p. 125 ff.

*-no-*. Skr. *strāī-ṇa-s* 'feminine' (*strī-* 'woman'). Gr. *ἀλγεινό-ς* 'paining, painful' (*ἄλγος* 'pain'), Hom. *ἐραυνό-ς* 'lovely' (*ἔρως* 'love'). Lat. *aēnu-s* (*aes*), *ūlignu-s* (*ilex*), *paternu-s* (*pater*). Skr. *purā-ṇá-* 'ancient' (*purā* 'earlier, before'): Umbr. Osc. \**kom-no-* n. 'τὸ κοινόν' (*kom* 'cum'); Lith. *jáu-na-s* O.C.Sl. *ju-nŭ* 'young' (*jaŭ ju* 'already, by this time'). See § 66 p. 139 ff.

*-ro-*. Avest. *taṇ-*ra** (cp. § 74 p. 182 footnote). Mid.Dutch *deemster* O.H.G. *dinstar* 'dark' Lith. *tīms-ra-s* 'bay-coloured' (Skr. *tāmas-* n. 'darkness'). Gr. *οἰζυ-ρό-ς* 'mournful' (*οἰζὺς* 'mourning'), *φοβε-ρό-ς* 'fearful' (*φόβος* 'fear'), *δροσε-ρό-ς* 'dewy' (*δρόσος* 'dew'). See § 74 p. 179 ff.

Particular uses in the separate groups of languages: Ar. *-a-* is especially frequent with the meaning of origin, as Skr. *sāvitr-á-s* 'sprung from savitar', but also denoting every kind of relation, e. g. Skr. *mānas-á-s* 'mental' (*mānas-* n. 'mind'), see § 60 p. 112 f. Ar. *-in-*: Skr. *cittīn-* 'intelligent' (*cittī-* 'intelligence'), *parṇīn-* Avest. *per'nin-* 'winged'. (Skr. *parṇá-m* 'wing'), O.Pers. *vīṇin-* 'belonging to a clan (*vīṇ-*)', see § 115 p. 357 f. Skr. *-nu-*: *rōciś-*ṇi*-ś* 'shining' (*rōciś-* 'light'), *kraviś-*ṇi*-ś* 'greedy of raw flesh' (*kraviś-*), see § 106 p. 320 f. Gr. *-ιμο-*, especially with the

meaning 'proportioned, suited to' that which the original word denotes; as νόμ-ιμο-ς 'suited to law, legal' (νόμω-ς 'law'), see § 72, 3 p. 174. Gr. -συνο-: δουλό-συνο-ς 'subject, in service' (δούλο-ς 'servant'), see § 70 p. 163. Lat. -*ali-* -*ēli-* -*īli-* -*ūli-*: *vīтали-s*, *fidēli-s*, *hostili-s*, *īdali-s*, see § 98 p. 292. Kelt. -*ako-*, as O.Ir. *marc-ach* 'equester' (*marc* 'horse'), see § 89 p. 273. Germ. -*iska-* Lith. -*iszka-* O.C.Sl. -*isko-*: Goth. *judaiv-isk-s* 'Jewish' (*Judaiu-s* 'Jew') *gud-isk-s* 'divine' (*gup* 'god') O.H.G. *ird-isc* 'earthly' (*erda* 'earth'). Lith. *prūs-iszka-s* 'Prussian' (*Prūsas* 'a Prussian'), *dėv-iszka-s* 'divine' (*dėvas* 'God'), O.C.Sl. *kūnež-iskū* 'princely' (*kūnegū* 'prince'), *dět-iskū* 'childish' (*děti* f. pl. 'children'), see § 90 p. 276.

§ 142. Amongst denominative adjectives, those with a diminutival meaning form a special group: they denote what merely approximates to the description given by the original adjective, what is only similar to it. This meaning has often disappeared, so that the derived adjective has acquired the meaning of the word from which it was formed.

-*lo-*. Gr. *παχυ-λό-ς* 'somewhat thick' (*παχύ-ς* 'thick'), *ἡδύ-λο-ς* 'sweetish' (*ἡδύ-ς* 'sweet'). Skr. *bahu-lā-* beside *bahú-* 'thick'. See § 76 p. 198 ff.

-*qo-*. \**sene-qo-* orig. 'oldish', beside \**seno-* 'old': Skr. *sanaká-* Lat. *senex* (Goth. *sineig-s*). Skr. *anīyas-ka-* beside *anīyas-* 'thinner, finer', Lat. *prīs-cu-s* compared with *prior*, *melius-c-ulu-s* with *melior*, *nigri-cāre* with *niger*. \**añghu-qo-* orig. 'somewhat narrow', from \**añghú-* 'narrow': Armen. *ancuk anjuk-* O.C.Sl. *azūkū* 'narrow'. See § 84 p. 252 f., § 88 p. 262 ff. Cp. also Lith. -*oka-*, as *saldóka-s* 'sweetish, fairly sweet', see § 89 p. 273.

With this must perhaps be classed -*go-*, Skr. *ár̥bha-ga-* 'youthful' beside *ár̥bha-* 'small, young', O.H.G. *alti-h* 'old' O.Sax. *lutti-c* 'small'. See § 91 p. 276 f.

Compare the substantival diminutives, § 153.

§ 143. Adjectives formed with primary suffixes whose original function cannot be clearly defined.

-*o-* \**neṃ-o-s* 'new': Skr. *náva-s*, Gr. *νέο-ς*, Lat. *ново-s*, O.C.Sl.



*novū*. \**say-s-o-s*: Skr. *śō-ṣa-s* 'drying, parching', Gr. Ion. *αῖο-ς* Lith. *saūsa-s* O.C.Sl. *suchū* 'dry'. See § 60 p. 109 ff.

-*u*. \**gr-u-s* (\**gr-u-s*): Skr. *gurī-ṣ* 'heavy, violent, hard', Gr. *βαρύ-ς* Lat. *grav-i-s* Goth. *kaūru-s* 'heavy'. \**añgh-u-s* 'narrow': Skr. *qhū-ṣ* Armen. *ancu-k anju-k* Goth. *aggou-s* O.C.Sl. *ažū-kū*. \**suād-u-s* (\**sud-u-s*) 'sweet, pleasant': Skr. *svādú-ṣ* Gr. *ῥόδύ-ς* Lat. *suāv-i-s* Goth. *sut-s*. See § 104 p. 312 ff.

-*ro* -*gro*. \**rudh-ró-s* -*gró-s* 'red': Skr. *rudh-irá-s* Gr. *ῥοδ-ρός* Lat. *rub-er* O.C.Sl. *rūd-rū*. \**spə-ró-s*: Skr. *sphirá-s* 'fat, large, rich', Lat. *pro-sper*, O.C.Sl. *sporū* 'rich'. Skr. *cit-rá-s* 'shining, glorious, wonderful' O.H.G. *heit-ar* 'shining, clear, bright'. See § 74 p. 180 ff.

-*mo*-, excluding its participial function. (§ 140, 2). Avest. *gar-ma*- Lat. *for-mu-s* O.H.G. *war-m* 'warm', Armen. *jer-m* Gr. *θερμός-ς* 'warm'. Skr. *tū-tu-má-* Avest. *tā-ma-* 'strong'; Skr. *tig-má-* 'sharp', O.Ir. *lua-m* 'celox'. Goth. *rū-m-s* 'roomy'. Lith. *szir-ma-s* 'gray'. See § 72, 3 p. 170 ff.

-*uo*:- \**gʷ-uo-s* 'living': Skr. *jīvā-s* Lat. *vīvo-s* Mod.Cymr. *byw* Goth. *giu-s* Lith. *gyva-s* O.C.Sl. *živū*. \**ǵdh-uo-s*: Skr. *ūrdhvā-s* Gr. *ὀρθός-ς* 'upright', Lat. *arduo-s* 'steep', O.Ir. *ard* 'high, great, noble'. Skr. *pūr-va-s* 'former, earlier', Gr. \**πρω-φο*- in Dor. *πρᾶν* 'of yore', and other words, O.C.Sl. *prī-vy-jǫ* 'primus'. See § 64 p. 133 ff. In Latin and Germanic this suffix is used in a considerable number of adjectives denoting colour; which must be explained as due to the influence of a few examples (as \**ǵhel-uo*:- Lat. *helvo-s* O.H.G. *gelo*), cp. § 57 p. 104 f.

#### The Relation of Adjectives to Participles.

§ 144. An adjective can be used to denote not only a quality inherent in the nature of a thing, but a transitory attribute, defined in regard to time according to the standpoint of the speaker; thus it comes to have somewhat of a verbal character, in other words it becomes a participle (*μετοχή*). Its verbal nature may include the power of governing a case, and of distinguishing different epochs of time, different kinds of action (momentary, continuous, inceptive), and Voice (*diathesis*, *genus verbi*). See § 140 p. 451 f.

In general the existence of adjectives as a class must necessarily precede that of participles. Where however we find purely nominal and purely participial values side by side in any one word, it would be incorrect to regard the former as in every case the older; for the participle may be again gradually reduced to a simple noun.

In many cases it is impossible to determine whether the nominal character of any given form dates from a time before the corresponding adjectival form had developed verbal uses, or whether a participle has been re-converted into a noun; e. g. in the case of Skr. *śá-śvant-* Gr. *ᾗ-πᾶς* 'complete, whole, every' Skr. *brhánt-* 'exalted, high, great' (§ 126 p. 397 f.), Skr. *vid-vás-* 'heedful, full of knowledge' compar. *vidúṣṭara- vidvattara-* (§ 136 p. 438), and in the Skr. and Lith. *-to-*participles constructed with an adnominal genitive, as Skr. *ánuspaṣṭō id bhavaty eṣō asya* 'conspectus est ille ab eo' (lit. 'eius'), Lith. *arkl̃ys suėstas vilko* 'equus devoratus a lupo' (lit. 'lupi'), cp. also *Διός-δοτος* (§ 79 p. 218 ff.).

The former transition, from a purely nominal to a participial use, may be assumed with certainty in a few instances in the separate languages; e. g. in the Sanskrit participles with *-vant-*, like *kṛtá-vant-* 'having done' (§ 127 p. 406), and in the Slavonic participles in *-lo-*, as *bi-lŭ* 'having smitten' (§ 76 p. 212). The connexion with the verbal system was established by the influence exerted on the meaning and usage of the adjectival forms in question by verbal forms derived from the same root, either those of the finite verb, or, sometimes, other participles previously formed. The process of transition was complete when analogous forms of the same kind could be made at will from other verbs in actual use.

Undoubted examples of the change from a participial to a purely nominal character are of frequent occurrence in later periods. Such are e. g. Gr. *ἐκών* 'willing' *μέλλον* 'future' Lat. *ē-loquēns sapiēns* Mod.H.G. *reizend* 'charming' (§ 126 p. 396 ff.), and the Gr. compar. *ἀσμεν-έστερο-ς* 'more glad' *ἐρρωμεν-έστερο-ς* 'stouter, stronger' (§ 71 p. 163 ff., § 75 p. 194).

Substantives denoting material things or persons (Concrete Substantives).

§ 145. Distinction of Sex. The *o*-suffixes served to indicate male creatures, e. g. *\*ekyo-s* 'horse, stallion': Skr. *áśva-s* Gr. ἵππο-ς Lat. *equo-s* O.Ir. *ech*. Female creatures were distinguished by the *a*-suffixes and by *-iē- -ī-*, e. g. *\*ekya-* 'female horse, mare': Skr. *áśvā* Lat. *equa* Lith. *aszva*; *\*ulq-iē- \*ulq-ī-* 'she-wolf': Skr. *vrkī* O.Icel. *ylg-r* O.H.G. *wulpa*. See § 59 ff. p. 107 ff., § 109 ff. p. 332 ff. It must, I think, be assumed, as I have already observed (in § 57 Rem. p. 104, cp. my essay on Gender there cited), that originally neither the *o*- and *a*-suffixes nor even *-iē- (-ī-)* had any connexion with animal sex; it is far more probable that in one or two words, perhaps in *\*genā-* 'woman' *\*māma-* 'mother' *\*s-tr-iē- \*s-tr-ī-* 'woman', the idea of female nature contained in the root of the word was imparted to the suffix, and that this led to the creation of such forms as *\*ekya-* beside *\*ekyo-*, *\*ulqiē-* beside *\*ulgo-*, to describe the female as distinct from the male animal. It was only through being contrasted with *-a-* and *-iē-* that the *'o*-formation afterwards came to denote male sex. And it was still constantly and indeed primarily used to denote any given creature without reference to gender, e. g. ἵππο-ς 'horse'. See § 158.

§ 146. Names of kindred. The suffix most frequently used is *-er- -ter-*, as in *\*dajūr-* 'husband's brother-in-law' (Skr. *dēvár-* etc.), *\*súesor-* 'sister' (Skr. *svásar-* etc.), *\*pā-tér-* 'father' (Skr. *pítár-* etc.). See § 119 ff. p. 376 ff. This suffix in its origin had certainly nothing to do with the notion of kinship. From its accidental use in one or other of these nouns it was taken to form a series of words in which its function was to denote that idea. *\*pā-tér-* seems to have been originally a nomen agentis: 'protector'.

§ 147. Names of Animals. The use of *-bho-* in one or other of the words denoting animals, which had come down from the earliest times, led the Indians and the Greeks to employ

this suffix in other instances to form animal-names; e. g. Skr. *śarabhā-s* a fabulous eight-legged creature, Gr. *ἐλαφο-ς* 'stag'. See § 78 p. 216 f.

In Germanic are found bird-names with Idg. *-go-*, as Goth. *ahak-s* 'dove' O.H.G. *habuh* 'hawk', which follows *cranuh* 'crane' (Armen. *krun-k*). See § 91 p. 277 and Kluge Nom. Stammb. p. 29.

§ 148. Names of parts of the body. *-en-* is found in a large number of proethnic names for parts of the body, though to begin with the suffix had no such meaning. It follows however that this use of it must have developed in the proethnic period, although we cannot tell which of the words containing it, e. g. Skr. *ūdh-an-* Gr. *οἰζ-α-(το-)* 'udder' Skr. *yak-án-* Gr. *ἥπ-α-(το-)* 'liver', formed the type for the rest. It was still a living suffix with the same sense in the separate languages, e. g. Skr. *dōṣ-án-* 'forearm', Avest. *nān̥h-an-* 'nose'. See § 114 p. 344 ff.

#### § 149. Nomina agentis.

*-en-*. Skr. *tákṣ-an-* Gr. *τέκτ-ων* 'carpenter, artificer'. Avest. *spas-an-* 'watchman', O.H.G. *speh-o* spy'. Lat. *ed-ō* O.H.G. *egg-o* 'glutton'. Gr. *κραυγ-ών* 'screamer, wood-pecker'. Goth. *nut-a* 'fisher', O.H.G. *bot-o* 'messenger'. See § 114 p. 344 ff.

*-ter-*. Skr. *dā-tár-* *dā-tar-* Gr. *δο-τήρ* *δο-τήρ* *δω-τωρ* Lat. *da-tor* O.C.Sl. *da-tel-ī* 'giver'. Skr. *pā-tár-* *pā-tar-* 'drinker', Gr. *οἶνο-ποτήρ* 'wine-drinker', Lat. *pō-tor* 'drinker, drunkard'. See § 119 ff. p. 376 ff.

*-lo-*. Gr. *κάπηλο-ς* 'huckster' *δείκηλο-ς* 'actor'. Lat. *figulu-s* 'potter' *legulu-s* 'gatherer, gleaner'. O.H.G. *putil* 'beadle' (summoner) *brūt-pitil* 'a wooer's best man, suitor's advocate', *tregil* 'bearer'. Lith. *tekėla-s* 'grindstone turning about an axle' (lit. 'runner'). See § 76 p. 198 ff.

We have an example of a suffix of this meaning occurring only in one group of languages in the Lith. *-ika-*, as *szėrika-s* 'feeder' *tupika-s* 'sheaf-binder', see § 87 p. 262.

Many *nomina agentis* in the Indo-Germanic languages arose

through the metaphorical use of *nomina actionis* for the doer of the action. Thus Skr. *dhāti-ṣ* m. 'shaker' (as f. 'a shaking', cp. Gr. *ῥῶα-ς* f. 'a raging, roaring'), Avest. *rāiti-ṣ* m. 'bestower' (as f. 'bestowal, alms', cp. Skr. *rātī-ṣ* f. 'alms, gift'), O.Ir. *taid* m. O.C.Sl. *tatŭ* m. 'thief' (orig. 'concealment, theft'), see § 99 f. p. 293 ff. Skr. *mán-tu-ṣ* 'counsellor' as well as 'counsel, advice', see § 108 p. 323 ff. Cp. § 157.

The *nomina agentis* may be used to denote an activity limited in point of time as well as one constantly repeated. It is especially in the former use that, like the participles, they have developed verbal constructions; for example those in *-ter-*, as Skr. *vásūni dāta* 'bona dator' beside *vásūnā dāta* 'bonorum dator' (cp. p. 378 f.), Lat. (rarely) *dator divitiās*, *jūsta orator* beside *dator divitiarum*, *jastorum orator*, Gr. (Aesch. Prom. 612) *πυρὸς βροτοῖς δοτῆρ' ὁρᾷς Προμηθεΐα* 'thou seest Prometheus, the bestower of fire upon men'. If the connexion between the substantive and the verbal meaning is relaxed, the former may by degrees lose the character of a *nomen agentis* altogether; there then remains only the notion of a concrete thing or person, Thus *\*pō-ter-* at the time of the separation of the Indo-Germanic races had ceased to mean 'protector', which seems to have been its original signification, and meant simply 'father' (cp. § 146). *\*uksen-* (Skr. *ukṣān-* Mod.Cymr. *ych* Goth. *aúhsa*) did not mean 'sower, begetter', but 'bull'. Gr. *τρυγών* 'turtle dove' orig. 'cooer' (*τρύζω* 'I coo'), Lat. *praetor* orig. 'qui praeit', O.H.G. *heri-zogo* 'duke' orig. 'leader of a host'.

#### § 150. Nomina instrumenti.

*-tro- -tlo-*. Skr. *art-tra-m art-tra-s* O.H.G. *ruo-dar* Lith. *ir-kla-s* 'rowing implement, oar'. Skr. *kār-tra-m* 'magic charm'. Gr. *φέρε-τρον φέε-τρον* Lat. *fer-culu-m* 'framework for carrying, litter, bier'. See § 62 p. 118 ff.

*-ro- -lo-*. Avest. *pata-ra-* 'wing', Gr. *πτερόν* 'feather, wing' (means of flying', √ *pet-* 'fly'). Lat. *scalp-ru-m* 'cutting instrument, knife', *caelu-m* 'chisel' for *\*caed-lo-m*, *prēlu-m* 'press' for *\*prem-s-lo-m*. See § 74 p. 180 ff., § 76 p. 198 ff.

-*dhro-* -*dhlo-* in the European languages. Lat. *sū-bula in-sūbulu-m* Czech *št-dlo* 'punch, awl' (Lat. *suere*). Gr. *κήλη-θρο-ν* 'magic charm', *ἐπι-βάθρα* 'means of climbing, ladder'. Lat. *crī-bru-m*, *tere-bra*, *suscita-bulu-m*. Czech *běli-dlo* 'means of colouring white, white paint'. See § 77 p. 213 ff.

Gr. -*τηριο-* Lat. -*tōrio-* in neuter nouns. Gr. *θαλα-τήριο-ν* 'means of enchantment or delight' *κρι-τήριο-ν* 'means or ground of decision' *καλλυν-τήριο-ν* 'means of adornment, ornament' *κανσ-τήριο-ν* 'branding iron' *σημαν-τήριο-ν* 'seal, stamp', Lat. *liquā-tōriu-m* 'filtering vessel, strainer' *scalp-tōriu-m* 'instrument for scratching' *circum-cīstōriu-m* 'lancet'. See § 63 p. 128 f.

Lith. -*tuva-*: *kosz-tūva-s* 'strainer, sieve', *min-tuvaĩ* 'tool for tearing flax' and other examples see § 61 p. 117.

*Nomina agentis* (§ 149) are often used to denote an instrument, this being regarded as if it were a living performer of the action: cp. Mod.H.G. *träger* used both for the person who carries and for the means of carrying (beams and the like), *feld-messer* 'surveyor's instrument' and *gas-messer* 'gasometer' [Eng. *shutter*, *fender* etc.] and the like. Thus Skr. *sē-tār-* 'fetter, bonds' (*si-* 'enchain, bind'), Gr. *ῥαιστήρ* 'hammer' (*ῥαίω* 'I shatter, crush') *ζευκ-τήρ* 'yoke-strap' (*ζεύγνυμι* 'I yoke') *ἀρν-τήρ* 'ladle, spoon, scoop' (*ἀρνύω* 'I draw water, ladle') just like *δο-τήρ* 'giver'; Lat. *runcō*, -*ōn-is* 'hoe' like *edō* -*ōn-is*; O.H.G. *meizil* 'chisel' (Goth. *máita* 'I hew') *sluggil* 'key' (lit. 'he who closes') *slegil* 'mallet' ('beater') just like *putil* 'beadle'.

We find also *nomina actionis* becoming names of instruments, see § 155.

§ 151. *Nomina loci*. The suffixes chiefly used to form names of places were those which also formed *nomina instrumenti* (§ 150). A locality may often be regarded as the means for the performance of an action, e. g. a hiding-place is a means of concealment. When a suffix has so acquired this function in a few words, it may then be used directly in other words as a suffix denoting locality.

-*tro-* -*tlo-*. Skr. *kṣē-tra-m* 'place of settlement, field' Avest. *šōi-pre-m* 'place of settlement, dwelling-place'. Skr. *sthā-trá-m*

'standing-place, position', *jant-tra-m* 'birthplace, home'. Gr. λέκτρον 'lying-place, bed', θέατρον 'place of exhibition, theatre'. Lat. *cubi-culu-m*, *spectā-culu-m*, *hospitā-culu-m*, *ambula-cru-m*. Lith. būklà 'home', buklà-s (ū?) 'lair of an animal'. See § 62 p. 118 ff.

-ro- -lo-. Skr. *mand-irā-m* housing, chamber, house', Gr. μάνδρα 'fold, pen, stall'. Skr. *aj-irā-m* 'arena, courtyard'. Gr. ἔδρα O.Icel. *set-r* n. 'seat'. Gr.Lac. ἑλλά for \*ἑδ-λā Lat. *sella* for \**sed-lā* Goth. *sit-l-s* 'seat', O.C.Sl. *selo* 'fundus, habitaculum' Upper Sorb. *sy-dlo* 'dwelling-place'. Here no doubt should be classed Idg. \**aġ-ro-s* 'common, meadow, field' (Skr. *áj-ra-s*, Gr. ἀγρός Lat. *ag-er* Goth. *ak-r-s*) as denoting 'a place for driving cattle', √ *aġ-* 'agere', cp. Skr. *ajirā-m*; the word acquired the meaning 'arable land' only when pasturing gave way to tillage, and the greater part of the land was cultivated by the plough. See § 74 p. 180 ff., § 76 p. 198.

-dhro- -dhlo-. Gr. ἀλινδή-θρα, 'wallowing-place', γινέ-θλη 'birthplace' ἔδε-θλο-ν 'seat, site'. Lat. *volatā-bru-m* 'wallowing-place for swine', *sta-bulu-m*, *nata-bulu-m*, *conciliā-bulu-m*, *lati-bulu-m*, *late-bra*. Czech *by-dlo* 'dwelling'. See § 77 p. 213 ff.

Gr. -τηριο- Lat. -*tōriu-*. Gr. ἀγωνισ-τήριο-ν 'place of battle', ἀκροῦς-τήριο-ν 'hall of audience', ἐργασ-τήριο-ν 'place of work', βουλευ-τήριο-ν 'council hall'. Lat. *audi-tōriu-m* *dēversōriu-m* *condi-tōriu-m*.

Other suffixes came in other ways to denote locality. Thus -*men-* in Greek, as οἰνεών οἰνών 'wine-bin', παρθενεών παρθενών 'maidens' apartment', ἱππών 'stable', λασιών 'place thick with bushes', see § 116 p. 364. -*to-* in Lat., as *arbus-tu-m* 'plantation' ('something provided with trees'), *filic-tu-m* 'place full of ferns', *cārec-tu-m* 'place full of reeds', see § 79 p. 231 f. and cp. § 152. Cp. further the *nomina actionis* which have become names of place, § 155.

§ 152. Collective Nouns. Under this head there is little to notice. The chief means which the Indo-Germanic languages possess of denoting groups of things collectively in the singular

is the use of the neuter (e. g. Gr. *ὑπήκοο-ν* 'dependencies' compared with *ὑπήκοο-ς* 'subject, dependent') which cannot be properly considered in this section, although indeed the view of the distinctively neuter case-suffixes as having been originally used to form the stem of the noun to which they were added is one which has nothing against it and a good deal in its favour. Nor are we here concerned with the collective use of the singular in names of peoples and the like (e. g. Gr. *ὁ Πέρσης* = 'the Persians' O.Pers. *māda* = 'the Medes collectively, Media'), or with the later use of compounds in which the final member had become a kind of suffix, (e. g. O.H.G. *liut-scaf* 'natio' Mid.H.G. *heiden-schaft* 'heathendom, the Saracens and their country').

Notice first that denominative adjectives, denoting connexion with the word from which they are derived, are a very common means of representing the collective idea. It will be found, I believe, that the neuter is regular in all the cases which occur frequently, and this was a factor of importance in expressing the collective meaning. E. g. Gr. *-ικό-ν*: *ἵππικό-ν* 'body of horsemen', *ὀπλιτικό-ν* 'body of heavyarmed troops', *συνμαχικό-ν* 'alliance, host of allies', see § 87 p. 260. The Lithuanian collectives in *-ýna-s* also, such as *aužųl-ýna-s* 'a number of oaks standing together, grove of oaks', *krūm-ýna-s* 'thick underwood', *akmen-ýna-s* 'heap of stones', appear to have been originally neuter, see § 68 p. 159.

We must further observe that sometimes suffixes used in substantives denoting a quality are also used collectively; e. g. Skr. *janá-tā* 'company of people, community', Little-Russ. *bidota* 'proletariate' *temnota* 'ignorant people' (§ 80 p. 238 ff.), Gr. *φρατρία* O.C.Sl. *bratrŭja* 'brotherhood' (§ 63 p. 125 ff.).

The collective nouns cannot always be clearly distinguished from the *nomina loci* (§ 151). A few of the group of Latin neuters in *-tu-m* mentioned in the previous section may be repeated here; e. g. *arbus-tu-m* 'plantation', *virgul-tu-m* 'bushes', *salic-tu-m* 'willow plantation, undergrowth of willows'.

§ 153. Diminutives and Pet Names. The sense of diminution (depreciation, detraction, endearment and so forth)



often disappeared, partly even in prehistoric periods. Compare the diminutive adjectives in § 142.

*-lo-*. Skr. *ṛṣā-lá-s* 'mannikin, small man', *śalāka-lá* 'little shaving'. Gr. *ἄρκινλος* 'young bear'. Lat. *porc-ulu-s porcil-ia* O.H.G. *farhel-i* Lith. *parszē-l-i-s* 'little pig, sucking pig'. Lat. *rot-ula* Lith. *ratē-l-i-s* 'small wheel'. O.H.G. *bendil* 'little band'. See § 76 p. 198 ff.

*-go-*. Skr. *marya-ká-s* 'mannikin', Gr. *μειράξ* 'girl' *μειράκ-ιο-ν* 'boy'. Skr. *aśva-ká-s* 'small horse'. Gr. *βῶμαξ* 'small altar'. Lat. *homun-c-iō* 'mannikin' (in the sense of a weak creature), *ovi-c-ula* 'little sheep'. Lith. *parszūka-s* 'little sucking pig', *tėvūka-s* 'little father', O.C.Sl. *synŭ-kŭ* 'little son'. See § 84 p. 252 f., § 88 p. 262 ff.

Usages confined to single groups of languages: Gr. neuters in *-io-ν*: *ὄρνιθ-ιο-ν* 'small bird', *ἐταυρίδ-ιο-ν* 'little mistress', *ἀσπίδ-ιο-ν* 'small shield', *ἀδελφ-ίδιο-ν* 'little brother', see § 63 p. 128. Germanic neuters with *-īna-*: Goth. *gáit-ein* O.H.G. *geiz-īn* 'little goat', Goth. *gum-ein* 'little man', see § 68 p. 158. In both these instances the intermediate stage was the idea of belonging to a species, which suggested that of incompleteness and inferiority. The developement was perhaps the same in the case of the suffix *-ien-* in Avest. *kain-in-* f. 'girl', Lat. *pūs-iō* 'little boy' *pūmil-iō* 'dwarf' *senec-iō* 'little old man' *homunc-iō* and others of the same sort, see § 115 p. 358. 359. Mention should also be made of the Germanic diminutives with Idg. *-go-*, such as O.H.G. *armihha* 'paupercula' *snurihha* 'little daughter-in-law', see § 91 p. 277.

Diminutive suffixes were often combined, as Gr. *-x-io-*, Lat. *-c-ulo-* *-l-ulo-*, Germ. *-l-ina-*, Lith. *-lė-la-* (nom. *-lė-l-i-s*). This was done partly to give a fuller and more emphatic expression to the idea of diminution, e. g. Lat. *agellulu-s* beside *agellu-s*, from *ager* 'field', Lith. *mergelėle* beside *mergėlė*, from *mergà* 'girl', partly in consequence of a complete loss of the diminutival sense in the first suffix, e. g. Lat. *mus-c-ulu-s*, Mod.H.G. *ferk-el-chen*.

-*lo-* and -*go-* were frequently employed in the proethnic and later periods in names of persons, especially to form 'pet names'. How far indeed the suffix retained its proper sense, is often hard to determine in any particular instance. Skr. *bhānu-la-s*, Gr. *Θαού-λο-ς*, O.Ir. *Tuathal*, Goth. *Vulfi-la*, Pruss. *Butil*. Skr. *dēva-ka-s* *dēvika-s* Gall. *Divico* *Divic-ia*, Skr. *śuna-ka-s* Gr. *Κύναξ*, Skr. *sana-ka-s* Gall. *Senicco* *Seneca* O.H.G. *Sinigu-s* (the termination is Latin), O.H.G. *Berhtung* *Berhting*, Pruss. *Tewiko* *Banduke*.

#### Relation of Adjectives to Concrete Substantives.

§ 154. No distinction in form has ever been made in the Indo-Germanic languages between the adjective or participle on the one hand and the concrete substantive on the other.

Adjectives were used without change as substantives, just as substantives were often used without change as adjectives. Thanks to this usage the original adjectival or substantival character was often completely lost; thus Idg. \**dont-* 'tooth' (Skr. *dānt-* etc.), originally a verbal adjective meaning 'eating', became a simple substantive, perhaps even in the proethnic period (§ 126 p. 394. 398). The original character of a particular word however often appears side by side with the new sense, e. g. Lat. *nātus* 'born' and 'son', *uber* 'udder, exuberant fulness, abundance' and 'fertile, rich'.

The process of the change from adjective to substantive was frequently that the meaning of the adjective came to include the idea of some substantive to which the adjective was especially often applied. Thus *ναῦς* 'ship' was often left unexpressed Greek, as in the phrases *ἡ τριήρης*, *ἡ πρύμνη*. In many instances the different languages show a remarkable agreement, and there the usages in question may date from the Indo-Germanic period. Thus we have fem. Gr. *δεξιὰ* (sc. *χείρ*) Lat. *dextra* (sc. *manus*) 'the right hand', O.Ir. *for deis* (sc. *laim*) 'on the right', Goth. *taihsva* (sc. *handu-s*), Lith. *deszinė* (sc. *rankà*) 'the right hand', but on the contrary masc. Skr. *dākṣiṇa-s* (sc. *hāsta-s*) 'right hand'. Lat. *capr-ina*

'goat's flesh' Lith. *ož-ėnà* 'flesh of a he-goat' O.C.Sl. *břbrov-ina* 'beaver's flesh'; Lat. *rāp-īna* 'turnip-field' Lith. *aviž-ėnà* 'oat-field' O.C.Sl. *nov-ina* 'newly ploughed land, fallow land', see § 68 p. 156 ff.

But some formative suffixes acquired the special function of converting adjectives into substantives, being used as denominative suffixes to form names of persons or things possessing the attribute or quality which was expressed by the original word. *-en-* is very commonly so used, especially in Germanic; e. g. Avest. *mar't-an-* 'a mortal' beside *mar'ta-* 'mortal', Gr. *σπαρ-ων* 'squinter' beside *σπαρ-ό-ς* 'spinting', Lat. *Ruf-ō* beside *rūfu-s* Goth. *rāud-a* 'red one' beside *rāup-s* 'red', Lith. *rud-ũ* 'autumn' beside *rūda-s* 'reddish-brown'. See § 114 p. 344 ff. Other suffixes of this kind are found only in single groups of languages, as *-ago-* in Balt.-Slav., e. g. Lith. *naujōka-s* O.C.Sl. *novakŭ* 'novice' beside *naŭje-s novŭ* 'new' (§ 89 p. 274), and Germ. *-inga-*, e. g. O.H.G. *arming* 'poor man, poor fellow' beside *arm* 'poor' (§ 88 p. 267).

Substantives denoting an activity or state (*nomina actionis*, verbal abstract nouns).

§ 155. To denote an activity or a state is in general the function of the verb. Substantives which express an action or a state owe their existence to a metaphor, as do those which denote a quality (§ 157), — action and state being regarded as belonging to the category of material objects.

It often happens that the *nomen actionis* does not express its own idea simply, but represents also, by a confusion, the notion of a person or thing that is in some way connected with the action; thus such substantives come to denote material objects. The designation of the action may be applied to its (grammatical) subject: e. g. Mod.H.Germ. *rat* (properly 'advice') = 'adviser, counsellor', *strom strömung* (properly 'a streaming') = 'streaming water', *verzierung* (properly 'an adorning') = 'something which adorns'. [Cp. Eng. *counsel* (in e. g. *Queen's Counsel*), *a grief* = 'something which grieves', *a hindrance* = 'something

which hinders']. Or it may be further extended to denote the external (direct) object of the action, that which is in any way affected by the action, e. g. Mod.H.Germ. *saat* (properly 'a sowing') = 'what is sown', *wohnung* (properly 'the act of inhabiting') = 'the house a man inhabits' [cp. Eng. *contrivance* = 'what is contrived', *belief* = 'what is believed']. Or to the internal (cognate) object, thus giving rise to a term for the result of the action, e. g. Mod.H.Germ. *riss* (properly 'a rending') = 'a rent', *wuchs* (properly 'a growing') = 'the result of growing, growth, figure', *vereinigung* (properly 'a uniting') = 'the result of uniting, a united body' [cp. Eng. *growth*, *union*, *a spelling* = 'the method or result of spelling a word']. In the same way we have such words used as *nomina instrumenti*, e. g. Mod.H.Germ. *verzierung* = 'means of adornment', *lösung* (properly 'a setting free') = 'means of setting free, redemption-money' [cp. Eng. *distinction* = 'means of distinguishing', *influence* ('he will use his influence for me') = 'means of influencing', *relief* = 'means of relieving']; or as *nomina loci* e. g. Mod.H.Germ. *wohnung* = 'a dwelling-place', *trift* (properly 'a driving') = 'pasture-land' [cp. Eng. *dwelling*, *pasture*] etc. Cp. Paul Princ.<sup>2</sup> p. 81 f.

These various developements are generally difficult to separate clearly, and hence in what follows we shall not confine our attention to the *nomina actionis* in the strict sense but consider along with them those which show the secondary variations of meaning that have just been enumerated.

We will begin with the suffix which seems to retain the simple meaning of an action or state most regularly.

-*ti*:- \**sru-ti-s* 'a flowing, stream': Skr. *sruti-ṣ* Gr. *ῥισις*. \**qi-ti-s*: Skr. *āpa-citi-ṣ* 'requital, punishment' Gr. *ρίσις* 'valuation, fine, punishment'. Skr. *ma-ti-ṣ* 'thought, mind', Gr. *μάρ-τις* (m.) 'one inspired, seer', Lat. *mēns* 'mind', Goth. *ga-mund-s* 'remembrance' *ana-mind-s* 'conjecture', Lith. *at-mintl-s* 'memory', O.C.Sl. *pa-meŕi* 'remembrance'. Skr. *śru-ti-ṣ* 'hearing, sound, news, tale', *syū-ti-ṣ* 'sewing, sack', *prá-jñati-ṣ* 'perception' *jñā-ti-ṣ* m. 'relative', Gr. *χύ-σις* 'outpouring, gush, libation', *ῥῆ-σις* 'speaking, word'.

ὄψις 'sight, countenance', μάροπ-τις (m.) 'seizer, robber'. Lat. *mors*, *tussi-s*, *ves-ti-s*, *cōs*, *hos-ti-s*. O.Ir. *buith* 'existence', *bli-th* 'painting'. Goth. *us-taúht-s* 'perfection, completion', *fra-lust-s* 'loss, destruction', *sauh-t-s* 'sickness, illness', *ga-skaft-s* 'creation, created thing', O.H.G. *sih-t* 'sight, power of sight', Mid.H.G. *trift* 'driving, common (cattle-drive), meadow'. Lith. *dã-ti-s* O.C.Sl. *da-tŭ* 'gift'. Lith. *gir-ti-s* 'feast', *skŭlsti-s* 'cleft in the hoof of cattle', *pir-ti-s* 'bath-room', *pri-eitŭ-s* 'suburb'. O.C.Sl. *po-znatŭ* 'cognitio', *vrŭstŭ* 'state, condition, position', *sě-tŭ* 'string'. See § 100 p. 294 ff.

-*ni*-. Skr. *lũ-ni-š* 'a tearing loose, severance', Goth. *la-n-s* 'means of deliverance, ransom money'. Skr. *gŭr-ni-š* 'a swallowing', *jũr-ñt-š* 'heat'. O.Ir. *tãin* 'a driving forth, booty', *buain* 'harvesting, harvest'. Goth. *ana-busn-s* 'bidding, injunction, order', *ga-rěhn-s* 'intention, plan', *siun-s* 'a seeing, power of sight, countenance, appearance'. Lith. *bar-nŭ-s* 'quarrel' O.C.Sl. *bra-nŭ* 'battle'. Lith. *žinksnŭ-s* 'step'. O.C.Sl. *stŭg-nŭ* 'way, road'. See § 95 p. 285 ff.

-*tu*-. Skr. *gãn-tu-š* 'course, way', Lat. *ad-ventu-s*. Avest. *vŭ-dãtu-š* 'decomposition of the body, dissolution, death'. Gr. *κτισῖν-ς* 'a founding', *ἀκοντισῖν-ς* 'javelin-throwing, fight with javelins'. Lat. *ad-itu-s*, *or-tu-s*, *gemi-tu-s*. O.Ir. *mess* 'deciding, sentence'. Goth. *kus-tu-s* 'trial, proof', *vahs-tu-s* 'growth'. Lith. *lytũ-s* *lẽtu-s* 'rain'. See § 108 p. 323 ff.

-*mo*- -*mã*-. \**dhũ-mo-s* 'ebullition': Gr. *θῦμός-ς* 'ebullition of temper, passion, courage', Skr. *dhũmã-s* Lat. *fũmu-s* Lith. *dũmai* O.C.Sl. *dymũ* 'smoke'. Skr. *sãr-ma-s* 'a flowing', Gr. *ὄρ-μῆ* 'impulse'. Skr. *bhã-ma-s* 'light, brightness'. Gr. *πυρ-μός-ς* 'sneezing', *ἰγ-μός-ς* 'shrieking', *ἀρπαγ-μός-ς* 'plundering, booty', *δασμός-ς* 'partition, division', *τι-μῆ* 'estimation, honour', *γνώ-μῆ* 'intention, opinion'. Lat. *ani-mu-s* *ani-ma*, *fã-ma*. Goth. *dō-m-s* O.H.G. *tuo-m* 'sentence, judgment, position, worth', O.H.G. *strō-m* 'stream'. Lith. *lañksma-s* 'bending', *rẽksma-s* 'roar', *sukãma-s* 'a turning', *sãkyma-s* 'a saying'. O.C.Sl. *u-mũ* 'mind, understanding'. See § 72, 3 p. 170 ff.

-*men*-. Skr. *dhã-man-* 'statute, operation, seat, dwelling-

place'. Avest. *dāman-* 'creation, created thing', Gr. ἀνά-θημα 'a setting up, that which is set up, votive offering' θῆ-μα 'a storing up, deposit'. Skr. *dā-man-* 'a giving', Gr. δό-μα 'gift'. Gr. ῥεῦ-μα ῥύ-μα O.Ir. *sruaim* 'a streaming, stream'. Skr. *bhār-man-* 'support, fostering care', Gr. φέ-ρ-μα 'fruit of the womb', O.C.Sl. *brě-mę* 'burden'. Skr. *hāvī-man-* 'a summoning', ἔ-*man-* 'a going', *dhār-man-* 'prop, support'. Gr. ῥί-μα 'a throwing', νό-η-μα thought', ὄρ-μα 'sight', ζεύ-μα 'bond, bridge of boats'. Lat. *nū-men*, *lū-men*, *agmen*, *certā-men*. O.Ir. *cēim* 'a stepping, step', *bēim* 'a striking, stroke', *gairm* 'call, cry'. Goth. *hliu-ma* 'hearing', *skei-ma* 'a light' O.H.G. *scī-mo* 'brightness, gleam'. Lith. *rė-mũ* 'heart-burn', *aug-mũ* 'excrement'. See § 117 p. 365 ff.

‘-o-, -ā-. Skr. *jān-a-m* 'birth, origin', Gr. γόν-ος 'birth, offspring'. Gr. χροῦ-ος 'noise, murmur, neighing', O.C.Sl. *grom-ŭ* 'thunder'. Skr. *ghōṣ-a-s* 'sound, din' Avest. *gaos-a-* m. 'ear'. Gr. ὀλκ-ός 'dragging, that which drags', τόμ-ος 'cut, slice'. Goth. *ga-fah-s* 'capture', *dragk* 'drink'. Lith. *ūž-valka-s* 'outside covering, bed-covering' O.C.Sl. *oblakŭ* 'cloud'. Gr. ῥο-ή 'flood', Lith. *srav-à* 'flowing, bleeding'. Gr. φυγ-ή Lat. *fug-a* 'flight'. Skr. *bhid-d* 'split, division'. Goth. *gib-a* 'gift'. See § 60 p. 109 ff.

‘-es- -os- -s-. Skr. *dāśas* 'glorious deed', Gr. δῆνα 'counsels, wiles'. Skr. *āpas āpas* 'work, religious performance', Lat. *opus*. Gr. ῥῑγος Lat. *frīgus* 'cold'. Skr. *dōhas* 'milking', *nāmas* 'obeisance, reverence', Avest. *tacō* 'course'. Gr. ἡδ-ος 'pleasure', αἰδ-ος 'brand', δέ-ος 'fear'. Goth. *hatis* 'hate', *agis* 'fear'. Gr. αἰδώς 'shame, modesty'. Lat. *tepor*, *amor*. See § 131 ff. p. 411 ff.

-*ien-* -*tiēn-* in some European languages. Lat. *cap-iō*, *religiō*, Goth. *ga-runjō* 'overflow', *sakjō* 'strife'. Lat. *ra-tiō*, Goth. *ra-pjō* 'ratio'. Lat. *men-tiō*, O.Ir. *er-mitiu* 'honor'. See § 100 p. 294 ff., § 112 p. 341 f., § 115 p. 357 ff.

Other suffixes used in the formation of *nomina actionis* will be discussed in §§ 156 and 158.

When the *nomina actionis* had come to denote material objects, they were liable a still further extension of meaning, namely to be used as adjectives (cp. § 154). Here perhaps should

be classed e. g. Skr. *pū-ti-ṣ* 'stinking' and *tapyā-tū-ṣ* 'hot, glowing', originally 'stench' and 'heat, glow'.

Relation of the *nomina actionis* to the Infinitive (Supine)<sup>1</sup>.

§ 156. Since the *nomina actionis* denote not merely a continuous activity but also one which may be defined in point of time, they sometimes come to be used in verbal constructions. Here, as in the case of the adjective (§ 144), the connexion with the verb may include the power of governing a case, and of distinguishing differences of time, different kinds of action (such as momentary, continuous, inceptive) and Voice (*diathesis, genus verbi*).

This kind of assimilation to the character and construction of the verb appears e. g. in Gr. τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ δόσιν ὑμῖν (Plat.) 'the gift of God to you', περὶ δὲ σφίσι καταδουλώσεως (Thuc.) = περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἑαυτοῖς καταδουλωθῆναι (τοὺς Ἕλληνας), Lat. *reditus Rōmam*. But a still more complete identification is seen in what are called infinitives (and supines), which are crystallised cases (generally acc., dat., loc.) of *nomina actionis*. An infinitive may be said to be completely formed when the noun is no longer regarded as a case-form belonging to its own system, and its construction no longer follows the analogy of its original use as a noun; this is true, for example, of Gr. *δομεναι δοῦναι* Lat. *dare*, at the earliest period of which we have record. Before, however, such forms were completely isolated from the nominal system,

1) E. Wilhelm, De infinitivi linguarum Sanscr. Bactr. Pers. Graec. Osc. Umbr. Lat. Got. forma et usu, 1873. J. Jolly, Geschichte des Infinitivs im Indogermanischen, 1873. A. Ludwig, Der Infinitiv im Veda, 1871. M. Müller, Grammatical forms in Sanskrit corresponding to the so-called Infinitives in Greek and Latin, Essays IV 420 ff. H. Brunnhofer, Über Dialectspuren im vedischen Gebrauche der Infinitivformen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 329 ff. Chr. Bartholomae, Die Infinitivbildung im Dialect der Gāthā's, ibid. XXVIII 17 ff. L. Meyer, Der Infinitiv der homer. Sprache, Gött. 1856. E. Windisch, Zum ir. Infinitiv, Bezenberger's Beitr. II 72 ff. A. Denecke, Der Gebrauch des Infinitivs bei den ahd. Übersetzern des 8. u. 9. Jahrh., Leipz. 1880. W. Müller, Über den letto-slavischen Infinitiv, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VIII 186 ff.

they passed through a number of intermediate stages, and hence it is often hard to say whether any particular form should be called an infinitive in the strict sense of the word<sup>1</sup>). The infinitives that least deserve the name are the Irish, because the *nomina actionis* used in Irish where other languages use the infinitive retained the construction of nouns, e. g. *ar-dot-chuibdig fri sechem na m-bria-thar sin* 'pledge thyself to obey these words' (literally 'to the obeying of these words'). In this latter respect (the power of governing an acc.) even the language of the Veda shews a further degree of developement; e. g. we find not only *ándhasah pítáyē* 'for the drinking of the soma-juice', but also *ándhāsi pítáyē*; the same double construction is found in the Avesta (cp. Bartholomae, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 12 f.). The infinitive reached its most characteristic developement in Greek and Latin, the only languages in which we find a special expression for differences of voice.

The following formative suffixes are distributed amongst the infinitival forms (we may omit the Keltic infinitives). *-tu-* in Ar., Lat., Balt.-Slav., see § 108 p. 323 ff. *-ti-* in Ar., Balt.-Slav., see § 99 f. p. 293. *-men-* in Ar., Gr., see § 117 p. 365 ff. *-uen-* in Ar., Gr., see § 116 p. 362 ff. *-es-* in Ar., Lat., see § 131 f. p. 411 ff. In single groups of languages: *-i-* in Ar., see § 93 p. 279 f.; *-lo-* in Armen., see § 76 p. 202; *-o-* in Umbr.-Samn., see § 60 p. 114; *-ono-* in Germ., see § 67 p. 153. 154.

As the participle might again become a simple noun (§ 144), so also could the infinitive. In this case, however, the process was more difficult because it was not inflected. The approximation to the noun was easiest where there was least necessity for expressing its relations by means of inflexion, that is, in its use as subject or object; e. g. Gr. πάντεσσιν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἵσταται ἀκμῆς ἢ μάλα λυγρὸς ὀλεθρὸς Ἀχαιοῖς ἥ ἐ βιῶναι (Hom. K. 173), πειρήσω ἀλαλκεῖν (Id. T. 30), Lat. *habēre eripitur*, *habuisse nun-*

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1) Hence e. g. the objection urged by Brunnhofer against Ludwig and Wilhelm, that they had adduced as infinitives Vedic forms which were nothing but *nomina actionis* (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 330).



*quam* (Sen.), *hic verēri* (= *verēcundiam*) *perdidit* (Plaut.). This led on to such constructions as Gr. τὸ λέγειν, Lat. *tuom amāre* (Plaut.), *nostrum istud vivere triste* (Pers.), *nūl praeter plōrāre* (Hor.), *quid hūius vivere est?* (Sen.)<sup>1)</sup> and so forth. See Paul Princ.<sup>2</sup> 311 f.

Substantives denoting a quality (Abstract Substantives in the strict sense).

§ 157. Substantives which denote a quality, owe their existence to a metaphor just as do the *nomina actionis*: an attribute or natural quality was regarded as belonging to the class of material objects.

Substantives denoting a quality often come to designate the person to whom the quality belongs, e.g. Mod.H.G. *Jugend* = 'youthful persons, young folk (collectively)' or 'a single youthful person', [Eng. *youth*]. But it is difficult to maintain any sharp distinction between the separate uses, and therefore the words which show this secondary developement of meaning will be treated along with the rest. It is important also to recognise the fact that no hard and fast line can be drawn between this class of nouns and the *nomina actionis* with their secondary shades of meaning. It is natural enough that the two divisions should often overlap.

The suffixes that most frequently appear in these abstract nouns are the following.

-*tā*-. Avest. *cista*- 'wisdom'. Gr. *πρῆτης* 'prudence, understanding'. Lith. *geltà* 'yellowness'. Lat. *juventa* Goth. *junda* 'youth'. Skr. *pūrnata*- O.H.G. *fullida* O.C.Sl. *plūnota* 'fulness'. Skr. *ghōrata*- 'awfulness' Goth. *gaurīpa* 'trouble'. Skr. *dirghata*- O.C.Sl. *dlūgota* 'length'. In Greek and Slavonic are found concrete nouns like ἀγρότης 'countrymen' *junota* 'youth'. See § 79 p. 220 ff., § 80 p. 238 ff.

-*tati*- -*tāt*- and -*tūti*- -*tūt*-. Skr. *sarvātati*-§ *sarvātāt*- 'completeness' Avest. *haurvatāt*- 'safety' Gr. *ολότης* 'totality, entirety'. Gr. *νότης* 'youth', Lat. *novitās* 'novelty, strangeness'.

1) Cp. Wölfflin, Der substantivierte Infinitiv [im Latein], Archiv für lat. Lexikogr. III 70 ff.

Lat. *juventās* and *juventūs*. O.Ir. *oentu* 'unitas'. Goth. *gamáin-dūþ-s* 'communitas'. See § 102 p. 308 ff.

-*nā*-. Avest. *per'nā*- Goth. *fullō* 'fulness'. Skr. *jaraṇḍ* 'decrepitude, age'. See § 65 ff. p. 138 ff.

-*īo*- -*īā*-. Skr. *pālitya-m* 'greyness', *śrāṣṭhya-m* 'excellence'. O.H.G. *gi-fuori* 'fitness, usefulness'. Lith. *ilgi-s* 'length', O.C.Sl. *ostrije* 'sharpness'. Gr. *ἀγνροῖη* 'manliness', *ἀναρχία* 'anarchy'. Lat. *audacia* 'boldness', *modestia* 'moderation', *sapientia* 'wisdom'. See § 63 p. 122 ff.

-*tyo*- -*tyā*-. Skr. *dēvatvā-m* 'divinity', *śucitvā-m* 'purity', *sātmavā-m* 'inspiration, possession by a deity'. Goth. *þivadv* 'servitude', *fiþaþva* 'enmity'. O.C.Sl. *zēlŕstvo* 'violence'. See § 61 p. 116 f.

-*ti*-. \**perqti-s* 'fivefold character, pentad, the number five': Skr. *pañcātī-ṣ* O.Icel. *fimt* O.C.Sl. *peti*. Skr. *yuvati-ṣ* 'maiden' (orig. 'youth' (abstr.)) O.H.G. *jugund* 'youth'. O.C.Sl. *dlūgostī* 'length', *qzostī* 'narrowness'. See § 99 p. 293, § 101 p. 306 ff.

-*es*- -*os*-. \**reges*- 'gloom, darkness': Skr. *rājas* (Armen. *erek*) Gr. *ἔρεος* Goth. *riqis*. Skr. *māhas*- 'greatness, size', *yāśas*- 'glory', Gr. *εὐρος* 'breadth', *μῆκος* 'length', *βέρος* 'depth', *μέγεθος* 'size, greatness'. Lat. *Venus* 'charm of love', *languor* 'weariness', *lēvor* 'smoothness', *dulcor* 'sweetness'. See § 131 ff. p. 411 ff.

In single groups of languages: e. g. Lat. -*tūdin*-, *fortitūdō* 'fearlessness', *lassitūdō* 'weariness' (cp. § 128 p. 409), Lith. -*ybė*-, *auksztỹbė* 'height, highness', O.C.Sl. -*ba*-, *zūloba* 'wickedness' (§ 78 p. 217 f.).

The Relation of Adjectives to Abstract Substantives (*nomina actionis* and substantives denoting a quality) formed with the same suffixes.

§ 158. In conclusion we have to discuss another question which bears upon the origin of the substantives denoting an action or a quality and the general relation between adjectives and substantives in Indo-Germanic.

Many nouns formed with *o*-suffixes act both as adjectives and as abstract substantives; as a rule it happens that the

feminine or neuter form, more rarely that the masculine form is the one which is used substantivally. If the adjective is a *nomen agentis*, we have a corresponding *nomen actionis*, e. g. Skr. *srutá-s* 'flowing': *srutá-m* n. 'a flowing, flood'. Or if it predicates an attribute, then the corresponding substantive denotes the attribute, e. g. Lith. *gelta-s* 'yellow': *geltà* f. 'yellowness'.

The following are examples.

*-to -tā-*.

Feminine. Avest. *cista-* 'wisdom': Skr. *cittá-* partic., in the neut. 'observation, thought, intent, spirit'. Gr. *πινυτή* 'intelligence, wisdom': *πινυτός* 'intelligent'; *γενετή* 'birth, origin': Lat. *genitu-s*; *βροντή* 'thunder'. Lat. *offensa* 'a striking against, offence': *offensu-s*; *repulsa* 'rejection': *repulsu-s*; *impensa* 'expenditure': *impensu-s*; *multa* 'punishment': *mulsu-s* instead of \**mol(c)tu-s* (the isolation of the substantive from the participle preserved it from the analogical change which affected the latter), Skr. *mṛṣṭá-* 'grasped, touched'. O.Ir. *ed-part ed-bart* 'oblatio': *do-breth* Mid.Ir. 'datum est', (Skr. *bhṛtá-s* Gr. *φειρό-ς*); *loth* 'filth': compare this and the Lat. *lutu-m lutu-s* 'mud' with Lat. *-lūtu-s* (*ab-lūtu-s* etc.) 'besprinkled, soiled'. Goth. *skanda* O.H.G. *scanta* 'disgrace': O.H.G. *scant* 'shamed'; O.H.G. *forahta* 'fear': Goth. *faúrht-s* 'fearful'; A.S. *zud* 'battle': Skr. *hatá-* 'smitten'. Lith. *geltà-* 'yellowness': *gelta-s* 'yellow'; *banktos* pl. 'boisterousness, storm': *bankta-s* 'boisterous'. O.C.Sl. *vr̥sta* 'condition, state, position, stage': Skr. *vyttá-* 'versus'. The secondary Idg. suffix *-tā-* in Lat. *juventa* Skr. *pūrṇatā* etc. should be added here, see p. 238 ff.

Neuter. Skr. *mṛtá-m* 'death' O.H.G. *mord* 'murder': Skr. *mṛtá-s* 'dead'. Skr. *matá-m* 'meaning, opinion, intent' Lat. *com-mentu-m* 'idea, invention, design' O.Ir. *der-met* 'forgetfulness': Skr. *matá-* 'thought, intended'. Idg. \**kley-to-m* 'faculty of hearing' Avest. *sraote-m* Goth. *kliup*: Skr. *śrutá-s* 'heard'. Skr. *srutá-m* 'flowing, flood, stream': *srutá-s* 'flowing'; *stutá-m* 'laudation, praise': *stutá-s* 'praised, lauded'; *mānita-m* 'a doing of honour': *mānita-s* 'to whom honour is done, honoured'; Avest.

*fra-đata-m* 'help, success': *fra-đata-* 'helped, made'. O.H.G. *ferid* 'navigium'. O.C.Sl. *pąto* 'fetter': partic. *peřū*. Here we must also class Idg. *-my-to-*, as in Skr. *śrōmata-m* 'a listening to' O.H.G. *hlumunt* 'repute, character', Lat. *cōgnōmentu-m*, see p. 249.

Masculine. Skr. *ghā-ta-s* 'blow, slaying'. Avest. *stutō* 'laudation, prayer', cp. Skr. n. *stutā-m*. Gr. *κου-ορό-ς* 'raising of the dust, cloud of dust': *νέ-ορο-ς* 'newly arisen' Lat. *ortu-s*; *ἔμετο-ς* 'vomiting': *ἑμερό-ς* Skr. *vamita-s* 'vomited'; *σπαρό-ς* 'encamped host': Skr. *stṛtā-s* Gr. *σπαρό-ς* 'outspread, outstretched'; *οἶτο-ς* 'fate': Skr. *ḥta-s* 'hasting' Lat. *-itu-s*; *φόρο-ς* 'burden': *φερρό-ς* 'bearable' Skr. *bhṛtā-s* 'borne'; *θάνατο-ς* 'death': *θνηρό-ς* 'mortal'; *κωκῦρό-ς* 'wailing', *κοῖτο-ς* 'couch' (with *κοίτη*) and other exx. Lat. *lectu-s* (and *lectu-m*) 'couch', *lutu-s* (and *lutu-m* 'mud', cp. O.Ir. *loth* f. above. A.S. O.Icel. *sess* 'seat' (cp. Lat. *sub-sessa* f. 'ambush'): Skr. *sattā-s* 'sitting' Lat. *ob-sessu-s*; O.H.G. *giwaht* 'mention, fame': Skr. *uktā-s* 'spoken'; Goth. *mōp-s* 'wrath' O.H.G. *muot* 'spirit, temper, courage' beside O.C.Sl. *mě-ti* 'to dare'; O.H.G. *frost* (and O.Icel. *frost* n.) 'frost' beside *friosan* 'to freeze'. Lith. *būta-s* 'dwelling, house': Skr. *bhūtā-s* 'become, been', cp. O.Ir. *both* f. 'dwelling-place, hut' Skr. *bhūtā-m* 'existence with power, welfare, prosperity'; *maṣṣta-s* (and *maṣṣta*) 'uproar': Gr. *μῑττό-ς* 'mixed'; *τῠάρτα-s* 'enclosure': *τῠέρτα-s* 'grasped, enclosed'; of course these Lithuanian masculine forms may once have been neuter. O.C.Sl. *čtū* 'number' *po-čtū* 'enumeration': Skr. *citā-s* 'arranged in rows or layers', cp. Skr. *citā* 'layer'; *podū-jētū* 'grasp, support' *podū-jētū* 'grasped, undertaken'.

Remark. With regard to the relation of the forms with vocalism of the strong grade to those with that of the weak grade (e. g. O.C.Sl. *pąto pęto*) see p. 221 above.

-no- -nā-, -eno- -enā-, -ono- -onā-.

Fem. Avest. *per'nā* Goth. *fullō* 'fulness': Avest. *per'na* Goth. *full-s* 'full'. Skr. *jaraṇā* 'old age': Skr. *jaraṇā-* 'deerepit'. O.H.G. *stulina* 'theft': O.Icel. *stolenn* 'stolen'.

Neut. O.H.G. *zorn* A.S. *torn* 'anger, wrath', orig. 'a torn or rent condition of the temper': Skr. *dārnā-s* 'torn to pieces';

O.H.G. *mein* 'falsehood, mischief': *mein* 'false, deceitful'. Skr. *vāhana-m* 'a carrying': *vahana-s* 'carrying' O.C.Sl. *vezenū* 'carried'; *vārtana-m* 'turning, motion': *vartana-s* 'setting in motion'; *māna-m* 'measuring, measurement': *vi-māna-s* 'measuring out'. Goth. *baíran* inf. 'bear': *baúran-s* 'borne'.

Masc. Skr. *uṣṇa-s* (also *uṣṇa-m uṣṇā*) 'heat': *uṣṇá-s* 'hot'. Skr. *yajñá-s* 'reverence': Gr. *ἄγνός* 'worthy of reverence, sacred, pure'. Gr. *θῦρος* 'onset, fight': Skr. *dhūna-s* 'violent, agitated'. O.H.G. *scīn* 'visibility, brightness, gleam': *scīn* 'visible'.

-iō- -iā-

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Fem. Skr. *kṛtyā-* 'infliction, bevyitchment': *kṛtya-s* 'faciendus'. Gr. *φιλότης* O.C.Sl. *bratřija* 'brotherhood': Gr. *φιλότης* orig. 'brotherly'. Gr. *ἡσυχία* 'peace': *ἡσυχίος* 'peaceful'; *ξενία* 'hospitality': *ξένιος* 'hospitable'. Lat. *noxia* 'guilt, crime': *noxius* 'guilty, criminal'. O.H.G. *lugi* (which implies a preceding \**luḡ-iō-*) O.C.Sl. *lŭža* 'lie': O.H.G. *luggi lukki* O.C.Sl. *lŭžŭ* 'lying, false'. A.S. *nyt* O.Icel. *nyt-r* 'use, advantage': A.S. *nyt* O.H.G. *nuzzi* 'useful, serviceable'. O.C.Sl. feminines like *susa* 'dryness' *qrožda* 'folly', see p. 131.

Neut. Skr. *vācya-m* 'speaking, word, blame': *vācya-s* 'dicendus'; *kṣatriya-m* 'lordship, supremacy': *kṣatriya-s* 'possessing lordship, ruler'. Gr. *σπάγιο-ν* 'offering, beast of offering': *σπάγιος* 'striking, killing'; *δελκτηήριο-ν* 'delight, enchantment': *δελκτηήριος* 'delighting, enchanting'. Lat. *auguriu-m* 'act of divination, prophecy': *auguriu-s* 'prophetic'. O.H.G. *gi-fuori* 'suitability, usefulness': *gi-fuori* 'suitable, useful'. Furthermore forms like Lith. *kiṛti-s* 'cut, blow' (:Skr. *kartya-s* 'to be hewn or cut off') etc. no doubt represent original neuters; see p. 124 f.

-tno- -tyno-. Examples of neuter forms are O.Pers. *cartana-* 'action', loc. *cartanaiy* used as infinitive, Lat. gen. *dandī* 'of giving': Lat. *dandu-s* 'to be given', Lith. *sūktina-s* 'torquendus'. See p. 161 ff.

-tuo- -tūā-. Neut.: Skr. *kārtva-m* 'task': *kārtva-s* 'faciendus'. Fem.: O.C.Sl. *žetva* 'harvest': Skr. *hāntva-s* 'feriendus'.

-mo- -mā-. Fem.: Gr. *θέρμη* 'warmth': *θερμός* Armen. *jerm* 'warm'. Goth. *miduma* 'midst': O.H.G. *metamo metemo*

'mediocris' Avest. *mađema-* 'medioximus', cp. p. 167. O.C.Sl. *tūma* 'great number', orig. 'strength': Avest. *tūma-* Skr. *tū-tumá-* 'strong', cp. p. 171. Neut.: Avest. *gar<sup>e</sup>me-m* 'warmth': *gar<sup>e</sup>ma-* 'warm'. Masc.: Skr. *gharmá-s* 'warmth, heat': Avest. *gar<sup>e</sup>ma-* Lat. *formu-s* O.H.G. *warm* 'warm'. Goth. *rūms* O.H.G. *rūm* 'room': Goth. *rūm-s* 'roomy'; Mid.H.G. *stīm* 'turmoil, confused masses': Skr. *stīma-s* 'lazy, crawling' *pra-stīma-s* 'thronged, heaped'.

-ro- -rā-. Fem. Skr. *tāmisrā-* Lat. *tenebrae* 'darkness': Mid.Dutch *deemster* O.H.G. *dinstar* 'dark'. Gr. *ἄρχα* 'point, peak': *ἄρχο-ς* 'pointed' O.C.Sl. *ostrŭ* 'sharp'. Neut. Skr. *ta-misra-m* beside *tāmisrā-*, Gr. *ἄρχο-ν* beside *ἄρχα*. Skr. *chidrā-m* 'perforation, hole, interruption': *chidrā-s* 'perforated'. O.C.Sl. *vedro* 'good weather': *vedrŭ* 'clear, bright'.

This brief list of examples is enough to justify the conclusion that the fluctuation between the adjectival and substantival value in the *o*-nouns dates from the proethnic period<sup>1</sup>). Now in the case of the double usage of the *es*-stems (such as Skr. *māhas-* 'greatness': *mahás-* 'great', Gr. *ψεῦδος* 'lie': *ψεῦδής* 'lying, false'), which is also proethnic, it can scarcely be doubted that the substantival value is the older, and it would be natural to adopt the same view in the present instance. But no decision is possible until the original meaning of the *a*-suffixes as opposed to the *o*-suffixes has been established. In discussing these (p. 106, 458) we were led to the conclusion that except in a comparatively small group of words (e. g. Lat. *equo-s equa*), they had no connexion whatever with the distinction of animal sex. A further consideration may now perhaps be suggested. Is it not precisely in the variation of meaning we have just noticed that we must look for light on the original function of the *o*-and *a*- suffixes?

1) It is still a question for investigation how far this use has been extended in the separate families of languages apart from the direct influence of the original variation of meaning in similar cases which came down from Indo-Germanic (cp. e. g. B. H. Balser, *De linguae Graecae participis in neutro genere substantive posito*, Lips. 1878, p. 29 ff.).

## NOUNS WITHOUT FORMATIVE SUFFIXES (ROOT-NOUNS)<sup>1</sup>).

§ 159. The term Root-nouns is applied to those nouns which do not admit of analysis into root and formative suffix, in the termination of whose stem no element can be recognised which is similarly used elsewhere to form noun stems. Whether, however, all the nouns that fall under this definition were from the beginning absolutely simple forms, must be left an open question. Many of them, e. g. Skr. *div-* 'heaven' and Lat. *hiem-* (see below), may have been originally compound forms.

Root-nouns are found in all divisions of Indo-Germanic; they have been preserved most frequently in Aryan and the classical languages. In many instances they lost the special character of their formation and passed into the analogy of some vowel declension (cp. § 56 p. 102 f.), and we may regard this change of declension as the chief cause of their comparatively rare appearance in Armenian and in Germanic<sup>2</sup>), and of their almost complete disappearance in Balto-Slavonic. Here however we are bound to discuss all the nouns of this kind which occur in the separate languages, when the change of declension has made no difference in their meaning.

The Root-nouns have no simple, clearly marked function (such as that of denoting material things, actions or any other special idea). Even those which are demonstrably proethnic have meanings of different kinds. The uncompounded examples are mostly substantives, and amongst these the nouns denoting an action (fem.) and those denoting the agent preponderate; and in the former group we must include those that are used as

1) Leo Meyer, *Die einsilbigen Nomina im Griech. und Lat.*, Kuhn's Ztschr. V 366 ff.

2) As far as the Germanic is concerned, this exchange of declension has been thoroughly discussed by B. Kahle, *Zur Entwicklung der consonantischen Declination im Germanischen*, Berlin 1887.

infinitives in Aryan, Greek and Latin. When they are the second members of compounds these nouns usually denote an agent.

This method of forming noun-stems was still in active use in the separate developement of Aryan, Greek and Italic.

#### § 160. Root-nouns uncompounded.

We will begin with such examples as appear simultaneously in more than one group of languages.

##### 1. Forms showing vowel-gradation.

\**uoik-* \**uik-* (√ *ueik-* 'enter'): Skr. *viś-* f. 'settlement, house, community, stock', Avest. *vīs-* O.Pers. *viš-* f. 'village community, clan'; Gr. *οἰκადε*, better written, *οἰκά-δε*, 'homewards' (compare Hom. *τοῖχά-τε-ις*<sup>1)</sup>); O.C.Sl. *vīs-ŭ* 'village', which follows the *i*-declension. With Skr. acc. *viś-am* cp. *div-am* Gr. *Δία* beside *dyām* *Zīν* (see p. 481).

\**dork-* \**dṛk-* (√ *derk-* 'see'): Skr. *dṛś-* f. 'seeing, perception, eye', adj. 'seeing, beholding', inf. *dṛś-ē* 'to see' (§ 162); Gr. *δόρε* *δός* f. 'roe, gazelle' (named from its eye).

Avest. *bar<sup>o</sup>-z-* *ber<sup>o</sup>-z-* f. 'height', adj. 'high'. O.Ir. *bri*, gen. *breg*, 'mountain' (I § 288 p. 230, § 298 p. 236). Goth. *baúrg-*, gen. *baúrg-s*, 'fortress, city'. Avest. *bar<sup>o</sup>-z-* may stand for \**bhṛgh-* \**bhorgh-* or \**bhergh-*; all the other forms represent \**bhṛgh-*.

\**sem-*, *sm-* *sm-*. Gr. *εἷς* Cret. *εἷν-ς*, gen. *εἷν-ός*, 'unus', *εἷν* 'unum' (*εἷν-ός* substituted for \**εἷμ-ος*, see I § 204 p. 170); *μῶννξ* 'with undivided hoof' for \**σμ-ωννξ*, fem. *μία* for \**σμ-ια*; *ᾤμ-α* 'simul' instr. sing., see I § 236 p. 199. Lat. *sem-per* 'in one unbroken sequence, always'; for *-per* see I § 658, 7 p. 504.

\**kred-* (\**kerd-*) and \**kṛd-* 'heart'. Skr. *śrād* *dadhāmi* 'I believe, trust' Lat. *crēdō* for \**crezdō* (I § 507 Rem. p. 372) O.Ir. *cretim* 'credō' (I § 521 p. 379), from the pr. Idg. phrase \**kred dhē-*. Lat. *cor* *cord-is* O.Lith. gen. pl. *szird-u* (now *szirdžiū*) from \**kṛd-*, cp. Gr. *καρδ-ία* Ion. *καρδ-ίη* etc., where the root has the same vowel-grade (I § 292 p. 234). Gr. *κηρ* no doubt for \**κηρδ<sup>1)</sup>*.

1) This shows that the law of vowel shortening discussed in I § 611 p. 461 f. was later than the loss of the *d*. Cp. p. 423 footnote.



Remark 1. Armen. *sirt* and Goth. *hairtū* 'heart' represent \**kērd-* or \**kērd-* (the *ē* being shortened, cp. I § 614 p. 464 C). What relation does this form bear to *kred-*? In view of this difference and of others, such as Lat. *grex*: Gr. γέγραα (§ 52 p. 94), Gr. βεῖφος: O.C.Sl. *žrěbe* for \**žerbē*, Gr. φλέγω O.H.G. *blechen* Skr. *bhrājatē*: Skr. *bhārgas* (cp. also Skr. *drakṣyāmi* and the like I § 259 p. 212), we may perhaps suppose that the metathesis — under certain conditions — occurred in proethnic Indo-Germanic.

\**ped-* m. 'foot'. Ar. *pad-*: Skr. acc. sing. *pād-am* dat. sing. *pād-ē* loc. pl. *patsú*, Avest. acc. sing. *pād-em* *pād-em* dat. pl. *pād-byō* instr. sing. *pād-a*. Armen. pl. *ot-ē*; by its side we find *ting-* *otn* gen. *otin*. Gr.Dor. πῶς (πῶς?) νός Att. πούς (the *ov* has not been explained), gen. *ποδ-ός* etc., instr. sing. Lesb. Boeot. etc. *πεδ-ά* 'after, with', Heracl. *ἑκατὶ-πεδ-ος* 'amounting so 20 feet'. Lat. *pēs ped-is*, Umbr. *perī persi* 'pede' *du-purs-us bipedibus*. In Germanic \**ped-* occurs in O.Icel. *fet* n. 'step', \**pod-* in A.S. *fæt* 'step'; elsewhere \**pōd-*: nom. pl. O.Icel. *fætr* A.S. *fet* = pr. Germ. \**fōt-iz*, loc. sing. A.S. *fēt* = pr. Germ. \**fōt-i*; Goth. acc. *fōt-u* *fōt-uns* (pr. Germ. *-un -uns* = *-m -us*, I § 244 p. 203), on the pattern of which was formed nom. sing. *fōt-u-s* etc. (thus the correspondence of the Gothic word with Skr. *pād-ú-ṣ* would be purely accidental). For the ablaut cp. I § 311 p. 249.

Skr. *vāc-* f. 'voice, speech', without vowel gradation (acc. *vāc-am* dat. *vāc-ē*), Avest. *vāc-* m. 'speech, word, prayer' (nom. *vāxš* acc. *vāc-em* instr. *vāc-a*). Gr. ὄψ f. 'voice'. Lat. *vōx* f. 'voice, word', all from √*ueq-* 'speak'. The original paradigm is uncertain, perhaps nom. \**uōq(-s)* acc. \**uōq-η* loc. \**uēq-i* dat. \**uq-ái*. Cp. I § 314 p. 252 f.

Skr. *bhrāj-* f. 'brightness, gleam' instr. *bhrāj-ā* (cp. pres. *bhrāj-a-tē*). Gr. φλόξ φλογ-ός f. 'flame' (cp. pres. *φλέγ-ω*). The root is *bhleg-* (*bhelg-*), cp. Rem. 1 above; the original paradigm of the noun is not clear.

\**nās-* \**nas-* 'nose'. Skr. du. *nās-ā* instr. sing. *nas-ā*, O.Pers. acc. *nāh-am*. Lat. *nār-em*, which has become an *i*-stem (*nārium* etc.). Cp. also A.S. *næs-āyrlu*, Lith. *nas-raĩ* *nós-i-s*. Originally it formed acc. \**nās-η* dat. \**nas-ái*. Cp. I § 318 p. 257. We

cannot regard as certain the often repeated conjecture that the ~~de~~ in Lat. *nās-u-s* O.C.Sl. *nos-ŭ* is explained by supposing *\*nās(s)* to be the original form of the nominative, cp. I § 569 Rem. 3 p. 427.

2. Forms showing vowel-gradation, and the loss of the final consonant of the root before the *-m* which appears in the acc. sing. when a sonant follows. (Cp. I § 188 p. 162, § 192 p. 164).

*\*dieu- \*dieu* m. 'heaven, bright day'. Skr. *dyāu-ś diyāu-ś* acc. sing. *dyām diyām div-am* nom. pl. *dyāv-as diyāv-as div-as* loc. sing. *dyāv-i div-i* dat. sing. *div-ē* instr. pl. *dyū-bhi-ś*. Gr. *Zēv-ς* for *\*Zḡv-ς* (I § 611 p. 461) voc. *Zēv* acc. *Zḡv* (whence sprang the forms *Zḡva* *Zḡvός* *Zḡvί*) *Δί(F)-α* gen. *Δί(F)-ός* loc. *Δί(F)-ι*. Lat. Umbr. Osc. *Jov-* (for *\*Diov-*, I § 135 p. 122, § 506 p. 371) and *Di(ḡ)ov-*: Lat. *Jov-em Jov-is*, *Jūpiter Juppiter* voc. = *Zēv nātesq* (I § 612 p. 463), dat. O.Lat. *Diov-ei Diov-e*, Umbr. Iuve Osc. *Iuv-ei Iovi* Osc. *Diúv-ei Iovi*; the Ital. *-ov-* may in all the cases = Idg. *eu* (I § 65 p. 52)<sup>1)</sup>; to these add Lat. *diem* for *\*diēm*. Germ. gen. sing. in O.H.G. (Alemannic) *Zios-tac* A.S. *Þwos-dæg* O.Icel. *Týs-dag-r* (Goth. *\*Tius-dag-s*) 'day of Tiu (Zio), Tuesday'. The original paradigm seems to have been: nom. *\*diēu-s* (beside this possibly a parallel form *\*diēs* before consonants and when it stood last in a sentence, cp. Gr. *Ζῆς* Lat. *diēs*) acc. *\*diēm* voc. *\*diēu* (for the quality of the accent see I § 671 p. 536) loc. *\*diēu-i* dat. *\*diu-di* loc. pl. *\*diu-sú*.

Remark 2. The analysis of *\*diu-* into *\*di-u-* is no doubt right. *\*diu-* seems to bear the same relation to *\*di- \*dei-* as *sru-* (Skr. *sru-tá* 'flowing') bears to *sr- ser-* (Skr. *sar-* 'go, flow'), see § 8 Rem. 2 p. 20 f. Then as we speak of a 'root' *srey-*, we may certainly add *\*dieu-* to the root-nouns. However, if any scholar, in view of Avest. *bāzdu-ś* O.Pers.

1) There is nothing to prevent our claiming for Italic the same double forms *\*dieu-* and *\*diēu-* as we find in Sanskrit; cp. also I § 120 p. 111 and § 153 p. 138 f., § 170 p. 150 (*bi-dēns: dui-dēns*). I am therefore unable to agree with Danielsson, who would separate etymologically *Jov-* and *Diov-* (Gramm. and etym. Stud. I. 49).

*dahyāu-s* and Gr. *βουλόω* (for *-ηω*) should prefer to class this word amongst those containing suffixes, I should offer no objection. It is entirely a matter of convention.

\**gōu-s* m. f. 'ox, cow'. Skr. *gāu-ś* acc. sing. *gām* and *gāv-am* nom. pl. *gāv-as* loc. sing. *gāv-i* dat. sing. *gāv-ē* instr. pl. *gō-bhiṣ*. Avest. *gāu-š gao-š* acc. *gəm gāum* (i. e. *gāv-em*) *gaom* (i. e. *gāv-em*) instr. *gav-a gāv-a*. Armen. *kov*, gen. *koru* (*u*-decl.). Gr. *βοῦς* for \**βωμ-ς* (I § 611 p. 461) acc. Hom. Dor. *βῶν*, gen. *βο(φ)-ός*; the acc. *βοῦν* is a new formation following *βους*. Lat. *bōs bov-is* (is this borrowed from some Umbr.-Samn. dialect? see I § 432 Rem. 1 p. 322), Umbr. *bum* 'bovem' *buf* 'boves' *bue* 'bove'; Ital. *bov-* may be Idg. \**gou-* or \**geu-* (I § 65 p. 52). O.Ir. *bō* gen. *bō*, cp. I § 174 p. 153; kelt. \**bov-* may be either Idg. \**gou-* or \**geu-* (I § 66 p. 56). O.H.G. *chuo* O.Sax. *kō*, A.S. *cū* O.Icel. *ký-r*; the relation of the vowels presents a difficulty; \**kō-* (O.H.G. O.Sax.) may perhaps have been developed out of the acc. pr. Germ. \**kōn* = Gr. *βῶν*, and \**kū-* (A.S. O.Icel.) may perhaps come from an Idg. stem of the form \**gā-* (cp. Skr. *śata-gu-* 'having a hundred cows' Gr. *ἐκατόμ-βη* = \**-gm-a*). The original paradigm may be conjecturally given as follows: nom. sing. \**gōu-s* (also possibly a parallel form \**gō-s* like \**djē-s*, cp. Gr. *βῶς* beside *βοῦς*) acc. sing. \**gōm* nom. pl. \**gōu-es* loc. sing. \**gēu-i* dat. sing. \**guu-ái* \**gu-ái* loc. pl. \**gā-sú*.

Skr. *rās* 'property, treasure, riches' acc. *rām* and *rāy-am* instr. pl. *rabhiṣ* nom. pl. *rāy-as* dat. sing. *rāy-ē*, Avest. nom. pl. *rāy-ō* instr. sing. *ray-a* gen. pl. *ray-am*; cp. Skr. *rē-vánt-* 'rich' *ray-i-ś* 'property, treasure, riches'. Lat. *rēs rem rē* 'property, thing'. Cp. I § 150 p. 136.

Skr. *kṣām-* f. 'earth': nom. *kṣās* acc. *kṣām* nom. pl. *kṣām-as* loc. sing. *kṣām-i* gen. abl. sing. *kṣm-ás gm-ás jm-ás* instr. sing. *kṣam-d jm-d*. Avest. *zā* acc. *zəm* gen. *z'm-ō* instr. *z'm-a*. Gr. *χθών* f., *χθον-ός* instead of \**χθου-ος* (I § 204 p. 172), *χθαμ-αλό-ς χαμ-αί* (*Maia* for \**Xμ-aīa* \**Γμ-aīa*?). Cp. further Lat. *hum-u-s*, *hom-ō* O.Lat. *hem-ō*, *hūm-ānu-s* (probably not for \**hūmin-ānu-s*, but formed immediately from \**hōm-* and only at a later

period connected with *homo*), Goth. *gum-a*, Lith. *žm-onà* 'wife' (cp. p. 346 footnote 1), O.C.Sl. *zem-lja*. The original paradigm may be conjecturally given as follows: acc. \**gzhóm*<sup>1)</sup> nom. pl. \**gzhóm-es* loc. sing. \**gzhém-i* dat. sing. \**gzhym-ái* (cp. Skr. *kṣam-ā* Gr. *χθαμ-αλό-ς* *χαμ-αί* Goth. *gum-a*) \**ghm-ai* loc. pl. \**gzhym-sú*.

Avest. *zyā* m. 'winter' acc. *zyam* gen. *zim-ō*. Gr. *χιών* f. 'snow', gen. *χιών-ος* instead of \**χιου-ος*, like *χθον-ός* (see p. 482). Lat. *hiem-s hiem-is*. O.Ir. *gam* 'winter' instead of \**gi(i)am-* O.Cymr. *gaem* for \**geam-* \**gi(i)am-*, see I § 383 p. 288, § 392 p. 293. We may conjecture that the orig. paradigm was acc. \**ghíóm* \**ghíóm* nom. pl. \**ghíóm-es* \**ghíóm-es* loc. sing. \**ghíém-i* \**ghíém-i* dat. sing. \**ghim-ái* loc. pl. \**ghim-sú* \**ghim-sú*. The word may be mentioned here, although it is certainly not a root-noun in the strict sense of the word, cp. Skr. *hē-man* Gr. *χει-μών*. But we find nowhere else an Idg. suffix *-em-*<sup>2)</sup>.

\**dem-* 'house', √ *dem-* 'build'. Gen. Skr. *dán* Avest. *dēag* = pr. Ar. \**dam-s*, Avest. loc. *dām* = pr. Ar. \**dām*. Gr. gen. \**δενς* = Skr. *dán* in *δεσ-πότης* 'lord of the house' (I § 204 p. 171); *δα-* = \**dā-* in *δά-πεδο-ν* 'house-floor', then 'ground' in general; here probably must be classed *δάμαρτ-* 'wife', which should be analysed into *δαμ-αρτ-* = Idg. \**dānm-* (I § 236 p. 199); remarks

1) As regards the initial part of the word I assume the correctness of Bartholomae's hypothesis, see I § 554 Rem. 1. p. 407.

2) In view of the fact that words of contrasted meaning often influence each other in form (on this point cp. amongst others the Author, Ber. der kgl. sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. 1883 p. 191 ff., W. Meyer, Die Schicksale des lat. Neutrums im Romanischen 1883 p. 12, Holthausen in Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 590, Wheeler, Analogy and the scope of its application in language, Ithaca N. Y. 1887, p. 19 sq.), it is not a very bold conjecture that there once existed in protoethnic Indo-Germanic a form \**gh(i)en-*, whose *n* gave place to *m* under the influence of the word \**sem-* 'summer' so often joined with it (Avest. *ham-* Armen. *am-arn* O.Ir. *sam* O.H.G. *sam-ar*, cp. Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 111 f.). Even during the period of separate development the words for these two ideas have sometimes influenced one another; cp. e. g. O.Ir. *gam* : *sam* (see I § 392 p. 293), O.H.G. *wintar* : *sumar* (see Kahle, Zur Entwickl. der consonant. Decl. im Germ., 1887, p. 20).

on further examples from Greek may be found in R. Meringer's paper in the *Ztschr. f. österr. Gymn.* 1888 p. 152. Cp. also Avest. *dm-āna-* and Armen. *tun* gen. *tan* for *\*tm-an-*. We may conjecture therefore that the following was the original paradigm: acc. *\*dōm*, whence Gr. *δῶμα*, nom. pl. *\*dōm-es*, loc. sing. *\*dēm-i* gen. sing. *\*dēm-s* (cp. gen. Skr. *gōṣ* Avest. *gaoṣ*, Skr. *dyōṣ*), dat. sing. *\*dm-āi* *\*dym-āi* loc. pl. *\*dym-sū*.

As to the forms *\*djem* *\*gōm* *\*rēm* see I § 150 p. 136, § 188 p. 162. I may now also refer the reader to Johansson, *De derivatis verbis contractis* (Upsala 1886) p. 117 ff., R. Meringer, *Ztschr. f. österr. Gymn.* 1888 p. 132 ff.

Obs. 3. Meringer's welcome 'Hints' shew very clearly that in the question he discusses there is much that still needs explanation. Here I can only add a few remarks (cp. p. 428 footnote). I regard the accusatives also (*\*gzhōm* *\*ghjōm* *\*dōm*) as regular phonetic developments. What Meringer (in footnote 6 p. 139) offers as 'another possible solution' is distinctly preferable to that which is given in the text itself; for if there had ever been a nom. sing. *\*dīēs* *\*gōs* without *u*, it is certain that the *u* would never have been again inserted in these forms (Skr. *dyāuṣ*) without being at the same time restored to the precisely parallel acc. sing. (such a form as *\*dyāum* is unheard of). Moreover, I do not feel convinced that *u* and *i* ever disappeared before consonants and at the end of a sentence in the nom. sing. as well as the acc. (Gr. *Ζῆς*; Lat. *dīēs*, Gr. *βῶς*, Skr. *rās* Lat. *rēs*); in all these we must allow the possibility of a re-formation on the model of the acc. sing. With regard to *kēās* I must here emphatically repeat what I have said elsewhere. Meringer's assertion (p. 132. 137), that J. Schmidt has 'demonstrated' the loss of *n* after *ā ē ō* before final *s* in pro-ethnic Indo-Germanic, does not agree with the facts (op. § 135 Rem. 1 p. 428). Lastly, I would add that we are not justified in assuming the same Indo-Germanic inflexion for all monosyllabic stems of this kind, so as to construct e. g. an acc. *\*nām* 'navem' simply on the model of *\*gōm*. It is not necessary to suppose that all these monosyllables arose at the same period of the parent language. For example, *\*nāu-* 'ship' may have been formed at a later stage, and so have been dealt with otherwise than the older stems were at the time when they came into existence.

### 3. Forms in which vowel-gradation cannot be proved.

*\*rēj-* 'ruler, king'. Skr. *rāj-* 'prince, king', usually found as the second member of compound words. Lat. *rēx* *rēj-is*. O.Ir. *rī* *rīg*, Gall. *Cātu-rīg-es* ('battle-lords'). Goth. *reik-* nom. pl. *reik-s*; the *ei* is remarkable (I § 74 p. 64).

Skr. *ds-* (instr. *as-ā*) Avest. *ah-* (n.?) 'month'. Lat. *ds* n., *dr-is*. Cp. also O.Icel. *ds-s* 'river-mouth'.

Gr. *φῶρ* Lat. *fūr* 'thief'.  $\sqrt{bher-}$  'carry'.

Gr. *χῆρ* 'hedgehog', Lat. *ēr* *hēr*.

\**nāu-* f. 'ship'. Skr. *nāu-*§ acc. *nāv-am* dat. *nāv-ē*. Gr. *ναῦς* for \**nāu-*ς, *ναυοί* for \**nāu-*οί (Ion. *νηῦς* *νηυοί* are new formations), nom. pl. *νη-ες* gen. sing. *νη-ός* *νεώς* (I § 611 p. 464). Lat. *nāv-em*, which has become an *i*-stem, nom. *nāv-i-s*. Cp. also O.Icel. *nōr* (gen. *nōs*) m. from pr. Germ. \**nōu-a-z*.

\**mūs-* 'mouse'. Skr. *mūṣ-*, nom. pl. *mūṣ-as*. Gr. *μῦς* loc. pl. *μῦσί*; *μῦν* *μυός* instead of \**μῦ(σ)-α* \**μῦ(σ)-ός* follow *ὀφρῶν -ός* and the like; *μυός* then produced *μυοί* beside *μῦσί*. Lat. *mūs-* *mūr-is* Germ. *mūs-* is kept e. g. in nom. acc. sing. O.H.G. *mūs*, nom. pl. A.S. *mȳs* O.Icel. *mȳs-s*; beside which we find new formations following the vowel declension. O.C.Sl. *myšī* follows the *i*-declension. A by-form Idg. \**mus-* (the accentless form of the weak grade) is seen in Skr. *muṣ-ká-s* Lat. *mus-culu-s* (should we assume a parallel form *mūsculu-s*?) § 88 p. 262 f.

Skr. *dīś-* f. 'direction, region of the sky', Lat. gen. *dic-is* in *dicis causa* 'only in appearance, for form's sake',  $\sqrt{deik-}$  'point out, show'.

Gr. *νιφ-α* acc. 'snow', Lat. *nix niv-is*, go back to a common ground-form \**snigh-* (I § 423 p. 309, § 433 p. 322 f.),  $\sqrt{sneigh-}$ .

Gr. *χῆν* *χην-ός* Dor. *χᾶν* *χᾶν-ός* 'goose' for \**χανσ-*; the nom. *χῆν* is a new formation which has replaced \**χᾶς* as *μῆν* replaced *μεις* (stem pr. Gr. \**μηνσ-*). In Germanic the same stem occurs in a few forms, as in A.S. loc. sing. *zēs* = Gr. *χην-ί*, and also in the Lith. gen. pl. *žqs-ū*, which elsewhere conforms to the vowel-declension. The *-s-* of the word however, may perhaps be an element of the nature of a suffix, cp. O.H.G. *ganazzo* 'gander'.

Gr. *ἄλ-ς* *άλ-ός* m. Lat. *sal sal-is* m. n. 'salt', Umbr. *salu* 'salet'; Lat. *sal* instead of \**sal* follows forms like *pēs*. Armen. *al* gen. *al-t* and O.C.Sl. *sol-ī* are *i*-stems.

4. There is a special group of forms in which are found *-ū -ī -ṽ -ṛ -ḷ* before case-endings which begin with a con-

sonant, and *-uy- -iĭ- -yn- -rr- -ll-* before those which begin with a vowel. See I § 253 p. 207, § 306 p. 243, § 312 p. 250.

\**bhrū-s* f. 'eyebrow' dat. sing. \**bhruy-āi*. Skr. *bhrū-ṣ* loc. pl. *bhrū-śū* acc. sing. *bhrūv-am* dat. sing. *bhruv-ē*. Gr. *ὀφρῦ-ς* acc. *ὀφρῦ-ν* gen. *ὀφρῦ-ος*; loc. pl. *ὀφρῦ-αι* instead of \**ὀφρῦ-αι*. A.S. *brū*. The O.C.Sl. *brūv-ŭ* belongs to the *i*-decl. Compare the parallel forms Gall. *brīva* 'bridge' O.H.G. *brāwa* 'brow' whose common ground-form is \**bhrēy-ā-*.

\**sū-s* 'sow' dat. sing. \**snū-āi*. Gr. *ῥ-ς ῥ-ν ῥ-ός*. Lat. *sū-s* *sū-bus* *su-em* *su-is*, Umbr. *sim* 'suem' (I § 57 p. 46). O.H.G. *sū* O.Icel. *sý-r*; \**suu-* is perhaps represented by A.S. *suzu* f. 'sow', see Bugge, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 509 f. Cp. the dimin. *sū-go-* § 88 p. 263.

Gr. *ἰχθῦ-ς ἰχθῦν ἰχθῦ-ος* m. 'fish'. Lith. gen. pl. dial. *žuv-ū*; elsewhere it follows the *i*-decl., *žuv-ī-s*. Cp. Armen. *ju-k-n* etc. § 88 p. 263.

Gr. *ἰ-ς* f. 'power, might' instr. *ἰ-φι*. Lat. *vī-s vim* for \**vī-m* (I § 612 p. 463, § 655, 4 p. 503). \**ui-* before sonants seems to have disappeared.

The other instances belong only to single groups of languages: e. g. Skr. *gū-ṣā-s* gen. *-ṣaṇ-as* 'gaining cattle' (*-ṣ-*), *pūr* gen. *pur-ās* 'fortress' (*-f-*).

5. Skr. *jyā- jiyā-* f. Gr. *βίᾱ* f. 'might'. Compare Skr. perf. *ji-jyāu* subst. neut. *jyāna-m* and perf. *ji-gāy-a* pres. *jāy-a-ti*. Cp. § 8 Rem. 1. p. 20, and Morph. Unt. I 6.

§ 161. Examples from single groups of languages. The largest numbers are found in Aryan, Greek, and Italic.

Aryan. When they denote an action these root-nouns are always feminine.

Skr. *drūh-* f. 'injury, enmity', concrete 'injurer, enemy', Avest. *druj-* f. 'lie', concrete 'fiend (f.)'. Skr. *kṛp-* f. 'figure, appearance', Avest. *kehrp-* f. 'figure, body': cp. Lat. *corp-us*. Skr. *kṣāp-* f. Avest. *xšap-* f. 'night'. Skr. Avest. *ap-* f. 'water': acc. Skr. *āp-am* Avest. *ap-em*, instr. Skr. *ap-ā* Avest. *ap-a* Skr. acc. *khā-m* f. 'source', finds its complement in Avest. *xā f.* 'source',

both from pr. Ar. *\*kh̥-s* *\*kh̥-m*, beside Ar. *khan-* 'dig'. Skr. *spāś-* Avest. *spas-* m. 'spy, inspector', cp. Lat. *au-spes*, Gr. *οἰώψ* 'owl'. Skr. *hṛd-* n. Avest. *zard-* n. 'heart'. Skr. *māh-* Avest. *maz-* 'great'.

Skr. *vṛdh-* f. 'help, prosperity', adj. 'helping, strengthening'. *vṛt-* f. 'host of foes, foe', adj. 'turned against anyone'. *nṛt-* f. 'bearing, gesture'. *yúj-* 'yoked with, companion', cp. Gr. *ὀν-ζυξ* Lat. *con-jux*. *tš-* 'lord'. *bhū-* f. 'world', nom. sing. *bhū-š* pl. *bhūv-as*. *dhī-* f. 'thought'. *bhī-* f. 'fear'. *gṛ-* f. 'praise, laud', adj. 'praising', nom. sing. *gṛ* ground-form *\*gṛ-s* pl. *gṛ-as* ground-form *\*gṛ-es*. *jā-* f. 'being, creature' adj. 'born, formed', nom. sing. *jā-s* acc. sing. *jā-m* loc. pl. *jā-su*, ground-form *\*gṛ-*. *sthā-* 'standing', nom. sing. *sthā-s* acc. *sthā-m*. *psā-* f. 'food' *ni-drā-* f. 'sleep' *vra-* f. 'host, troop' like *jyā-* § 160, 5 (Morph. Unt. I 18. 43).

Avest. *var'z-* *ver'z-* 'work'. *mas-* 'great, wide', cp. Gr. *μακ-ρό-ς*.

Armenian. The old root-nouns have passed into other declensions. See the examples in § 160. It is however possible that certain case-forms, such as *ot-ē* 'pedes' *sirt-ē* 'corda', still belong to the old consonantal inflexion.

Greek. *στῦξ* *στυγ-ός* f. 'hatred, awe', cp. *ψευδοί-στυξ* 'hating lies'. *πρῶξ* *πρωκ-ός* f. 'drop, dew', ground-form *\*pṛk-*, see I § 306 p. 242. *ἀλκ-ί* loc. sing. beside *ἀλκ-ή* 'strength of body'. *κρόκ-α* acc. sing. beside *κρόκ-η* 'woof', compared with *κρέκειν*, which was also used of the noise caused by the striking of the web. *φρίξ* *φριξ-ός* f. beside *φρίκ-η* 'the shiver of the surface of the water'. Thus no doubt *δίκ-η* has replaced an older *\*dīξ* = Skr. *dīś-*. *λύγξ* *λυγγ-ός* f. 'hiccough' beside *λυγάνομαι* *λύζω* *λύγ-δην* (O.H.G. *sluccho* n. 'devourer'); for the nasal in the root-syllable cp. I § 221 p. 187 and Skr. *yúñj-* beside *yúj-* (acc. *yúñj-am* and *yúj-am*) Lat. *con-junx* beside *-jux*. *θρίξ* *τριχ-ός* f. 'hair' (cp. I § 496 p. 364 f.). *αὐλαξ* f. 'furrow' for *\*a-Flax-*, with the by-forms *ὠλξ* *ἄλοξ* *ὠλαξ*, seems to have sprung from an old doublet *\*Flax-*: *\*Folk-* with ablaut, from *(s)melq-* 'draw, pull' (cp. Darbishire, Notes on the spir. asper in Greek, Cambridge 1888,



p. 29). *ῥῶξ ῥωγ-ός* f. 'rift, cleft, split', beside *ῥήγ-νῦ-μι*. *ῶψ* 'countenance' acc. *ῶπ-α*; compare *κύκλ-ωψ ἑλίκ-ωπ-εῖς* and *ὀλν-οψ αἰθ-οψ*, which probably shew an old gradation *ῶψ ῶπ-α \*ὀπ-ός* etc. *κῶϊ* n. 'barley' no doubt for *\*κῶϊθ*, cp. *κῶϊθή*. *θῶς*, gen. *θῶός*, 'jackal' beside *θελ-* 'run'. *χρή* 'necessity' (cp. also *όμοκληή* 'joint cry, loud cry', *μεσό-δμη* 'intermediate structure, cross-beam'), like *βία* § 160, 5 (Morph. Unt. I 49. 64). *κρέξ κρεκ-ός* m. a bird, and also 'braggart', beside *κρέκω*, cp. *κρόκ-α* above. *τρώξ τραγ-ός* m. 'gnawer, worm' beside *τρώγω*. *κῖς κ-ός* m. 'a worm in the corn', like Skr. *dhī-ś dhiy-ás*. *κλώψ* m. 'thief' beside *κλέπ-τω*. Further examples are given by Bloomfield, Amer. Journ. of Phil. IX 7 ff.

Italic. Lat. *lēx lēg-is* f. 'law', Osc. *ligud* 'lege' *ligis* 'legibus' Marruc. *līxs* 'lex' or 'leges' Pelign. *lex-e* 'in leges'. Lat. *vās vās-is* n. 'vessel', Umbr. *vas-us* 'vasis' (the preservation of the voiceless *s* in all the cases is perhaps due to the analogy of the nom. acc. sing.). *man-* 'hand', Umbr. *manf* acc. pl., Lat. *man-ceps malluviae* for *\*man-luviae*, with other exx. (Danielsson, Pauli's Altital. Stud. III 189 f., Duvau, Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. VI 226 f.). The connexion between Lat. *frūx frūg-is* f. 'produce' and Umbr. *frif* acc. 'fruges, frumenta' (I § 57 p. 46) is doubtful, see Pauli Altital. Stud. V 114 f.

Lat. *lūx lūc-is* f. 'light'. *nux nuc-is* f. 'nut'. *pix pic-is* f. 'pitch'. *vic-* gen. *vic-is* f. 'change' (beside *vincō*, see Osthoff, Paul-Br. Beitr. VIII 272). *nex nec-is* f. 'death'. *prex prec-is* f. 'prayer'. *op-s op-is* f. 'might, means, power'. *pāx pāc-is* f. 'peace'. *dap-s dap-is* f. 'feast', beside Gr. *δαν-ἀρη* 'expenditure'. *arx arc-is* f. 'citadel'. *faex faec-is* f. 'dregs'. *faux fauc-is* f. 'throat'. *spē-s*, acc. *spe-m*, f. 'hope'. *re-quiē-s*, gen. *-quiēi*, f. like Skr. *jya-* § 160, 5 (Morph. Unt. I 10). *strix strig-is* f. 'horned owl'. *dux duc-is* m. 'leader'. *vas vad-is* m. 'surety'.

Osc. *far* n. 'far' and Umbr. *far* n. 'far' *farer* 'farris' appears to be a root-noun; *far-*: Lat. *farr-* (for *\*far(e)s-*, see § 132 p. 413 and p. 420) = Skr. *kṛp-*: Lat. *corpus*.

Old Irish. *bri* 'mountain', *rī* 'king', *bō* 'cow', see § 160. This method of forming noun-stems seems to have died out in

Irish. Cp. further the Gall. *brog-* 'district, neighbourhood, land' in *allo-brox* pl. *allo-broges*, parallel to which we find *brogi-* in *Brogi-mārus* O.Ir. *bruig* and other exx. (Zimmer, Kelt. Stud. I 117 f. Thurneysen, Keltoroman. 50).

Germanic. The original root-nouns (§ 160) were all more or less completely transferred to the vowel declensions; e. g. out of the Goth. paradigm, sing. nom. *baúrgs* gen. *baúrgs* dat. (loc.) *baúrg* acc. *baúrg* pl. nom. *baúrgs* gen. *baúrgē* dat. *baúrgim* acc. *baúrgs* only the gen. dat. sing. and the nom.-acc. pl. belong to the original consonantal declension.

Even amongst the few root-nouns which do not recur in other languages there are none in which the simple root is used for the stem in all the cases. Examples of forms whose stems contain no suffix are: O.H.G. dat. sing. *gi-nōz* nom. pl. *gi-nōz* beside nom. sing. *gi-nōz* 'companion' (i. e. 'one who enjoys (*geniesst*) with another'), A.S. dat. (loc.) sing. *bēc* beside nom. sing. *bōc* 'book', O.Icel. nom. pl. *hend-r* beside nom. sing. *hønd* (Goth. *handu-s*) 'hand'; see Kahle's essay cited on p. 478 footnote 2. As regards some of these nouns it is probable that they had at first a vocalic formative suffix, and that it was a secondary process, affecting even then only a certain number of their cases, which put them on a level with the root-nouns.

Balto-Slavonic. The root-nouns as a class have almost entirely disappeared, giving place to new formations on the model of the vocalic declensions; e. g. Lith. *nós-i-s* f. 'nose', O.C.Sl. *vīs-ŕ* f. 'village', see § 160. Besides these there are only a few traces preserved in the forms of the gen. pl. in Lithuanian: O.Lith. *szird-u*, Mod.Lith. *šės-ū žuv-ū*; we should add Slav. *krŭv-* f. 'blood' gen. sing. *krŭv-e*, beside which we have nom. sing. *krŭv-ŕ* instead of *\*kry*.

§ 162. *Nomina actionis* used as Infinitives. Cp. § 156 p. 470 ff.

This usage is found in Aryan, Greek and Italic. In all three the dative is used as an infinitive; in Sanskrit other cases are used as well.

In Sanskrit the case-suffix had the accent, if the verb had no prefix; otherwise the accent fell on the root-syllable. *dṛś-ē* 'to see' *bhuj-ē* 'to enjoy', *nir-djē* 'to drive forth' (Lat. *ag-i*) *ni-námē* 'to bend down'. Avest. *sav-ōi* 'to use' *dar's-ōi* 'to see'.

Lat. *ag-i* (: Skr. *-ájē*), *dīc-i*, *sequ-i* *ūt-i*, hence also *tund-i* *posc-i* *mi-nu-i* etc. in imitation of these forms. A difference in meaning was established between these and the locative forms *agere* etc. (§ 132 p. 418), the latter being distinguished as active, the former as deponent or passive forms; the origin of this process was probably an accidental preponderance of the use of the dative of root-nouns to serve as infinitives in deponent verbs.

-s- sometimes appears between the root-syllable and the dative termination. This is rare in Aryan: Skr. *ji-ś-ē* 'to conquer' *-prák-ś-ē* 'to fill, satisfy', Avest. *a nāšē* 'to bring near', root Avest. *nas-* Gr. *ἐνεγχε-*. Gr. *γράφαι* 'to write' *δείξαι* 'to show'. The -s- is identical with the element which is frequently found in the verb finite after the root-syllable, particularly in the sigmatic aorist, to which it gave its name (it is very possible that it is etymologically identical with the -s- which is used in the formation of noun-stems, § 134 p. 424 ff.; cp. Morph. Unt. III 42 f.); hence in Greek this kind of infinitive was confined to the sigmatic aorist. In Latin we may compare such forms as *da-rī fer-rī*.

Remark 1. There are difficulties in determining the relation of the Latin forms in *-se -re* to those in *\*-sī -rī*; several different views are almost equally tenable. If we start by assuming that Latin inherited from an earlier period only forms in *\*-es-i* (*vivere amāre*) *\*-aī* (*agī*) *\*-s-aī* (*darī*), we must suppose that the following are new formations: *dare ferre* on the model of *vivere amāre*, and on the other hand *amārī* following *darī*, *fierī* also instead of *fiere*. But perhaps even in the pre-Italic period there were parallel forms in *\*-s-i* (*da-re*), cp. *dīxe scripse* and Skr. infinitives like *dṛś-i* (see below). Lastly it is also possible that on the analogy of indic. *\*aget*: infin. *\*agesi* (*agit: agere*) the infinitives *\*es-si* *\*fer-si* (*esse* and *ferre* respectively) were first formed to correspond to *es-t fer-t* and that then and not before *ferri* was formed on the model of *agī*.

Remark 2. In Old Latin and even later in poetic diction beside the forms in *-ī* and *-rī* we find equivalent forms in *-ier* and *-rier*, as *agier darier*. It has often been assumed that *agier* should be analysed into *agie-r*, *-r* being the sign of the passive as in *agitu-r*, and *\*agie* being the

ground-form of *agi*. This every one would admit if \**agie* could be explained as an infinitive form<sup>1</sup>), and if the change from *-ie* to *-i* could be shewn to be regular (it is not shewn by the voc. *fili*, for the *-i* of this form may be the original weak-grade of *-iō- -iē-*, cp. § 63 p. 122). Other explanations of *-ier -rier* are equally unsatisfactory; see e. g. J. Stadelmann, *De quantitate vocalium Latinas voces terminantium*, Lucerne 1884, p. 73, V. Henry *Mém. de la Soc. de lingu.* VI 62 ff. I conjecture that *-er* represents the preposition *ar* (*ar-biter ar-vorsus*), which appears to be of dialectic origin (I § 369 Rem. 1 p. 280). For the change of *-ar* to *-er* see I § 97, 3 p. 91, cp. *in-ers arti-fex im-pertiō*; and for the position of the word cp. *quem ad* beside *ad quem* and Umbr. *asam-ař* 'ad aram'. It need not surprise us to find at so early a stage of Latin the combination of the infinitive with a preposition which is established in the Romance languages (cp. *ad* before the infinitive, as Ital. *ho a scrivere*, *Diez Gramm III*<sup>4</sup> 231 ff.), since even in Latin the infinitive had again approximated to the noun, and at least *inter* and *praeter* were used with it (see p. 471 ff.). Nor is there any difficulty in the assumption that *agi-er*, after the origin of the *-er* had been forgotten, had the same meaning as *agi*: the assimilation in usage was caused by the association of the final *r* of *agier* with the *r* of *agor agitur* etc. This entire class of infinitive formations, being like *ar* of dialectic origin, were allowed to drop out of use in classical prose, like so many other idioms that came from the same source.

In Sanskrit we find, besides the dative, the acc. in *-am*, the loc. in *-i* and the gen.-abl. in *-as* used as infinitives, e. g. *ā-nām-am* (*ā-nam-* 'incline or bend towards one'), *dyś-i sa-dyś-i* (cp. *dyś-ē* p. 490), *abhi-śrīṣ-as* (*abhi-śrīṣ-* 'make fast to').

§ 163. Root-nouns appearing as the second member of compound words.

In the Indo-Germanic and later periods we find compounds in which a root is the second member, and serves as a noun to denote the agent, as in the Skr. *puru-drūh-* 'injuring many'. There is no need to assume that the root was first used in the compound as a *nomen actionis* and that the whole word was subsequently epithetised (i. e. converted into an adjective, see § 50 p. 92), since in proethnic Indo-Germanic the root could be used alone to denote the agent; cp. Skr. *rāj-* p. 484, Skr. *drūh-* Avest. *druj-* etc. p. 486 ff. More rarely the compound has a passive sense, as Skr. *sa-yuj* 'joined by bonds of friend-

1) Thurneysen's explanation seems to me improbable (*Über die Herkunft und Bildung der lat. Verba auf -io*, p. 46).

ship or kinship', cp. *yúj-* 'yoked with, companion'. Compound words of this type were formed in Aryan, Greek and Italic.

Indo-Germanic. Skr. *sq-yuj-*, see above, *manō-yúj-* 'yoked by thought, by mere will', Gr. *σύν-ζυξ* *óμó-ζυξ* 'yoked together, united', especially 'joined in marriage', Lat. *con-jux*. Skr. *viśva-vid-* 'knowing everything', Gr. *νῆ-ις* acc. *νῆ-ιδα* 'not knowing, ignorant'. Skr. *tri-bhúj-* 'threefold, triple' Avest. *qzō-bāj-* 'freeing from distress', Gr. *πρόσ-φυξ* 'fugitive, client'. Skr. *pr̥tandj-* (*pr̥tand-aj-*) 'running in or to battle', Lat. *rēm-ex*. Skr. *muhur-gīr-* 'devouring suddenly', cp. Gr. *ὠμο-βρώς* 'devouring raw' gen. *-βρω-τ-ος* etc., see I § 306 p. 242, § 312 p. 250, II § 123 p. 391.

I may add a few examples taken from the separate groups of languages.

Aryan. Skr. *vytra-hán-* Avest. *ver\*pra-jan-* 'slaying Vritra': acc. Skr. *-hán-am* Avest. *-jan-em* dat. Skr. *-ghn-ē* Avest. *γν-ē* loc. pl. Skr. *-há-su*. Skr. *upastha-sád-* 'sitting in the lap', Avest. *armaē-šād-* 'sitting quiet'. Skr. *úd-añc-* 'turned or directed upwards' acc. sing. *úd-añc-am* loc. pl. *úd-ak-šu*, *ny-añc-* Avest. *ny-anc-* 'turned or directed downwards', cp. Gr. *ποδ-αν-ός* 'coming whence?' Lat. *prop-inqu-o-s* *long-inqu-o-s* (cp. I § 228 p. 195); the Sanskrit and Avestic declension of words containing *-añc-anc-* (Whitney Skr. Gr. § 407 ff., Bartholomae Handb. § 192, J. Darmesteter, Le suffixe *-ac-* en Iranien, Mém. de la Soc. de de lingu. III 302 ff.) shows many new formations, partly caused by a confusion with forms which had the suffix *-go-* (see § 86 p. 256). Skr. *satya-yáj-* 'duly honouring, duly offering' Avest. *daēva-yāz-* 'honouring the demons, offering to them'. Avest. *na-zd-* Skr. *nēd-*, only in compar. and superl., see § 135 p. 431.

In Sanskrit, compounds of this kind are very common. Any root could be used in this way. We may add as further examples *su-dṛś-* 'seeing well', *sahō-vṛdh-* 'increasing strength', *purō-yúdh-* 'fighting before', *purō-bhū-* 'being in front, surpassing'. In Iranian too this kind of formation remained in active use, cp. *vohu-var\*z-* 'working good', *ahūm-mer\*c-* 'slaying, injuring the world' (also *-mer\*nc-*, cp. Skr. *yuñj-* Gr. *λύξ* p. 487).





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